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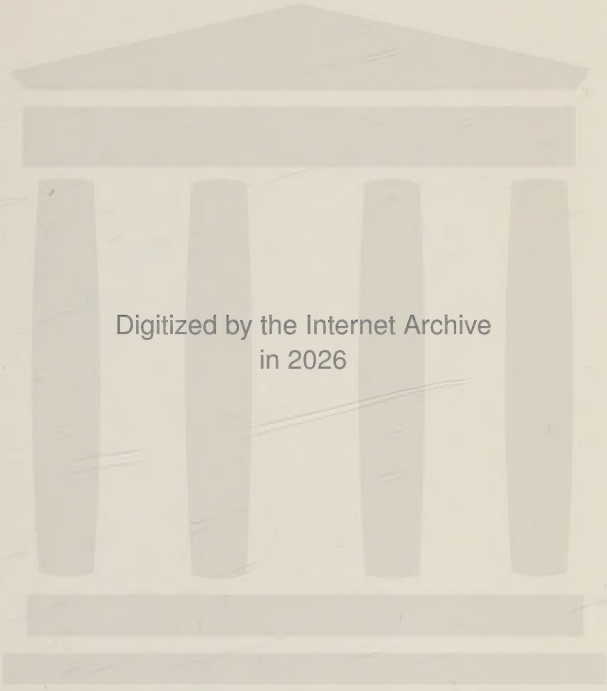

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PREFACE

Sociologists have been puzzling over the problem of what should be included in a beginning course on social relations. Textbooks have exhibited tremendous divergencies. It has been practically impossible for a teacher giving advanced work in social science to have any assurance as to the ground covered by students who have taken elementary sociology under other instructors. If a group of representative able students were gathered from ten or more of our leading colleges and universities, it would be exceedingly difficult to draw up any one comprehensive examination which could be passed successfully by those who had taken sociology and which could not be passed by students who had never taken such courses.

The present text is built on the proposition that the basic course in sociology should include the material which will be of the greatest practical utility in solving problems hinging on social relations. The emphasis is frankly pragmatic. This approach is adopted not only in the belief that the test of applicability to real problems will lead toward increasing agreement as to the verified fundamentals of a usable social science, but also for pedagogical reasons. Sound teaching leads from the concrete to the abstract, from actual experience to broader generalization, from felt needs to intelligent attitudes, skills, and habits. The rapidity with which a student learns depends greatly upon the interest which he has in the subject as it is actually presented. Toward a course which yields illumination and guidance for actual life situations, students exhibit an alert attention and an enthusiastic application which cannot be roused by any statement of abstract principles or remote issues.

The pragmatic approach needs to be safeguarded against narrowness and shortsightedness. While the study of social relations should aim at working out successful ways of dealing with actual problems, the student and teacher need to be alert also for the discovery and the preservation of valid generalizations even when these have no immediate practical utility. In every science such findings have proved over and over again their vital value.

Social problems present two great phases. One of these is the person-to-person relationship — husband to wife, parent to child, employer to employee, Negro to white man, citizen to criminal, social worker to client. Beyond and above these personal relations are such factors as the influence of climate, soils, plants, animals, and topography upon human activities, the development of culture through innovation and diffusion, the growth of cities, the nature and the causes of social change. This second, super-personal aspect of social science might be termed "the grand strategy of social progress." It includes much of the subject matter usually discussed under the headings of social anthropology and human ecology.

The present text does not attempt to deal with the "grand strategy" aspect of sociology; that is reserved for a later book. The present volume does deal with the person-to-person phase of social relations. To some extent this field is identical with the area usually covered under the title of social psychology. That term, however, implies to many people much more emphasis on such phenomena as mob-mindedness, and much less emphasis on normal, ordinary human relations, than is called for in a text which looks toward more successful solutions of personal social problems.

In another sense, however, the present approach might with peculiar aptness claim the title of social psychology. The contact between psychiatry and social problems emerges continually in the text. The development of psychiatric social work has led to the increasing recognition that social maladjustments frequently if not always involve psychiatric maladjustments and that psychiatric adjustment is an aspect of social adjustment. Those who feel the kinship between mental conflict and social conflict and who feel the need for thinking through social relations in terms of mental adjustment will find the present text an aid in this endeavor.

If the field of sociology be divided along the lines suggested above, the function of the present text may be stated as being to cover the essentials of the person-to-person phases of social relations, and thereby to lay the foundations for the scientific solution of all social problems. The grand strategy of social progress involves, of course, a compounding of person-to-person relations. The very definition of progress grows out of the social valuations and motivations discussed in the present volume. The processes of invention and diffusion, and the problems of culture contacts, culture conflicts, and culture accom-

modation involve the principles developed here. The present text therefore is definitely an introduction to the principles of sociology.

Certain sociologists may feel in this approach a lack of emphasis on the social group. The pragmatic method, however, necessitates this concentration of attention on relations between personalities. Social groups always break down upon close examination into clusters of individuals. The crucial factors in the groups are the relationships between the component personalities. If we as sociologists seek to learn how to better social conditions, experience shows that there is no other valid approach than through the individual. We cannot teach *classes* how to better their social relations — we must teach *students*. There is little value in seeking directly to get labor *unions* to adopt more intelligent industrial attitudes; individual leaders among the *workers* must be influenced.

The examination of actual problems leads to the adoption of person-to-person relations as units. The family is a type of social group distinct from a religious sect or a race. But if we want to deal fruitfully with families, with sects, or with races, we must recognize such phenomena as coercion, sympathy, paternalism, leadership, and other person to person relationships, as basic units. Whether it is a husband who coerces his wife, or a father his child, or a fundamentalist a modernist, or a white man a Negro, coercion is the basic phenomenon involved, and it must be understood generically. This text is devoted to promoting constructive understanding of the problems of social relations. So far as groups appear as definite units in such problems, they are dealt with. The pragmatic test is accepted as final.

The method of this book is primarily the inductive study of cases and instances, with supplementary use of statistical conclusions where these are pertinent and useful. This use of instances grows out of the pragmatic method. The test of any valid sociological generalization is its applicability to actual situations. As long as sociological principles grow out of typical cases and are persistently checked back against whatever pertinent cases can be located, the pragmatic ideal is promoted.

The value of cases as a means of rousing interest and so enlisting the full personality of the student, becomes increasingly clear to those who have experimented with such materials. The present text carries this method farther forward than it has hitherto been carried.

In attempting to use the case method there is always the danger of slipping into the fallacy of presenting mere illustrations of the prej-

udices and the premature conclusions of the author who selects the material. The safeguard against this danger is the alert search for really representative instances. In preparing the present text pains have been taken to classify groups of pertinent instances collected by persons not interested in the particular formulation of theories presented here. This process has brought to the attention of the author types of cases which would not have presented themselves through mere processes of mental association. It has helped also in avoiding bias. As an additional precaution the author has watched with special alertness for any instances which contradicted the hypotheses on which he was working, or which refused to fit into the categories tentatively adopted.

The ultimate safeguard, however, must be the critical testing of the text by students and teachers who use it. As they attempt to apply it to the problems with which they themselves have to deal, they will discover rapidly the points at which modifications and developments are needed. It is hoped that plans may be worked out for a revised text growing out of the experience and the needs of those who use this edition.

This text is concerned with the social *behavior* of people — and of animals, in so far as that throws light on the behavior of people. In the technical use of the term, however, this is *not* behavioristic sociology. Behaviorism maintains that to pay attention to consciousness is misleading and unscientific; our text finds that the concept of consciousness is vital to the very definition of the term "social," and that such concepts as "imaginary functioning," and "the mental picture of the self" are of central importance. Behaviorism takes the ultra-positivistic stand that science has no business with theories other than those induced by rigid observation of objective phenomena. The present treatment of sociology, on the contrary, is built upon the principle that science should get its hypotheses by various sub-scientific methods — by common sense, by introspection, by intuition, or even by inspiration — and should then with rigid impartiality and open-mindedness test out these hypotheses against the facts in the fields with which the hypotheses deal. Our treatment of sociology aspires to be *scientific;* it certainly is not *behavioristic* in the Watsonian sense.

No textbook should be a thoroughly original piece of work. Rather it should represent a bringing together of the best ideas, materials, and methods in the field. My own indebtedness to others is obvious

and voluminous. Most of the case materials used are taken from the observations of other students, as indicated by citations in the text. In particular I am indebted to six social scientists and social workers whose first-hand observations of behavior have provided foundational material for a science of social relations: Jane Addams, John R. Commons, Wolfgang Köhler, Ethel Verry, Lillian Wald, and Whiting Williams. With these should be classed the group of observers known as "The Inquiry," whose collections of significant instances, particularly in connection with race relations, have been invaluable.[1]

My gratitude is due to Professor Howard W. Odum, editor of this series, and to my colleague, Professor Susan M. Kingsbury, for generous encouragement, and for fundamental improvements which they suggested in the manuscript. To my students also I owe thanks for constructive criticisms.

[1] The works of these authors from which quotations have been used in this text are as follows:

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THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL RELATIONS

CHAPTER I

THIS TEXT AS A TOOL

The development of an effective and efficient teaching instrument has been a central consideration in building this text. The following objectives have been aimed at: (1) to free the instructor from drudgery so that he may have time and energy for the creative aspects of his task; (2) so to organize the ideas and materials used that they can be grasped without waste of effort; (3) to relate the materials and ideas of the text to the best thinking of others in this field; (4) to stir creative thought on the part of students.

Objective Quizzes on This Text. With the large classes now so general in sociology, the conscientious teacher is likely to be loaded up with the grading of quiz papers. Without some sort of quiz system it is impossible to tell how successfully the purposes of the course are being accomplished. A remedy which is coming widely into use for this difficulty is the objective test which can be graded rapidly and accurately even by an assistant. Students show decided preference for this type of quiz because it eliminates the personal equation in grading and because the test itself is an interesting sort of game.

Several difficulties have arisen in the use of such tests. One is the labor of getting up good questions. Compiling an examination of this type is a heavy task in itself, and before it can be perfected much experimentation is required. The process ought to be repeated in the second year, moreover, if it is desired to avoid the possibility of mechanical cramming up on the questions previously used. Also, when each school is preparing its own tests there is a great waste of energy, and a loss of the opportunity to compare the results attained in various places.

To meet all these conditions, the author has prepared a set of objective tests based upon this text. These are furnished at cost to coöperating teachers. Standard scores are ascertained from the joint experience of those using the tests, and are reported at intervals to the

coöperators. It is expected that in subsequent years new forms of the test will be issued, so as to avoid cramming on the questions previously used, and so as to introduce improvements based on accumulated experience.

Class Discussion. A second type of aid toward making the text an effective teaching instrument are the questions for original thought and discussion. Unlike many such lists, these questions do not ask the student to give back merely what is in the text. They give the opportunity to cite cases from one's own experience bearing on the subject under discussion. They put up to the student instances not given in the text and ask him to indicate their bearing. They bring in for comparative discussion the divergent opinions of other thinkers. Often they stimulate the student to carry forward certain of the simpler steps in the development of the principles of the text, thus avoiding the elaboration of the obvious in the chapters and at the same time giving the student needed exercise.

The presentation of abundant stimulating discussion material makes it unnecessary for the instructor to lecture except on unusual occasions. The class hour is not occupied with an oral quiz on the chapter nor with a repetition of text material, but is filled with creative discussion by the students.

Written Assignments. A further set of teaching aids is given in the suggested written assignments. The text itself is deliberately put into the simplest possible language — not only so that younger students may be able to grasp the ideas, but also as a means to economy of effort for mature students. The written assignments are of varying degrees of difficulty, from the simplest essay topics up to subjects suitable for Ph.D. theses. The course may be made as simple or as difficult as desired by the varying use of these written assignments.

Five distinct types of assignment are offered. The first type includes field trips. A sample is the following:

15F1. Visit some institution for handicapped persons, such as schools for the blind, deaf, or feeble-minded, or a work-shop where crippled persons are given a chance to earn their livings. Write a brief account of the trip, indicating especially in what ways the work for these people represents a special form of accommodation.

In the numbers of these assignments, the digits before the letter represent the chapter number, and the digits following the letter

indicate the position in the list for that chapter. Thus the above is the 1st assignment in the 15th chapter, and relates to field trips.

The second type of assignment calls for pertinent observations and experiences from life by the students. The following is an example:

8L12. Write an account from your own observations of the treatment given to a new boy or girl on the first day he or she enters a playground, or of the treatment given to a new family moving into a strange neighborhood, or a new employé coming into a strange shop or office. Give the details as fully as you can. (One to three hours)

The third type calls for experiments by the students. Here is a sample:

6X17. Ask 50 different individual fellow students to state to you their political party preferences and those of their fathers, or their religious affiliations and those of their parents. To what extent are the views of the younger generation on these matters, as reflected in these replies, influenced by the views of the parents? Discuss the results. (Three to six hours)

The fourth type of assignment suggests the study of pertinent cases and instances not quoted in the text, or if quoted, not fully discussed there. For instance:

16K7. Read the case stories cited by Dr. Frankwood Williams in "Social Aspects of Mental Hygiene," pp. 26–43. What fundamental characteristics of the inferiority complex (or failure complex) are illustrated in these stories? How? (Two hours)

The fifth type of assignment has a special basis. This type refers the student to the work of sociologists who have gained the widest recognition in the field. The writers thus referred to are not selected at random. Lists of the names of authorities discussed in standard texts and courses on the history of sociological thought have been compared and from them have been selected those most widely regarded as having made major contributions to the subject. Authoritative discussions of the work of each of these have been studied to see which of their ideas are regarded as most important. The best summaries of these crucial ideas are the basis of the assignments containing the letter W. The following is an example of this type:

11W20. Write a paper on "Sumner's Conception of In-Groups and Out-Groups, as Developed in his Folk-Ways." (Two to four hours)

Included also in this group are references to some of the best current writers.

The time allowances suggested in parentheses are intended as rough indications to the student about the amount of study expected on the topic. These may be altered at the pleasure of the instructor.

The first fifteen chapters of the text develop fundamental principles of the psychology of social relations. Chapters XVI–XXIV apply these principles to specific social problems. This second half of the text is intended, however, not merely as an approach to applied sociology, but also as a further means of developing and emphasizing the principles of social relations brought out in the first half. This close relation between theory and application is a central feature of the text.

CHAPTER II

GATEWAY CHAPTER

HAPPINESS depends upon relations to other people. If one studies or teaches, success depends upon making the most of the difficult relationship between student and teacher. Power to earn money is a large factor in determining how far one can do the things one wants to do in the world; earning power, in turn, depends considerably upon making good in relationships as a worker or as employer — upon gaining the loyalty of one's associates, without which one cannot have the fullest success. If one sells goods, success depends upon relations with people who buy, or who might be persuaded to buy. He who aspires to be an artist, an author, a minister, a physician, a lawyer, a banker, or a statesman, must understand social relations if he would succeed.

As host or hostess, or as a guest, social success depends on successful social relations. The task of being a successful husband or wife is a problem in social relations. How are *happy* marriages attained? What are the rules that lead to success as a parent? Social relationships — relationships to people — are the most important problems which human beings have to solve.

Success as a Citizen. But it is a very narrow person who seeks success only in terms of his own private purposes. Every one who is normal gets interested in broader problems. Beggars stop one on the street; one catches glimpses of huddled houses and ill-fed children: what is to be done about the problem of poverty? The question of voting has to be faced. One hears repeated stories of political corruption. One reads articles questioning whether democracy is a failure. How is one to be successful as a citizen? Near to each of us bitterness is likely to arise over the rights and the wrongs of Negroes, of Japanese, of Mexicans, or of European immigrants. What must the right-minded man or woman do in such issues? The menacing shadow of war is the great specter of the world. What stand shall the educated thinker take on international questions? Religious

controversies rage heatedly in our day. What has faith to offer in power and inspiration for the solution of these social problems?

Sociology is the science of human relations. This book aims to lead the student into sociology in a way that will be of practical use. It aims to help him to develop principles and rules that make for success in living together. With every new automobile comes an instruction book telling how to get the most out of the machine, and what to do when something goes wrong. Not all of the rules work all of the time. If the car won't run, it may be that something has gone wrong with the timer, that the gas tank is empty, that the spark plugs are dirty, that the engine is overheated, or that any one of a long list of things is wrong. The book will not tell exactly what is wrong in each case where social relations are out of joint, but it points out the things that are most likely to be wrong, and tells how to find out where the trouble lies.

Building on Cases. More is known about automobiles than about human society. The science of sociology is still young and imperfect. Not all of the things that people have written about it can be trusted. There is one test which should always be applied to conclusions about social relationships; namely, do these conclusions work? Do they tell how to solve social problems? Do they really fit the facts? Theories are of precious little use unless they are being constantly fitted to actual instances. As long as we work with the case method and keep coming back to real instances to check up on our conclusions we cannot go far wrong. This book, therefore, is built on cases.

Grown-up humans cover up their motives under deep layers of habit, convention, training, and even of pretense. Sociology needs to get at the *natural* way for people to act. If we can tell how people would behave if they were left free and were not urged, coaxed, punished, rewarded, and educated, we can get back to the roots of social behavior. When we find that the apes studied by Wolfgang Köhler, and the spontaneous, uneducated children studied by Ethel Verry, act in many ways very much as adult people act, we begin to uncover some of the deep-lying facts about human motives and human relations.

The two studies just referred to were made by people of scientific minds, who were trying to find out the truth, not to prove pet theories. The very fact that the chimpanzees and pre-school children were not grown-up humans helped the scientists who made these studies to

take an impartial and fresh attitude toward them. Another special reason for quoting these sources so fully is the hope that the careful work done by these observers may serve as a model for other impartial observations of social behavior.

Learning Human Facts from Animals. But, some one will ask, how can the actions of *chimpanzees* have anything to do with the actions of *humans?* When doctors want to get antitoxin against diphtheria or against snake-bite, they give small doses of the poison to horses, increasing the dose until the blood of these animals builds up a serum which fights those poisons in human bodies. That is, horses are enough like humans to be useful in such scientific work. When dietitians want to find out about the effects of vitamins on human beings they first conduct feeding experiments with rats, and by so doing they get results which apply, with minor changes, to humans. Insulin, the wonderful medicine recently developed for diabetes, is taken from the pancreas of animals, to make up for the deficiency in the pancreas of human sufferers. Psychologists study the behavior of frogs, mice, chickens, dogs, and even of animals too small to see without a microscope, in order better to understand human behavior. So too in sociology, the behavior of chimpanzees is enough like the behavior of humans to make a study of their social activities of great importance to our purpose.

Fitting Theories to Facts. If social theories are to work, it is essential that the theories shall fit the cases, not the cases the theories. It is easy to start out with certain ideas, and then find cases which bolster up these prejudices. That has not been the method of this text. We have made the theories fit the behavior of the children studied by Ethel Verry. We have made them fit the cases of children who got into trouble, studied with such excellent technique by William Healy for the Judge Baker Foundation. We have made them fit the series of cases reported out of their rich experience in settlements by Jane Addams and Lillian Wald, the cases of relations between employers and employes reported by John R. Commons and his associates, the experiences of Whiting Williams as a worker in mines and mills, the cases of social relations reported by current literature and by social workers. Wherever we have been able to lay hands upon careful, accurate reports of real instances of social relations we have taken them and measured against them the theories on which they have been working. When the theories did not fit, they have been changed so

that they would fit. Out of this has grown up a set of working rules for social adjustments.

But these rules are yet very far from perfect. More cases are needed — hundreds of times as many cases as have actually been used. Try these theories out against the cases that you yourself know of. Try them out against the cases that you find in books. Try them out against the daily experiences of your own life. Bring into the class discussion instances of which you know. *The most valuable cases will be those which contradict, or seem to contradict, the text.*

Life Is the Laboratory. The laboratory method is the best way to teach physics, chemistry, and biology. When the professor tells the student that hydrogen will burn in oxygen, the student does not simply accept his say-so; he tries it out himself in the laboratory. The science of human relations needs to become a laboratory science. This *is* a laboratory course; life is the laboratory. Those who study it need to check up in their own experience the essential conclusions given by the teacher and the text. It is true that most students cannot this year experiment with being employers, or parents, or even teachers. But they can observe their own experiences in their relations with friends and associates, and can gather observations at first hand about the experiences of others who are employers, parents, and teachers. No one will get the essential meat out of this course unless he or she is working out its principles in real life.

Summary

A. The science of social relations has intensely practical uses because:

1. Personal happiness depends upon success in human relationships in the family, friendships, business, politics, and the professions.
2. Intelligent handling of such problems as those of poverty, of political democracy, of race relations, of international peace, and of religion require an understanding of social relations.

B. Like other practical principles, the rules of social relations must be suggestive and directive rather than conclusive.

C. The conclusions of the text are worked out inductively from actual instances.

3. Only when constantly checked back against instances can social theories be of value.

4. A good many of the early instances relate to chimpanzees and to pre-school children, because
   a. They behave more naturally than adult humans.
   b. They have been studied with scientific impartiality.
   c. Other sciences find that the study of animals leads to conclusions useful with humans.
5. Various sources of instances of adult human social behavior have been used.

D. This should be a laboratory course, with life as the laboratory.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

In this course it is even more important to have thought through the questions for discussion than to have read the text. Both will be covered in examinations and quizzes.

2D1. What is the difference between an art and a science? Give instances. What human processes once were arts but have become sciences? Are social relations usually dealt with as an art or a science? What change, if any, is desirable in this respect, and why?

2D2. What other sciences besides sociology have direct bearings upon success in social relationships?

2D3. Why do not all of the rules in an automobile handbook work all of the time? Which of the rules followed by doctors and nurses for curing diseases work all of the time? Which do not? Why?

2D4. What is the difference between using illustrations and using cases and instances inductively?

2D5. Why are those cases most valuable which seem to contradict the text?

2D6. How does one learn to paint pictures? To cook? To be a newspaper reporter? To be an electrician? Can you give a personal experience to illustrate such methods of learning?

2D7. How is the case method used: *a.* In studying law; *b.* In studying medicine; *c.* In learning to do family social work?

2D8. Why must the student of geometry solve "originals"? Why are laboratory problems used in physics and chemistry?

2D9. In the *New York Times* for October 3, 1926, appeared the following item:

Cases from real life will form the subject matter for a new course in economics to be taught in Columbia College this Fall after a year's trial and

experiment. Professor William E. Weld, who will teach it, calls it a pioneer attempt to improve teaching in economics, which leaders have long realized was not meeting the practical needs of students. It aims to teach the student how to solve actual problems he will face rather than merely to inculcate theories. The plan is to start with the problem and work back toward the theory rather than hunting the case to fit the theory.

In accordance with the new system a paragraph from a magazine article, which pointed out that the invention of a chocolate-covered ice cream brick in the United States made possible the sale of a shipment of pianos tied up in a South American port and opened up a new market for wire, wood, and steel, will furnish one of the cases the students will be called upon to analyze. Statistics for a study of credits extended by wholesalers to retailers have been provided by a student whose father operates a jewelry store.

In what ways is the above proposal different from the plan of the present course? How far is the problem method applicable to the study of economics? Of sociology? Of history? Of psychology?

2D10. Give illustrations of the danger of using illustrations instead of cases. Under what conditions should the use of illustrations be condemned?

2D11. What are the essential differences between the following: anthropoid apes; chimpanzees; monkeys; gorillas?

2D12. How far back in the animal and plant world should the sociologist go for light on human relations? Would you include apes? Dogs? Birds? Coral colonies? The amœba?

2D13. What services should be performed by the teacher of a course like this one?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

A written report should always be prepared for every assignment taken. Make these reports as brief as you can and still cover the essential points. The report which you make should be in such shape as to show that you have done the work with an alert mind.

2K1. Let each member of the class be responsible for a written analysis of the use of the case method in one of the following books: *a. Case Studies of the Judge Baker Foundation; b.* Köhler's *Mentality of Apes; c.* Edith Abbott's *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records; d.* Jane Addams' *Twenty Years at Hull House; e.* Queen and Mann's *Social Pathology; f.* Upton Sinclair's *Brass Check; g.* Edward A. Ross' *Changing Chinese; h.* Mary B. Sayles' *The*

Problem Child in School; i. Eleanor R. Wembridge's *Other People's Daughters; j.* Sophonisba P. Breckinridge's *Family Welfare . . . Case Records; k.* F. W. H. Myers' *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death.* Do not attempt at this time to read through the book which you analyze: simply try to select illustrations of the types of cases or instances collected by the author, and to discover and summarize the methods by which he collected them and the ways in which he used them. (This assignment should require about two hours of work.)

2K2. Hand in a brief written review of some collection of case studies other than the ones mentioned above, which would be valuable as source materials for a text on social relations. (Two hours)

2K3. Look up source materials and write a brief paper on the use of the case method in teaching one of the following subjects: business ethics (see especially the Harvard School of Business Administration, and the writings of Edgar L. Heermance); personnel administration; bookkeeping; social case work; sociology; surgery; psychoanalysis. (Five hours' minimum)

2L4. Write a brief account of the most successful person whom you know personally, emphasizing especially those things which make him or her successful. (Two hours)

2L5. Miss M. P. Follett says:

> We need careful studies of the method of integration. We must observe and analyze industrial controversy, international controversy, personal controversy, to see when and why and how we get compromise, when and how we get genuine integration.[1]

List ten controversies known to you personally or which you have seen mentioned in the news which might be so studied. Indicate very briefly the nature of each controversy and the methods by which it might be studied. (One hour)

2W6. Read the article on "Make the Curriculum Fit the Man," by Joseph Coffin, in *The Survey* for April 15, 1926, pp. 89–91. Which of the "basic human issues" listed on page 90 should be dealt with in the present course, and to what extent? From our "Gateway Chapter" and table of contents, what would you judge to be the extent to which this course will deal with these issues? (One or two hours)

[1] *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924, p. 177.

2W7. What methods of sociological research did Aristotle employ? (One hour)

2W8. What ideals as to scientific method in sociology did Auguste Comte, Lester F. Ward, and Franklin P. Giddings set up? To what degrees did each of these men carry their own scientific ideals to realization in their own work? (Time credit to be arranged)

2W9. By what methods did William Graham Sumner reach the conclusions presented in his *Folkways?* Compare his technique with that of Herbert Spencer; with that of Leonard T. Hobhouse. Point out the strong and weak points in the methods of each. (Time credit to be arranged)

2W10. What bearings has John Stuart Mill's *Logic* upon sound method in the social sciences? What did Mill himself say about the applicability of the inductive method to sociology? What do you think about it? (Three hours)

2W11. What contributions did Francis Galton make to scientific method in the social sciences? (Two hours)

CHAPTER III

THE MOTIVE OF LIFE IS TO FUNCTION

THE science of human relationships ought to tell us how to get the kind of group life that we want. But what do we want? What are we after? What is the motive of life? This question brings in the great problems of instincts, motives, and values. Shelves full of books have been written on these problems, and great disputes are raging about them. Instead of going into a long argument and trying to prove in this chapter what the real values of life are, a working hypothesis will be stated. This hypothesis is merely a mental tool, to be tested as we go along. Does it fit real facts? Does it cover *all* the facts? Are there important human activities which it does not explain? Does it work well or ill as an instrument, or device, for dealing with human relationships? These questions the student must answer for himself as the course progresses.

An Hypothesis. The working hypothesis is this: *The motive of life is to function.* To function means to do the things which one is fitted to do. Joy — real happiness, the thing people are after in all experience — is to act, to do things, to function. Apply this to the human body — that complicated machine, fitted to do so great a variety of different things. For the body, to function means to act in the ways for which at the moment it is fitted. The body has an elaborate set of organs for taking in food and digesting it. When the stomach is empty it is delightful to eat, to chew and to swallow. That is functioning. The legs, trunk, and arms have muscles fitted for walking, running, climbing, and swimming. When these muscles are fresh and unfatigued there is keen satisfaction in using them in vigorous exercise. The lips, tongue, throat, larynx, and lungs make up an apparatus for producing sounds; hence children love to shout, sing, whistle, and talk.

The brain is a piece of apparatus which, unless it is tired or out of order, it is fun to use. Cross-word puzzles were a great fad in 1925 —

because it is a delight to function with one's brain. A good many students (though of course not all) go to school and to college because it is such a joy to think. Playing cards is a form of brain-functioning. When we go to the movies or to a play, or when we read a book or a magazine, we enjoy it partly because we are using our brains. If the play or story is "exciting," we are using, without realizing it, a great many other parts of our bodies, which it is fun to use. Whenever we do something new, we use our brains, because the upper brain is a piece of thinking machinery to deal with new problems. People like to travel, to make new friends, to find new experiences, partly because it is a pleasure to use this upper brain to meet these new situations.

But certain parts of the brain and the nervous system are record files in which old habits are stored. We like to use those parts too. We like to go back to the old home town and meet the old friends; we like to walk down the familiar road; we like to get back to the family after a journey. The songs we heard in our childhood have a peculiar loveliness; the old poems, the old stories, the familiar dishes cooked as mother used to cook them — all the pleasant habits gain a special dearness if we are separated for a time from the opportunity of functioning through them.

Individuals, of course, differ greatly in the kinds of functioning which they enjoy. Of one type John Wanamaker is an instance:

> His whole being was expressed in terms of action, as a child's is. He was completely identified with what he was doing. Rest he detested. Leisure to him was only a chance to do something else — like the boy come home from school. It was not that he did not think. His mind was prodigiously active, but as a child's — with what he is going to do next and how it is to be done. He was continually tearing down what he had built and putting up something bigger and better in its place. But thought for its own sake, for the pure pleasure of thinking or even for the serious business of digging out the inwards of things, was completely foreign to his nature.[1]

The desire to function, *purely for the sake of functioning*, appears far below man in the scale of life. That chimpanzees exhibit it, is clear from the observations of Köhler:

> The everyday handling and treatment of objects on the part of the chimpanzee comes almost entirely under the rubric "*play*." If under the pressure of "necessity," in the special circumstances of an experimental

[1] Evans Clark. Review of *John Wanamaker* by Herbert Adams Gibbons. *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Nov. 14, '26.

test, some special method, say, of the use of tools has been evolved — one can confidently expect to find this new knowledge shortly utilized in "play," where it cannot bring the slightest immediate gain, but only an increased "*joie de vivre.*"[1]

Friedrich Paulsen has well summarized the hypothesis suggested as the basis for our study of social relations. He says:

The goal at which the will of every living creature aims is the normal exercise of the vital functions which constitute its nature.

Explorative, Experimental, and Expansive Functioning. Because people seek to function in fresh and interesting ways, they tend to explore their surroundings and to experiment with various ways in which things can be done with these surroundings. Indeed, Köhler found that even chimpanzees were absorbingly interested in the manipulation of their environment:

From time to time the use of sticks for digging becomes the fashion. Probably the only incentive necessary here was a stick with which the ground could be prodded. Digging gives more pleasure when the ground is damp than dry, and when once begun, is carried on with enthusiasm and endurance till the place is full of big holes.[2]

Interest in mirrored images did not decrease . . . but remained and became one of the most popular and permanent of their "fashions." . . . They slowly turned the reflecting surface, or moved their heads to one side, so that they could no longer see themselves, but continued to look into it, examining the images of one object in the room after another, with unabated interest, and it could constantly be observed that as they turned the "mirror" they glanced quickly from time to time toward the real, and, of course, familiar, everyday objects that had just appeared behind it. . . . What strange beings are the chimpanzees, to be permanently attracted by the contemplation of such phenomena, which can bring them not the least tangible or "practical" benefit.[3]

Young children illustrate these same things. Miss Ethel Verry made a careful study at the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station of the behavior of children two to four years old when left to do as they pleased in a playroom.[4]

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, p. 71.
[2] *Ibid.* p. 80.
[3] *Ibid.* abridged from pp. 330–1.
[4] *A Study of Mental and Social Attitudes in the Free-Play of Pre-School Children.* Manuscript. University of Iowa Masters' Thesis. 1924.

In this room was a slide. The children learned to go down frontwards, sitting up. Then they worked out variations: they slid head first on their stomachs, head first on their backs, backwards sitting up, frontwards with both feet hanging over the sides, and so on. They tried to walk up the slide from the bottom. One boy arranged a row of chairs leading up to the slide, and ran over these each time before climbing the ladder. They slid down two or three at a time. They crawled under the slide and used it as a playhouse. In a word they explored all of the different ways they could discover of functioning with this piece of apparatus.

Similarly with other playthings. The children put a cart together. It was used to give each other rides. It was used to haul loads of blocks around. When other uses had been exhausted the boys took the cart to pieces and invented games to play with the wheels.

Paul H. Furfey gives the following account of the explorative and experimental functioning of a boy of exceptionally brilliant mind. The lad's intellectual development was at least 50 per cent greater than that of the average boy of his age:

> Dan enjoys manipulating all kinds of machinery, working on autos, typewriters, or radio. He makes bows and arrows, model airplanes, and a peculiar contrivance popular among the boys of his neighborhood and known as a "tank" whose essential parts are a spool, a burnt match, an elastic band, a piece of paraffine, and two tacks. He enjoyed for some days an elaborate series of experiments on the feasibility of setting off firecrackers under water or under ground by electricity.
>
> Almost anything that can be manipulated is a joy to Dan's heart. Once he found a slide-rule on my desk. Of course he soon knew all about it. A drawing pen and a pair of compasses were a source of happiness for a couple of days, as was a telescope which he bought for two dollars.[1]

This eager exploration of the possibilities of the physical environment is characteristic also of grown people. A housewife bought a new sort of ice cream freezer. She was so eager to make all the different kinds of dishes which the freezer could produce that her family had frozen desserts twice a day for a week.

Exploration and manipulation are the motives which drive human inventors to invent. A group of graduate students at Bryn Mawr made a study of 171 men who had made significant contributions to mechanical invention. The hope of making money from the invention

[1] *The Gang Age*, Macmillan, 1926, p. 106.

was noted only five times in the material located relative to these inventors, while the joy of manipulating materials, of experimentation and exploration, appeared in connection with 66 different inventors. Next most important in the apparent motivation of inventors is the perception of a need to be met — a problem to be solved. Not a reward to be won at the end of the struggle, but the pleasure of the inventive process, the zest of pitting one's powers against a puzzling obstacle, the fun of using one's mental and mechanical abilities — in a word the joy of functioning — is the driving power that keeps the typical inventor going.

There is a special fascination in producing results at a distance. Boys are likely to be especially interested in shooting, throwing balls or stones, flying kites, rigging up signals, and installing telegraphs and telephones; the reason is that these activities make it possible to do things at a distance. The automobile gets part of its attractiveness from the fact that with a motor car one can move faster and cover a much greater distance — that is, function on a larger scale — than would otherwise be possible.

Destructive Functioning. Among the possible ways of functioning with one's environment are such destructive actions as knocking things down, breaking them, or taking them to pieces. These types of functioning often give intense joy to children. Two of the boys in Miss Verry's group were trying to haul a great load of blocks in the cart, when the pile toppled over. At the noise the boys shouted with joy and began to help the wreck by kicking over the rest of the load. Three other boys at once ran up and began to kick too. Similarly, when a big playhouse had been built of blocks, one of the children accidentally pushed part of it over and at once the whole crowd gaily attacked the edifice and knocked it completely to pieces. Some boys have a passion for taking apart clocks and other machinery. Children are likely to pull insects and other small animals to bits " to see how they work." Similarly, the chimpanzees were noted for their destructive activities.

But What about Painful Functioning? One cannot follow very far the hypothesis that functioning is the motive of life without meeting a difficulty. It is true that usually we like the form of functioning called eating, but sometimes nothing could be more disgusting. It is true that sometimes we like to run and climb, but at some other times it seems that to lift a hand or foot would be torture. There are, more-

over, some forms of functioning which are never — or nearly never — enjoyed. Burning one's hand, and being jeered at by one's friends, are hardly ever fun.

These apparent exceptions clear up if one sees that all of the painful and disagreeable forms of functioning started as safety devices. Why does a time come when further eating is painful? Because unless there were some such safety stop we should go on eating until we destroyed our capacity for future functioning. Why do pain, weariness, fear, horror, and disgust exist? Because they indicate a menace to the functioning organism, or to the race, or because at some past time in the growth of the race the functioning which they make disagreeable was dangerous to continued and expanding functioning. Discomfort, pain, suffering — or any kind of unpleasantness in functioning — mean: "You have functioned enough!" or "This kind of functioning has proved dangerous to individuals or to the group!" or "This functioning does not fit in with your surroundings!" or "Something you have done was destructive or did not fit!" or "Some one, or something outside you, is functioning in a way which does not fit with your functioning — which is damaging or menacing you!"

Positive and Negative Safety Devices. Just as dangerous forms of functioning are made painful or disagreeable, to give automatic warning, so those forms of functioning which are very essential to the further functioning of the individual or the race are very delightful and very much longed for. This applies, for instance, to eating and to forms of functioning having to do with reproduction of the race. These appetites are positive safety devices, just as pain is a negative one.

The safety devices are products of racial experience. Pain, fear, fatigue, the mating urge, hunger, and thirst go back into the very roots of the past, when living things in their earliest and simplest forms learned by suffering to avoid the dangers which menaced their opportunities to function, and learned by keen delight to preserve themselves and perpetuate their kind.

Like most automatic devices, these safety mechanisms do not work perfectly. They get out of adjustment. They get out of date. They may go off too easily or not easily enough. The fullest satisfaction in life is to be gained by making these devices servants rather than masters.

Enjoying Pain. Pain, suffering, and especially fear, are not so much exceptions as they at first seem to be, to the rule that the joy of life is to function. These supposedly unpleasant forms of functioning are often enjoyable. Most people like to be frightened in mild degrees, as by hearing ghost stories or riding on a roller coaster. The experience of pain is sometimes pleasurable. The expression "a good cry" represents the fact that real satisfaction may come in a sort of functioning usually considered distressing. The liking which many people develop for strong cheese is another instance. Jane Addams tells that as a child she loved to visit a sawmill because it offered the great excitement of sitting on a log while it slowly approached the buzzing saw which was cutting it into slabs.

Adventurous Functioning. Partly because even pain, danger, and hardships are forms of functioning and as such are sometimes enjoyed, and partly because the craving for explorative and expansive functioning are too urgent to be held in check by the safety devices of caution and fear, adventure is often prized as a superb form of functioning. Albert W. Whitney, chairman of the education section of the National Safety Council, said:

> The fact is, of course, that safety is not the prime object in life. Exactly the contrary is true. The most important thing in the world is adventure, and by adventure I mean a fresh, first-hand experience of life. All things worth while in life — love, friendship, loyalty, knowledge, art, religion — are adventures in which the human spirit goes out to experience the realities of life; if these experiences lack the element of adventure it can only mean that life is not being lived in the keen way that makes it most worth while. It is the daring, vital, vigorous, high-souled man and woman with the courage to face and experience the world that have survived and left descendants. . . . Instead of "safety first," a better slogan would be "safety for more and better adventures."[1]

Adventure consists in very intense functioning, not merely of the muscles, nerves, and brain, but also of the glands which pour their stimulating secretions into the blood, and of the bodily and mental reactions which we call emotions. The adventurous person not merely loves new experience — he loves danger itself for its own sake. His passion for full functioning is too strong to be held in check by discomfort or by fear of pain. A veteran fire-fighter says:

[1] Quoted from *Am. Jour. of Public Health* in the *Literary Digest*, Sept. 12, '25, p. 65.

One of the most difficult tasks of a fire officer is holding his men back. They will go unurged into all kinds of dangerous places, but when it comes to getting them *out* of these places, it's a different story.[1]

For persons used to the temperate zones, the far north and far south are hardly comfortable or even safe; yet explorers persistently attempt to visit the north and south poles. The jungles of Africa and India, the most savage tribes, the most ferocious animals, the most precipitous mountains, the wildest storms, the most deadly diseases — these are the objectives which certain types of people seek out and explore, experiment with, and try to subdue. Campers go out hunting for hardship. The aviation dare-devil, and the "human fly" who climbs up the outside of skyscrapers, holding on by toes and fingers, illustrate how fully some people flout the normal craving for safety. The novelist and the movie writer insist upon getting the hero and heroine into danger, hardship, and suffering because almost all of us insist upon getting, by proxy if not at first hand, the thrill of dangerous and painful adventure.

Jane Addams expresses this craving to know the full of life when she says:

> Young people themselves often resent the protective attitude on the part of their elders; they feel set aside and belittled as if they were denied the common human experiences. They too wish to climb steep stairs and to eat their bread with tears, and they imagine that the problems of existence which so press upon them in pensive moments would be less insoluble in the light of these great happenings.[2]

Even animals show this same craving to function at the cost of danger and pain. Köhler cites this instance:

> The animals place a stick, a long pole, or a board upright or at a slight angle on the ground, clamber up it as quickly as possible with feet and hands, and then either fall with it in some direction, or swing themselves off from it in the very instant that it falls. . . . We can only conclude that it is done out of the wish to *jump and leap per se*, just as children walk on stilts "for fun." . . . Skill and success varied greatly according to individual ability. After some time Chica was easily first. . . . Later on, wishing to see how far her capabilities extended, I presented her with a bamboo over four meters long. She immediately showed complete mastery of this tool or toy, and climbed at frantic speed to a height of over four meters before

[1] *Literary Digest*, July 18, '25, p. 48.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 20–1.

the pole fell over. She herself at that time was not quite one meter tall, when drawn up to her full height. For certain reasons she had to be separated from her beloved toy for some time during the daytime; but in the evening, when she entered the playground where the bamboo lay, she repeatedly interrupted the (to her immensely important) business of a meal in order to seize the coveted treasure and "just once" snatch a hasty jump. The draw-back is obviously the violent impact of a headlong fall from five meters on to a hard piece of ground. Chica often inspects and touches those portions of her body which have born the brunt of the fall, and walks away with slow and subdued gait. . . . There was no "training" whatsoever about this, either; *my* part in the matter was solely the gift of the long bamboo. The jumping off was invented, introduced, further developed, and utilized to solve problems in the tests, by the chimpanzees themselves. . . . Imitation of human beings is excluded in this case.[1]

The Functioning Personality. As our study goes on we shall find increasingly that it is not merely the body but rather the whole personality which is functioning and whose successful functioning brings the joy of life. It will become clear also that this functioning, to be successful, must adjust itself to its surroundings, both physical and social. Until this fuller idea has been developed and applied, we can have no adequate working theory of the motives which are the basis of all social relations. Upon our understanding of these motives, in ourselves and in others, depends our success and our happiness.

Summary

A. Our working hypothesis is that the motive of life is to function.

1. Physical functioning means using one's body in ways for which at the moment it is fitted.
2. Mental functioning involves use of the brain and nervous system:
   - *a.* To deal with new situations and problems;
   - *b.* To carry out old habits.
3. The desire to function, for the sake of functioning, appears in animals lower than man.

B. In order to function one must establish working relations with one's surroundings.

4. Exploration and experimentation are methods used by apes, children, ordinary people, and inventors to discover interesting ways of functioning.

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 71–7.

5. To function on an expanding scale, by producing results in the environment, preferably at a distance, is a powerful impulse.

6. To take to pieces or to destroy parts of the environment is often an interesting way of functioning.

C. Positive and negative safety devices have been developed through racial experience to protect and promote functioning.

7. Discomfort and pain are warnings of past or present danger or maladjustment in one's functioning.

8. Forms of functioning essential to racial or individual preservation are usually delightful or longed for.

9. These automatic devices are apt to get out of adjustment.

10. Because they are forms of functioning, even pain and fear may be enjoyed.

D. Adventurous functioning combines the joy of explorative functioning with the thrill of danger and hardship.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

3D1. How, if at all, does the study of the behavior of chimpanzees in this chapter throw light on the behavior of human beings?

3D2. What sorts of functioning are engaged in by human beings but not by other mammals? By mammals but not by other vertebrates? By vertebrates but not by other animals? By animals but not by plants? By living matter but not by minerals? By minerals?

3D3. At what level in the scale of animal or vegetable life would you suppose that the *joy* of functioning begins? Why? What is the lowest form of life in which you have observed functioning for its own sake? Give instances in which plants and lower animals explore their environments and experiment with them.

3D4. Give instances from animal life in which the form of the organism is the chief factor determining in what ways it functions. In what ways do differences between the organisms of human individuals produce differences in their ways of functioning?

3D5. Compare the idea that the motive of life is to function, with the idea that the goal of activity is to attain pleasure. What are the essential differences between the two theories? What practical difference does it make as to which theory one works on?

3D6. Why do people play solitaire?

3D7. It is often said that real thinking is so painful that very few people indulge in it. This chapter suggests that mental functioning should normally be a joy. How much truth is there in each of these two statements? How can they be fitted together?

3D8. Discuss the apparent conflict between the desire to function in novel ways and the desire to function in familiar ways. Give instances of each. Are these two ideas consistent? Where does each of them fit facts and where not? How reconcile them?

3D9. Why do boys at certain ages want to be motormen, locomotive engineers, steersmen on ships, drivers of fire-engines, and the like? What other instances of this tendency can you give?

3D10. "To the worker," Sherwood Anderson says, "his materials are as the face of God peering over the rim of the world. . . . In the crafts alone one may exercise all one's functions. The body comes in, the mind comes in — all the sensual faculties become alive."

How would this apply to the work of an architect or designing engineer? To that of a physician? Of an actor?

3D11. What instances do you know where individuals have shown no interest in manipulating and controlling their surroundings? What happens when this tendency is carried to an extreme?

3D12. A man said to a man friend of his: "You *must* go to see 'The Big Parade.' It's a great movie. I saw it twice and cried both times." What comment have you to make on his statement?

3D13. What cases do you know where animals or people have enjoyed destroying things? Give details.

3D14. What rules for selecting toys grow out of this chapter?

3D15. During the war it was a common thing in the army training camps to hear men hoping that the conflict would last long enough for them to get into it. Explain this attitude.

3D16. Certain economists have urged that the great motive of most men is to get the largest possible amount of satisfaction with the smallest possible amount of effort. Discuss the soundness of this theory.

3D17. Read the following poem and decide what is the basis for its emotional appeal:

THE SHIPS THAT NEVER WENT TO SEA

By Richard R. Kilroy

(Two hundred and eighteen vessels, built by the Government during the war, have never left the waters in which they were launched. —*News Item.*)

Sea-folk prison'd in a land-locked bay,
Toys left over from a war-god's play,
Shuffling, weaving, lolling line,
Marking time to the end of time,
Muttering, whispering, ceaselessly,
We are the ships that never went to sea.

Gray shapes gather on our decks at night,
Shapes of fighters that had longed to fight;
Grim ghosts vanish overside at dawn,
Ghosts of sailors that were never born;
Haunted houses of the ne'er-to-be,
We are the ships that never went to sea.

Out past the headland where the white gulls soar,
Out past the lighthouse where the breakers roar,
House-flags streaming from their topmasts high,
Silhouettes against a clean-blown sky,
Racing, prancing, joyously,
Other ships are beating for the open sea.

Sailing orders for the ports of Chance,
Life, Adventure and the Great Romance.
Scorning danger as they plunge along,
Dancing gaily to the Storm King's song;
Tell us, sisters, with your white wings free,
Tell us, sisters, shall we ever go to sea?

O the venture on a heaving tide!
O the rapture of a heart inside!
O the ripple of a keel beneath!
O the battle in the tempest's teeth!
Gods of Far Horizons, hear our plea!
Rive our chains and head us out to sea!

L'envoi

Vanished figments of our dreams sublime!
Children strangled in the womb of Time!
High hopes blighted by some strange decree!
O ships, sad ships, that never go to sea![1]

[1] Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, June 26, '26, p. 32, from the San Francisco *Argonaut*.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

3K1. Write a detailed analysis of the above poem, indicating just how the central idea is brought out. (One hour)

3K2. What passages from literature do you know of which express any of the basic aspects of functioning? Give references, and quote especially significant passages. (One hour)

3K3. "Let's not think" is the way an undergraduate interprets the attitude of the American student, in the *Outlook* for March 2, 1927. Read the article and compare his experiences with yours. (Two hours)

3L4. Give a list of familiar things which you enjoy doing. Give another list of unfamiliar experiences which you enjoyed. Now list both sorts of things which you did *not* enjoy. How do you account for the difference? (Two hours)

3L5. What kinds of functioning are disagreeable to you? Make a list of them, classifying them under the warnings suggested on page 20. Comment especially on any that refuse to go into this classification. (One hour)

3L6. Give a brief account of a true incident where you purposely did something dangerous or something painful. Tell why you did it. (Half an hour)

3L7. Jane Addams quotes the following statement: "There is nothing after disease, indigence, and a sense of guilt, so fatal to health and to life itself as the want of a proper outlet for active faculties." Write a brief paper indicating what social problems grow out of the fact which her quotation brings out. (One hour)

3W8. Paulsen traces back to the ancients the idea that the motive of life is to function. Read his discussion (*A System of Ethics*. Thilly's translation, Scribners 1899, pp. 270–286) and then consult other authorities. Write a paper on "The Evolution of the Functional Idea of Motivation." (Two to ten hours)

3X9. Watch a group of children playing with some piece of apparatus, and report their various methods of functioning with it. (Two hours)

CHAPTER IV

MENTAL FUNCTIONING

In the chapter on " The Motive of Life is to Function " it was suggested that part of the functioning organism is the brain, the sense organs, and the rest of the nervous system. The functioning of these is a vital part of life.

Imaginary Functioning Is Real Functioning. When two men play chess the moving of the men about the board is only a small part of the activity which interests them. Some of the more skillful chess players learn to play the game without any board or men: the two players simply tell each other their moves. The board is imaginary, and on it move imaginary men. Yet the functioning is real. A real game is played. A real victory and a real defeat occur.

Just as people love to explore the possibilities of the environment and find out as many novel ways as possible of functioning in it, so the scientist loves to explore the possibilities of imaginary functioning. In pure mathematics men often spend their lives simply working out new combinations of mathematical ideas, quite regardless of whether they have any application to " real " life. In this same way the composer takes a musical theme — a little tune — and delights in exploring the different ways in which he can play with it.

Relatively few people play chess or enjoy pure mathematics or compose music — but most people do read stories. Their eyes move across long lines of black marks on white paper, but that is not the form of functioning in which they are interested. They are living for the moment in some far-off country; they are riding on a splendid horse; they are meeting a band of highwaymen in an ancient forest, long since vanished from the earth. It is true that this horse and these highwaymen never had flesh and blood, and yet the reader is really functioning. His heart beats faster. His muscles make half-conscious movements. He becomes so stirred and excited that when

he lays down the book he cannot for a long while go to sleep. His functioning is imaginary, but for him it is real.

When children say, "Let's pretend," a large part at least of the background of their functioning is imaginary. The woodshed becomes a castle. Mother's old skirt and some silk rags become royal robes. The cat is a terrible dragon. The baby with the dimple in its chin becomes the old witch. Lillian Wald remarks that, of course, no social settlement could entirely satisfy the insatiable desire for fairy tales.

But grown-ups, too, are addicted to imaginary functioning. To adults every theater urges: "Let's pretend!" The audience knows that the scenery is canvas, but it pretends that it is a castle, or trees, or rocks, or far-off mountains. It knows that the duel with swords is faked; yet each man in the audience not only pretends that the fight is real, but himself also in imagination fights in the place of the hero, and thrusts an imaginary sword through the heart of the villain, while each woman leans with the heroine out of the imaginary window to make real the imaginary kiss.

Imaginary Functioning as an Interpreter of "Real" Life. Drama and the other arts have a powerful service to perform in interpreting in imaginative terms the functionings of daily life. A certain father developed the custom of telling his three little girls a rambling continued story in which three very thinly disguised images of themselves enjoyed adventures which were sometimes glorified versions of the family experiences in which they had really participated. These stories, though very carelessly put together, were listened to with devouring attention, and were frequently and vociferously in demand. In a finer way this same lifting of daily life on to the imaginative level is achieved by drama at its best. Jane Addams recalls a play written by an Italian playwright depicting the insolent break between Americanized sons and old country parents. It moved to tears all the older Italians in the audience. She wonders whether the tears of each expressed relief in finding that others had had the same experience as himself, and the freeing of each one from an injured belief that his children were the worst of all? [1]

In a strikingly parallel way Lillian Wald says:

One of Gordin's plays that had many seasons of popularity was "The Jewish King Lear." It depicted the endless clashing between the generations.[2]

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 389. [2] *House on Henry Street*, p. 271.

Imaginary Exploration of Life. But imaginative functioning goes farther than the interpretation of our past experiences; it carries us out into new and larger forms of functioning. Miss Addams speaks of the "universal desire for the portrayal of life lying quite outside of personal experience." [1]

An editorial in the *New York Times* for December 5, 1926, says:

> In the polygot alien sections of the great industrial cities, foreign laborers, often unable to speak English, understood and enjoyed the first movies. The stories they told were of the very things they had come to America to see — Indians, cowboys, and poor boys who found a pot of gold at the end of the rainbow.

All of these imaginations do have some relation to "reality." They have relationships with the instruments through which they are created or transmitted — the printed page, the stage scenery, the musical instrument. They take their materials from the experiences of "real" life. But most important of all, the normal imaginary experience is apt to be shared with other people. The imaginations of the two chess players fit together, or there could be no game. A reader's imaginary adventures in a story are related to the imagination of the author. The children in the back yard and the players and audience in the theater imagine *together*, and their imaginations help, and weave into, each other. When imaginary functioning begins to get cut off from reality and from the experiences of other people it gets more and more into the realm of fantasy. This disintegrated form of mental functioning will be discussed in the chapter on mental conflict.

Imagination Seeking Realization. Children may cause trouble by naïve attempts to turn imaginary functioning into reality. An instance appears in a news item in the *New York Times* for April 25, 1926. In the following abstract of the item the child's name has been altered:

> The dread of being "sent away" is becoming less of a bogy to Margaret Hobhouse, the ten-year-old who wished to adopt a real baby to displace her dolls.
>
> The little lady involved herself when she saw a photograph in a newspaper of a baby boy that had been abandoned. She sat down at a portable typewriter which Santa Claus had left and wrote to the Department of Welfare.

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 383.

"That's my baby," was the way she began her ingenuous letter, and "Mrs. Margaret Hobhouse" was the way she signed it.

She was sorry that she had been laden with bundles and had left the "best bundle" on the Lexington Avenue subway platform at Thirty-fourth Street. There was a possibility, too, that she might have to send her "little sister" down for the infant. But, she continued, the little sister was quite all right and if "they" didn't ask too many questions she would bring baby home.

Margaret's missive did not reach Commissioner Bird S. Coler until after he had signed papers authorizing another applicant to adopt the child. Then he demanded to be told how the boy waif could be handed over when his "mother" had written in a claim. An investigator told how she had visited the home of "Mrs." Hobhouse and found the facts.

Then Margaret's mother disclosed that the investigator scolded Margaret until she had a reattack of grippe. Mrs. Hobhouse said the little girl had been afraid to go out alone near her home for a week.

Margaret's attempt to get a real baby was a bungling one, because her imaginary functioning did not fit in with her " real " environment. Yet she was attempting in her childish way to do the thing which underlies all great human achievements: to turn dreams into reality. The architect dreams out an imaginary cathedral and then puts it into stone and into the religious life of the community. The inventor plans an imaginary machine, and then brings it to realization in steel and in manufacturing. Jane Addams, as a little girl, had an idea which later embodies itself in Hull House. " When I grow up," she resolved, " I shall have a large house, but it will not be built among the other large houses, but right in the midst of horrid little houses like these." Later in her life this imagined goal, still growing and developing, made itself concretely visible to the world in the brick and mortar of Hull-House.

Ideal goals often direct the growth even of cities. In the *New York Times* for January 9, 1927, occurs this item:

> While New York is talking of various plans to sweep away and rebuild some of its most unsightly areas, and has just decided on its first automobile highway along the Hudson, Chicago has gone quietly ahead for a number of years on a great design to remodel and beautify the city. The "Chicago Plan," the program laid down by Daniel Burnham seventeen years ago, is to-day in a great measure realized.

The Mental Picture of the Self. Our mental picture of a goal to be achieved cannot be separated from our mental picture of the whole

process. This picture includes the person's conception of himself, his conception of his social environment and of the people in it, and his conception of the subsocial environment. Does one think of oneself as a desperado, a saint, a hero, a world conqueror, a failure, or an invalid? The picture will influence powerfully the way its holder acts. The effect of damage to one's picture of oneself will develop in a later chapter.

The Mental Picture of Associates. The mental picture which one has of his associates is also potent. Does a young man or woman who lives at home regard his parents as tyrants, as foolish nuisances, as loving protectors, or as chums and companions? Does the employé regard his employer as a crook and a cheat, a cruel oppressor, a leader, a far-off captain of industry, or a friend? Does the savage or the lonely settler regard the approaching strangers as foes, intruders, friends, or heavenly visitants? The attitudes resulting from these varying conceptions of the self and of the associates in the social environment play vital parts in determining the nature of social functioning.

The Mental Picture of the Process. In order to work out a purpose it is necessary to know, or at least to feel, how the environment will react. The child gets to know that one block can be put on top of another so as to build a tower. Chimpanzees learn this only with difficulty. Köhler hung a banana up out of reach of the apes but left boxes near at hand. After a long struggle with the problem one chimpanzee got a box, and standing on it grasped the fruit. But when the banana was hung still higher it took a long, long time for the ape to discover that one box could be piled on another so as to reach even this higher prize. The idea of building came only very slowly.

Because of lack of this insight, purposes are apt sometimes to thwart themselves. For instance, Grande, the chimpanzee, was once standing on a box of which the corner projected into the open side of another box. She tried to lift this second box, but of course the one on which she stood, since it overlapped the other, held it down, and the harder Grande lifted, the more firmly her own weight pinned down the box at which she was tugging. Nevertheless she made the greatest efforts to lift it, tearing and shaking it until, in a rage, she finally gave up trying to accomplish what she herself, without realizing it, was preventing.[1]

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, p. 158.

Köhler is convinced that chimpanzees do have ideas that are essential parts of their solutions of the problems which he sets them. They do not merely stumble on to ways of achieving their purposes — they often really think them out:

> The animals produced complete methods of solution, quite suddenly, and as complete wholes which may, in a certain sense, be absolutely appropriate to the situation, and yet cannot be carried out. They can never have had any success with them. . . . How can selection by success have trained them to such "good errors"? [1]

Functioning on Purpose. The definition of purpose is an elusive thing. Purpose involves a picture of something which is expected to happen. But that is not the essential factor. A courteous young man was walking up an icy hill a little ahead of an old lady with a basket full of eggs. The young man slipped, fell, and started sliding helplessly down toward the old lady. He foresaw what was going to happen, but he did not do it " on purpose." Why not?

The wreckage of the lady and her eggs on the icy hill was not what the young man *wanted* to happen, so it could not have been his purpose. But one may expect something to happen, and want it to happen, without *purposing* that it shall happen. If the heir of a rich old uncle expects him to die and wants him to die, that is merely heartlessness and ingratitude; but if the heir *purposes* that the uncle die, he becomes a murderer. Purpose involves doing something to bring about the desired end. The expectation that the event will happen must depend, in part at least, upon the effort which oneself is making.

All three of these elements — expectation, desire, and effort — are essential to purpose. One may expect an event to happen and may be helping to bring it about, without adopting it as a purpose. The victim forced by pirates to walk a plank expected to die, and took part in producing his own death, yet he was not a suicide because he did not purpose his own death.

Possibilities Which Are Not Purposes. The values of life consist not merely in actual awakened purposes, but also in potential forms of functioning. The girl who is wholly unconscious of the fact that she is capable of becoming a great singer or painter has potential ways of functioning as an artist even though no purpose in that direction has been awakened. The child who has grown up in the city without ever

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, p. 226.

learning the delights of life at camp has potential experiences awaiting him though no camping purpose has yet been developed. A keen-brained boy who grows up in a shut-off mountain community represents potential values in terms of intellectual functioning even before he forms the purpose of getting an education. Values of life can be expressed then, in terms of purposes and possibilities — of purposes and of potential ways of functioning not yet adopted as purposes by the individual.

Purposes as Excuses for Functioning. Purposes take possession of people and set them to functioning. In other words, purposes release possibilities. Indeed, in order to function intensely we need to have a definite purpose. It is much easier to take a long walk if we can think up some errand as an excuse. Persuading a little white ball to roll into 18 little cups spread over a rolling piece of country, is the purpose which stimulates thousands of people to get out and enjoy physical functioning in the open air. Putting a little pigskin bag across a whitewashed line is the purpose which serves to get 22 brawny men to struggle as if for life and death while thousands look on and cheer.

Take away one's excuse for living and life becomes tame and cheerless. I happened to get to talking on the train with a man of 45 who had made a comfortable fortune and sold his business, thinking that he had as much income as any person ought to spend. But he found that he was so restless and unhappy that he was diligently looking for some new business to give him a purpose-excuse for being active again.

Purposes May Prevent Possibilities. There is danger, indeed, that people may become victims of their excuses for real living. Piling up a fortune, for example, is much more apt to be of value merely as a stimulus to intense functioning than a worthy goal for its own sake. To let the pursuit of money spoil the process of living means that the fictitious excuse is defeating the real potentialities.

A person may become so obsessed with a certain purpose — a certain picture of his rôle in life, a certain plan of activity — that much finer potential ways of functioning are shut out. For example:

The life of Benjamin Robert Haydon was a tragic self-delusion. Nowhere in the annals of mankind can a more ironic and grotesque situation be found than this of the virile, fiercely-struggling, pride-blinded historical painter on the grand scale who killed himself at 60 because he believed that the great public did not appreciate his art, when as a matter of fact he commanded no art at all. Haydon was one of the jokes of Destiny and yet he fulfilled

himself admirably as a man, stamped himself upon his era as a personality, and has trickled down to posterity. The one flaw in his make-up was his inability to paint. Outside of that he had all the earmarks of genius. Indeed, it would not be going too far to affirm that he was a genius albeit not in the way in which he, himself, imagined himself.

Haydon might have been a great writer. There is a "go," a swooping virility, a self-confidence, an unmistakable mastery of words and expression, a naturalistic vividness of description, and, above all, the pounding insistence of a personality in the "Autobiography and Memoirs" that fashion this work into one of the most readable relicts of the early nineteenth century. It is a book to be dipped into time and again, a book to which the reader who relishes fine and quaint revelations will constantly return.[1]

The Goal of Social Endeavor. This discussion of mental functioning leads, then, to the need for a further definition of social objectives. The motive of life is to function. Social endeavor should aim to promote full functioning. But some forms of functioning have been adopted as conscious purposes, while others have not. An ideal social order would be one which would release both the purposes and the possibilities of its members.

Summary

A. Imaginary functioning is real functioning.

1. Certain types of highly intelligent people intensely enjoy pure, abstract, mental functioning.
2. The great majority of normal people enjoy for its own sake imaginary functioning — functioning which depends essentially upon mental images.
3. Imaginary functioning may interpret and glorify ordinary activities.
4. The wholesomeness of imaginary functioning depends ultimately upon its relations to the rest of life — upon whether it can be integrated with the functioning of other people and things.

B. Mental pictures are valuable for tools as well as for their own sakes.

5. The imagination sketches out patterns to be realized in more concrete forms.
6. The mental picture of the self and of one's associates powerfully directs one's activities.

[1] *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Jan. 30, '27, p. 10.

7. The accuracy with which one's mental picture fits the processes with which one deals is an important element in one's success or failure.

C. Purposes involve mental pictures of events which we expect, want, and work to have happen.

8. The values of life consist in purposes and possibilities — in awakened purposes and in potential ways of functioning not yet adopted as purposes by the individual.

9. Purposes may release possibilities by becoming excuses for functioning.

10. Purposes may also obstruct the attainment of one's full possibilities.

11. An ideal social order would release both the purposes and possibilities of its members.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

4D1. Why is the word "real" enclosed in quotation marks so often in this chapter? What do you mean when you say that an experience is real?

4D2. What light does the discussion in this chapter throw upon the possible nature of life after death?

4D3. John B. Watson says:

> Literally hundreds of thousands of printed pages have been published on the minute analysis of this intangible something called "consciousness." . . . This thing we call consciousness can be analyzed only by introspection — a looking in on what goes on inside of us. As a result of this major assumption that there is such a thing as consciousness and that we can analyze it by introspection, we find as many analyses as there are individual psychologists.[1]

In the same book he has a chapter headed: "Talking and Thinking. Which when rightly understood goes far in breaking down the fiction that there is any such thing as mental life." In that chapter he says: "This is the field of *language habits* — habits which when exercised implicitly behind the closed doors of the lips we call thinking." Talking and writing are "verbal behavior." Thinking is "implicit verbal behavior"; it is "nothing but talking to ourselves." Memory is

[1] *Behaviorism*, W. W. Norton & Co., 1925, pp. 5–6.

" the retention of verbal habits." As to the significance of words he says:

The fact that every object and situation in the external environment is *named* is of vast importance. Words not only can and do call out other words, phrases, and sentences, but when the human being is properly organized they can call out all of his manual activity. The words function in the matter of calling out responses exactly as did the objects for which the words serve as substitutes. . . . Soon the human has a verbal substitute within himself theoretically for every object in the world. Thereafter he carries the world around with him by means of this organization. . . . Many of our discoveries come largely through this ability to manipulate a world of objects not actually present to our senses.[1]

How do these statements fit or clash with the position taken in our chapter?

Why should Professor Watson lecture and write books?

4D4. The following quotations are all from Watson's *Behaviorism* (1925). Discuss the relationships between the first quotation and those following, paying particular attention to the *italicized* words. (The italics are not in the original quotations.)

The behaviorist . . . dropped from his scientific vocabulary all subjective terms such as sensation, perception, image, desire, purpose, and even thinking and emotion as they were subjectively defined. (p. 6)

I *hope* in the remaining lectures to show you why behaviorist formulations and methods are an adequate way of accounting for all psychological problems. (p. 18)

The author *hopes* that this text will afford the undergraduate a *happy* approach to the whole field of psychology. (Preface)

The *interest* of the behaviorist in man's doings is more than the interest of the spectator — he *wants* to control man's reactions. (p. 11)

Some time we will have a behavioristic ethics, experimental in type, which will tell us whether it is *advisable* from the standpoint of present and future adjustments of the individual to have one wife or many wives. (p. 7)

Probably more adults in this universe suffer *vicissitudes* in family life and in business activities because of poor and insufficient visceral habits than through the lack of technique and skill in manual and verbal accomplishments. (p. 9)

The young men and young women entering business organizations have plenty of skill to do their work but they *fail* because they do not know how to get along with other people. (p. 10)

[1] *Behaviorism*, W. W. Norton & Co., 1925, p. 187.

Without asking him to introspect or psychologize or psychoanalyze himself, I could detect his weak spots, his strong points, where he went *wrong* with his children, where he went *wrong* with his wife. (p. 40)

4D5. What might one mean by " unbehavioristic behavior "?

4D6. Discuss the following abstract:

When we think in terms of mind, we must think in terms of will and purpose; when in terms of physiology, in terms of mechanisms and reflexes. Consciousness is the real thing, while mechanistic purposes are but symbols of the real. Since we know practically nothing about brain processes, we are compelled to explain causal antecedents of behavior in terms of mind, will, and purpose, and not of reflexes. — Morton Prince, *Pedagogical Seminary*, Vol. 32 (1925) 143–65.

4D7. Frankwood Williams says that he doubts very much whether, in any matter that vitally concerns us, or even in many matters that are insignificant, the intellect plays the decisive part which we assume. He continues:

I am inclined to think that about the only function of the intellect in the matter is, after the decision has been made, to conjure up good reasons for its defense, reasons that we can use both in satisfying ourselves and particularly in satisfying our friends that our decision is a wise one and very carefully thought out. The decision has been made on an emotional basis. Furthermore, the genesis of the emotional, in consequence of which we have made the decision, is in most cases, if not in all, unknown to us. In other words, we have made a decision totally ignorant as to why we have made it, and the intellect has had little or no part in the matter until after the event.[1]

What instances do you know of that confirm or cast doubt upon this opinion? To what extent is the view expressed by Dr. Williams in conflict with positions taken in our chapter on Mental Functioning?

4D8. Discuss the following statements of Miss Follett's:

If we try to make a choice with our "minds" when another already exists in our neuromuscular apparatus, we only come up against a dead-wall of impossibility. Or rather we have to attack our problem differently; we have to set to work to change our motor mechanisms.

Many psychologists use the expression "striving towards some goal," but we can see in our own lives that the urge is always the lack; the goal changes as we try one means after another of meeting that lack.[2]

[1] *Social Aspects of Mental Hygiene*, Yale University Press, 1925, p. 16.
[2] *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924, pp. 81 and 85.

4D9. What effects upon methods of education would the literal acceptance of the statements of Watson, Williams, and Follett have? How would these effects differ from those following from the adoption of the position suggested in the present chapter?

4D10. What things does one do with no mental picture of the goal or of the process? How do psychologists classify the various sorts of behavior of this type?

4D11. Do animals think? Can you give conclusive instances? What has this question to do with this chapter?

4D12. What does Köhler mean by saying that the apes made "good errors"?

4D13. What instances do you know of where children have had imaginary playmates? How did they begin? What effects has this form of play had on the children?

4D14. Discuss the value of the movies as imaginary functioning.

4D15. What forms of mental functioning do you enjoy for their own sake?

4D16. Run over in your own mind the popular plays which you have seen. Which of them have been based on the dramatic interpretation of a problem which great numbers of people are having to face. Which have not? To what extent is popularity due to such dramatization of great common human experience?

4D17. What is the attitude of the healthy-minded person toward imaginary functioning?

4D18. Babushka, the exile in Siberia, expressed thus her dependence upon imaginative functioning:

> Ever since my childhood I have had the habit of creating a spiritual life, an interior world, which responded better to my spiritual taste. This imaginary world has had the upper hand over the real world in its details, over all that is transient. The aim of our existence, the perfecting of human nature, was always present to my vision, in my mind.[1]

Discuss the significance of this quotation in the light of this chapter.

4D19. Beulah Amidon, an associate editor of the *Survey*, compares as follows the life purposes of her grandfather, her father, and her own generation:[2]

[1] Quoted by Lillian Wald in *The House on Henry Street*, p. 245.

[2] Abridged from the *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, 152.

If any one had asked my grandfather in his early thirties, "John, what do you want in this life?" he would have had no hesitation in answering, "To preach Christ and Him crucified." To the same question my father would have replied, "To serve my fellow man." But when I am asked, "What do you want in life?" I have no such clear and direct reply to make.

No value emerged unshaken from war and "deflation" — no value, that is, except the terrible importance of not missing life. Pain and defeat became acutely preferable to smooth and uneventful contentment, however secure. One must live — at absolutely any price.

As I talk with my coevals, it seems to me that a good many of us are trying to formulate something that will fuse our individual lives, giving meaning and unity to each, something as vital and sufficient as religion was to my grandfather and liberalism to my father.

How typical do you consider this instance of changing of life purposes as between generations? What are your impressions of the dominant purposes of your generation?

4D20. When and how have you thwarted yourself through lack of understanding of the process involved?

4D21. What specific instances can you give where people make up trivial purposes as an excuse for functioning?

4D22. In the text the piling up of a fortune is suggested as an instance of an excuse for functioning defeating the real values of life. What other examples can you give?

4D23. What relation to our concept of "purpose" has the legal concept of "intent"?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

4F1. Visit some one of the following institutions: a "Little Theater" or similar organization for producting amateur plays; an art club, such as the Graphic Sketch Club of Philadelphia; an experiment in which children play that they are adults, such as the "Village" playground project in Philadelphia, the "Newsboys' Republic" in Milwaukee, the George Junior Republic, or the like. Write a concise account of the trip, noting in what way imaginary functioning enters into the project.

4K2. Read and discuss the article by Fraser Harris on "Men Who Have Experimented on Themselves," in the *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 22 (1926), 247–251. This article is abstracted in the *Literary Digest* for May 29, 1926, p. 58. (One hour)

4K3. Get up a critical bibliography of the literature on children with imaginary playmates. (Four hours or more)

4K4. Do you know of instances in which persons have written series of letters to themselves, or have written diaries filled with imaginary events? If you can get access to documents or cases of this kind, write as accurate an account of them as you can. Disguise the identity of the persons involved. (Two or more hours)

4L5. Sit down at leisure and allow your sub-consciousness to create three or four imaginary people and an imaginary sub-social environment for them. Then turn them loose and let them function. Watch and note their behavior. Do not try to control or influence their functioning; simply act as recording observer. Discuss the results. (Two or three hours)

4L6. How does your picture of yourself change from time to time? Is this change related to your own functioning as a cause or an effect, or both? How? (One hour)

4X7. Observe small groups of children playing without supervision. Note and later write up an account of the ways in which imaginary functioning entered into their activities. (Three to five hours)

4X8. Work out a test to measure the degree of information possessed by various groups of people relative to leading characters in newspaper comics as compared with leading figures in political life. Apply the test to a representative group of your acquaintances. What bearings have the results upon imaginary functioning?

4W9. How wholesome would you regard such forms of functioning as those described in Park and Burgess, pp. 234–5? Why? (Half an hour?)

4W10. Write a critical analysis of Miss Follett's position, as worked out in *Creative Experience*, that learning and accommodation must be on the motor level, not on the intellectual level. (Five hours)

4W11. Read the chapters on "What Is Behaviorism?" and on "Talking and Thinking" in Watson's *Behaviorism*. What does he really think about consciousness? How is this attitude useful? What difficulties does it involve? Graduate students should study more extensively the controversy over the behavioristic point of view. (Two to ten hours)

4W12. What are the underlying objectives of life as presented in Plato's *Republic?* (Two hours)

CHAPTER V

SOCIAL FUNCTIONING: THE CRAVING FOR ATTENTION AND APPROVAL

What Is Meant by "Social"? In a previous chapter it has been shown that the personality functions on an expanding scale by exploring and manipulating its surroundings. People use tools, machines, houses, rivers, forests, and the like, as outlets for their purposes, as settings for and aids to functioning. But part of one's surroundings consists of other people, and people offer far more possibilities as means of functioning than most dead things offer. People can be made to laugh and cry. People can be persuaded to help one do things. People can be changed and manipulated in an infinite variety of ways. If one wants to function most fully one can do it only through other people.

In the first crude stages of mingling together it is natural for animals and young children to treat strangers simply as tools, as parts of the equipment to be used in carrying out purposes. This use of one's fellows as mere apparatus is illustrated by the behavior of both apes and children. For instance, one of the chimpanzees found that he could use other animals as step-ladders in order to get bananas which had been hung out of his reach.

> Sultan now successively clutched observer, keeper, and then (when we pushed him away) first Tercera and then Rana and tried to drag them under the objective. . . . From this time onward similar occurrences were frequent; for instance, on the following day, Konsul tried to climb on to Grande, Sultan successively got on to Rana, Grande, and Tercera, and finally Rana on to all of the rest together, for there was now a struggling group of chimpanzees, who all gripped each other, and lifted their feet to climb, but none of whom wanted to be footstool.[1]

Similarly with the pre-school children cited in the study made by Ethel Verry.

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 51–2.

The children proceeded to examine, and manipulate by means of prods, blows, or observation, these new and active objects — playmates, apparently in no way recognizing them as personalities.[1]

Such behavior as this can hardly be thought of as social. If people used each other in just the same way that they use lifeless things, there would be no point in discussing *social* relations as distinguished from any other kind of relations. On the other hand, the relation between a boy and his pet dog *is* distinctly a social relation. What is the basis of this distinction?

Fundamentally, the difference between sub-social and social relations is that mental functioning is assumed to enter in on both sides of a social relationship, whereas in a sub-social relationship it is assumed only on one side, or on neither. Social relations are relations between personalities, between purposes. The social environment includes the people, the animals — even the dolls and the idols — thought of as having consciousness which must be taken into account in dealing with them. The sub-social environment includes those parts of one's surroundings which are not thought of as being conscious. If people are treated as though they were mere machines or commodities, then they are being classed in the sub-social environment; if trees are treated as though they had conscious purposes, they are being included in the social environment of the person who thinks of them in that way.

The person desiring to produce effects in other people need not always be thinking of those people as conscious. As one goes through the following instances, however, it becomes increasingly difficult to understand them except on the theory that the individuals involved thought of each other as having conscious personalities.

Teasing and Torturing. The teaser gets his satisfaction by producing effects in the victim or in the bystanders. The chimpanzees showed a diabolical joy in teasing:

Whenever any one on the outer side of the bars is to be annoyed — and it is one of the chimpanzees' choicest pleasures to tease each other or third persons — it is done by creeping cautiously up to the wire, and suddenly springing against it. But apparently much greater amusement is derived from thrusting a pointed stick at the legs, or into the body, of the unsuspect-

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 54.

ing victim. Grande again is mistress of this unpleasant art; spectators, dogs, and fowls are stabbed whenever opportunity occurs.[1]

Joy in destroying the work, and thus thwarting the purposes, of others, also characterized the apes:

Mutual obstruction is more frequent than coöperation. Tercera and Konsul do not take part in the building operations; they sit on some coign of vantage, and watch the others at work. But when the building is in full swing, they give striking proof of their comprehension. They love to creep up behind the back of the busy architect, especially when he is perched precariously high, and, with one vigorous push, knock both building and constructor to the ground. They then flee at top speed. Konsul was a master at this game.[2]

This tendency, to manipulate one's fellows in such a way as to make them show signs of unhappiness, occurs often among human beings. One of the pre-school children showed it in a marked degree:

Suddenly Sylvester went over to the blocks, got a small board, and started across the room with it. Accidentally meeting Genevieve, he raised the board and hit her on the shoulder, smiling merrily. Genevieve ran weeping to the teacher. Sylvester went up to Beatrice and repeated the process, evidently with satisfaction.[3]

Sylvester and Myrle climbed up on the under side of the ladder and stuck their fingers through the crack at Sylvia as she went down. All three were laughing. This happened three times, when Sylvester suddenly gave Myrle a strong push which knocked him on to the ground and made him cry. At once, Sylvester ran over to the sand and Sylvia quit sliding.[4]

Will refused to slide, so Miss S. gave him the animals. He began to set them up in a row, and Genevieve came and sat down beside him. She put an animal in the row, and he did not object. Suddenly Sylvester walked up and kicked the whole row over. Will scowled. Sylvester walked away and Will and Genevieve set up the row again. Sylvester came back and kicked it over again. Then Will stood up and slapped Sylvester on his face, saying, "You did it again." Sylvester went away crying and Will returned to the animals. Genevieve went over to the slide.[5]

That the tendency toward teasing and cruelty may arise as a result of being cut off from other channels for functioning, is suggested by the following instance:

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 86–7. [2] *Ibid.* p. 177.
[3] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* p. 35. [4] *Ibid.* p. 38. [5] *Ibid.* p. 43.

A nurse visited an Italian family. A five-year-old boy was running about the room, chasing his pet kid. Every time he caught the little animal he twisted its leg until it whimpered with pain. Finally it escaped under the bed, and the boy began to circle about the visitor to see what amusement he could get out of her. He refused to make friends but watched her appraisingly as she and his mother continued talking. After finishing her errand, the nurse asked the mother if she had brought Tony, her little boy, to the Demonstration Clinic for an examination — he was a frail little fellow. Tony's mother had not. She said that he was a very strong child and she took such good care of him that she never let him go out on the street and play with other children. He had all the fun he needed at home, or when he went out with her. He even had a pet goat. By this time Tony was in pursuit of the animal again, and the nurse, urging the mother to bring him to the clinic where he would see other children his age, rose to go. Her gloves were missing. She suggested that perhaps Tony was playing with them, but the child, who had not spoken until then, declared violently that he had not and emphasized his remark by kicking his mother. The mother agreed with him that it was impossible, and the nurse left. A little later she was overtaken by the older boy from the flat below who had seen Tony throw the gloves from the window and had found them in the courtyard. Poor Tony was bored and had to find his own amusement! But what an outlook for his mother when her other two children reach the goat-twisting, parent-kicking age.[1]

The widespread practices of frightening others, of pulling hair, pinching, shoving, taking away a child's property, to tantalize the owner with it, and kindred practices, are instances of this interest in manipulating other people in ways painful to them. The very words and expressions, " tease," " bully," " torture," " tantalize," " sadism," " get his goat," " get a rise out of him," " April Fool's Day," " practical joking," and the like, testify, in certain of their uses, to this aspect of social behavior.

An instance is given in a recent autobiography:

Despite these happy conditions, a curious perversion arose in me about fifteen. It took the form of an outbreak of impish practical joking. In this my demon made me a ringleader infectious to others. Not merely did we make appalling turnip-lantern ghosts, or rang bells and ran away; we tied people's bells along a terrace to their door handles on Saturday night, so that the more they pulled to open their doors to go to church, the more they were exasperated by feeling them held fast against them, and as if by some-

[1] Grace Allen, *Survey*, Oct. 15, '26, pp. 85–6. (Abridged.)

one ringing furiously with the other hand. Kitchen chimneys were neatly closed with sods, houses were barricaded in; a small disused cottage, belonging to a farmer who had resented our depredations on his turnip fields, was pulled down by us altogether. In these and other ways we came obviously within the search of the police; but we were cunning enough to vary localities and methods, and thus remain unsuspected. When poorer boys do such things and are caught, their state-education, into criminals proper, used to begin; and indeed it still too largely does; though American juvenile courts have of late years been arising with their more understanding discipline, and reacting successfully on European ones.

Yet the attack ended, as suddenly as it had come on, some two or three months after; thanks to "the explusive power of a new affection," as one of our good old Scots theologians calls conversion.[1]

The *Playground Magazine* cites an instance where a playground group, on the day before a closing celebration, had set the stage for the ceremonies and the accompanying play. During the night a gang from the town across the river came in and practically ruined the stage. Instances of this sort form the transition to those deeds of violence, brutality, revenge, and cruelty in which the satisfaction of the aggressor depends upon the infliction of suffering or the thwarting of the purpose of the victim. Further instances will develop in our later study of industrial, racial, and political relations.

Fortunately, taking joy in actual cruelty is not a widespread human characteristic, at least in modern America. Alexander Johnson says:

> My own experience when my main work was visiting institutions for the insane and the defectives, prisons, reformatories, jails, asylums for the poor, orphanages, and conferring with overseers of the poor and workers in all kinds of charities, gave me first-hand knowledge. Evidence of actual, purposive cruelty I rarely found. Much unnecessary suffering I found. Much that had the effect of cruelty. But the greatest causes of human suffering are not cruelty but ignorance and cowardice. But the mere fact that educated, intelligent men and women, from the outside, with the fresh eye, undimmed by usage, were regularly visiting the wards and knowing the inmates, would have an effect of much import.[2]

The Desire to Create a Sensation. Part of the craving for attention springs from the desire to function on an expanding scale. To command the attention of a group is to produce a result. It gratifies the

[1] Patrick Geddes. "The Education of Two Boys." *Survey*, Sept. 1, '25, p. 574.
[2] *Survey*, Jan. 1, '26, p. 447.

craving to manipulate the environment. It might, conceivably, give much the same thrill if the environment consisted of a group of automatons who turned their heads and emitted sounds if one behaved in certain ways. However that may be, this desire to create a reaction in associates is obvious in the following instances:

The pre-school children at roll call were supposed to say "Present!" One day Gertrude, who was eager to be a leader, responded to her name by saying, "What?" in a rough, loud voice. A few of the children laughed, but the teacher reproved her. Next day at roll call Gertrude again said "What?" loudly and looked about her for attention. Both teacher and children ignored her. The next day she said "What?" again, and was again ignored. At the next roll call she answered "Present!" softly, with a side glance at the teacher. She had tried to get attention by being naughty; failing that she decided to get approval by being good.[1]

The desire for attention is so strong in some children that they prefer being punished to being ignored. Some adults, indeed, show this same tendency. Two notorious murderers in Chicago were in danger of the death penalty. "The only regret we'd have about our hanging," one of them explained, "would be that we couldn't read about it the next morning in the papers!"

The Craving for Power. The craving for power has been so obviously potent in shaping human behavior that instances are scarcely necessary. One has but to recall Alexander, the Cæsars, Czars and Kaisers, Napoleon, and Mussolini. Such a list as this, however, may give the impression that lust for power is a characteristic only of very exceptional men. Actually, of course, it is a driving motive for a considerable minority of the human race.

The importance placed upon the ability to manipulate people is suggested by a comment made by Beatrice Webb upon London society and country house life a few decades ago:

> There were no fixed caste barriers based on birth or breeding, on personal riches or on personal charm. The test of fitness for membership of this most gigantic of all social clubs was *the possession of some form of power over other people.* Any family of outstanding riches, if its members were not actually mentally deficient or legally disreputable, hope to rise to the top, marry its daughters to Cabinet Ministers and noblemen, and even become in time itself ennobled. A great industrial administrator not himself endowed with

[1] For another instance, see *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 351–2.

much capital, so long as he could provide remunerative posts for younger sons or free passes on trans-continental railways, could, if he chose, associate on terms of flattering intimacy with members of the British aristocracy. There was no narrow view as to the type of power to be honored. There was a distinct desire to welcome the leaders of the newly enfranchised trade union democracy. They also would have been caught up in the meshes of society to be immediately dropped when they ceased to represent their thousands of members.

The conventional requirements with regard to personal morality, sexual or financial, were graded to the degree of social, political, or industrial power exercised by the person concerned. A duchess might exchange her insignificant duke for a powerful marquis as a habitual companion without causing the slightest dent in her social acceptability. But if Mrs. Smith indulged in similar domestic waywardness the penalty was complete social ostracism.[1]

Are Reformers Motivated by the Desire to Control Others? The craving to set action-patterns for other people and thus function on an expanding scale, found vent in America in the development of the reformer. Morris Hillquit, himself a socialist, gives the following list of American reformer types before the World War:

There was an endless variety of him. Anti-graft crusaders in politics and settlement workers in social endeavor; "muckrakers" in journalism and anti-fundamentalists in religion; devotees of free love and teachers of birth control; modernists in literature and art; pacifists, feminists, and anti-vivisectionists; opponents of lynching and prison reformers; Irish sympathizers and politicians who had fallen out with the boss; men with flowing ties and pioneers of the female bob; iconoclasts, malcontents, sentimentalists, and faddists of all imaginable and unimaginable hues, were equally listed as "radicals" by our discriminating press and enlightened officialdom on a par with the Socialist, the I. W. W., and the conservative union leader during a strike.

Commenting on this list Frederick C. Howe, another reformer, says:

This seems an appalling catalog. But the fact is Mr. Hillquit has scarcely begun the enumeration. We are all reformers, we all want change of some kind, and we want it by legislation. Reform is a universal passion with us. As a people we will not let either people or institutions alone. Preachers, teachers, five thousand women's clubs, a hundred nation-wide organizations

[1] Abridged freely from *My Apprenticeship*, by Beatrice Webb, Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, pp. 49–51.

for bettering morals — not to speak of every shade of political and economic thought, all have a following. In every large city there are one or more reform organizations in every block. There is a vast army of men and women who make their living out of looking after other people. The colleges are turning them out by the hundreds. They have little interest in making money; they seem lost when divorced from some cause. *Not content with our own contentment* we go out to every people in the world and strive to make them conform to our image. . . .

Every one is a reformer in America. Bankers and Bolshevists, preachers and agnostics, conservatives and radicals, wets and drys, anti-feminists and feminists. There are millions of us.[1]

Attention and Approval as Measures of Success. In instances previously cited, attention is desired for its own sake. Approving attention, however, is valued also as an index of success. All of us check up at frequent intervals on our own success by finding out, in more or less subtle ways, whether our associates approve of our functioning. An instance is the following:

There is one form of publicity about which actors and actresses are always fighting. There are different ways of presenting an actor's name in connection with a production. This applies to the paid advertisements, the programs, and the billboards. For example, if the star has become so famous that he has more "pulling power" than the production itself, his name is put at the top, even above the name of the play, and also in larger letters. The next step is to have the star's name in the *same* size letters as the title. The third uses the same form, but the star's name is in smaller letters than the title of the play. Next is what is called a "featured position," with the name of the production first, and then the name of one or two of the stars.

I don't know whether the average playgoer notices the details of this scale of prominence. But believe me, the actors are ready to fight, bleed, and die to get the type and position they think they are entitled to. Every detail concerning the position of the name and the size of the letters is covered in the contract signed by the manager and the actor. Mr. Shubert recently made a contract with a star actor, and it contained no fewer than seven clauses relating to the details of how the star's name should appear in the program and in the advertising and billing.[2]

Envy as a Measure of Success. Attention — even approving attention — is not the most certain index of success. To be envied

[1] The *Survey*, Vol. 56 (1926), p. 33.

[2] C. P. Greneker, publicity agent of the Shubert offices, quoted in an interview by M. B. Mullett in the *American Magazine* for April, '26.

is the most obvious proof of superiority, and even pre-school children, as observed by Miss Verry, strove to prove that others are their inferiors:

Sarah had an air of conscious superiority with the other children. When the teacher was helping Gerald slide, she said with a very complacent air, "I can do that *alone!*" and when she saw Margaret take a cake to the teacher to be tasted, she said "I can make a better one!" and did so at once.[1]

Of course adults are not less desirous for attention, approval — and envy — than are children. Although America is so democratic, a company recently sent out an advertisement of a book which was to contain the lists of ancestors and the coats of arms of the families to whom the circular was sent. The advertisement said: "You are cordially invited to subscribe. The subscription, including your authenticated Pedigree and Arms, and one copy of the volume containing them, is $200. Subscribers may obtain extra copies for members of their families at $100 each."

The London *Evening Standard* gives the following instance which illustrates the craving to be envied:

"I remember some years ago spending an afternoon with a great R.A., one of the sanest of undoubted living geniuses. He showed me a sort of saucer and asked me what I thought was its value. I replied, 'Perhaps sixpence.' 'You are quite right,' was the reply, 'it is not worth more than sixpence as a work of art; but I'm considering whether I shall pay £400 for it. It simply means that if I do I shall be envied its possession by about four men in Europe. And on the whole I think it is worth while.'

"He paid the £400, and the piece —I think it was some very early Persian work — went into his collection. Probably it has not been looked at more than once a year since."[2]

The Desire to Share Our Experiences with Others. Thus far it would appear that the desire for attention and for power might be merely outgrowths of the desire to produce effects in one's environment — whether social or sub-social. This, however, is not the whole story. People are driven by craving to share their own experiences with others. Miss Verry's record of the sayings of the pre-school children is sprinkled with exclamations like the following: "Every one look!" "See me slide!" "See how I can do it!" "Now see what I can do!" "Can you do that?" "Look!" The simplest inter-

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 59–60. [2] Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, Sept. 12, '25, p. 27.

pretation of such demands as these is that they express the craving of these children to have others enter into their experiences.

This interpretation finds expression in the adage that "misery loves company." It appears in the overwhelming desire which each of us has, whenever we have an intense experience, to go and tell some boon companion about it. The experience may be finding a ten dollar bill, or getting a high grade in an examination, or finding a better way to bake bread, or seeing a good show, or getting promoted; it may be having one's face slapped or cutting one's finger, or being cheated at the store. Whatever the experience, if it generates emotional energy, we find comfort and satisfaction in sharing it with some one who understands.

An extreme instance of this desire to share our experiences with others even to their destruction, is the perverted missionary zeal which drug addicts show in spreading the habit to others. Even when there is no opportunity to gain money by selling the stuff, they go about persuading new victims to take up the awful vice.[1]

The craving to share experience is modified in the following incident by the desire to be well thought of — not merely as a measure of success, but because the picture of oneself held by others makes a difference directly to us. Jane Addams tells the story:

> I remember one family in which the father had been out of work, most of the furniture had been pawned, and as the worn-out shoes could not be replaced the children could not go to school. The mother was ill and barely able to come for the supplies and medicines. Two years later she invited me to supper one Sunday evening in the little home which had been completely restored, and she gave as a reason for the invitation that she couldn't bear to have me remember them as they had been during that one winter, which she insisted had been unique in her twelve years of married life.[2]

The Craving to Be Useful. Success may be measured in terms of attention and approval won, but its essence is felt to be the basic relationship of one's functioning to the functioning of others. We want to be useful. Huxley declares that the sense of uselessness is the severest shock which the human system can sustain, and that if persistently sustained, it results in atrophy of function. Dostoievsky says, in *The House of the Dead:*

[1] *Survey*, Oct. 15, 25, pp. 67–8.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 163–4.

If it were desired to reduce a man to nothing — to punish him atrociously, to crush him in such a manner that the most hardened murderer would tremble before such punishment — it would be necessary only to give his work a character of complete uselessness.

It is because of this craving that the most effective method of praise is to make use actively and genuinely of the thing to be praised.

The intense joy of functioning successfully in relation to other people may outweigh the greatest suffering. An instance illustrating this is given by Lillian Wald in speaking of Babushka, a Russian exile in Siberia:

Babushka told of her recapture and return to hard labor in the Kara mines; of the unspeakable outrages . . . and how, despite these things, she looked back upon that time as wonderful because of the beautiful and valiant souls who were her fellow-prisoners. . . . The sufferings and deprivations of the young political exiles caused her the greatest sorrow. . . . She taught English to the young "politicals" and reading and writing to the illiterate native Siberians. "You understand my situation," she wrote: "an old mother who would serve every one of them. I aid, I grumble, I sustain, I hear confessions like a priest, I give counsel and admonition, but this is a drop in the ocean of misery." And of herself again: "How happy I am; persecuted, banished, and yet beloved!" [1]

As the history of tyranny, oppression, and exploitation testify, the desire to function on an expanding scale is often a ruthless, unsympathetic process, disregarding the purposes and welfare of the people through whom the leader functions. But also it is often a high and splendid attempt to help others achieve their best selves, to extend the scope of truth, fellowship, and beauty. Leadership of this sort is still moved by the desire to function fully, but here the personality which is functioning includes, as part of itself, social and intellectual ideals of the finest type.

Summary

A. "Social" means having to do with relations between conscious personalities.

1. The sub-social environment includes those parts of one's surroundings which are not thought of as being conscious.
2. People are often treated as if they were part of the sub-social environment, while animals and even lifeless objects may be treated as parts of the social environment.

[1] *House on Henry Street*, pp. 239 and 243.

B. To produce effects in other people is a form of functioning desired for its own sake.

3. Teasers and torturers get their satisfaction by producing effects in the victims and the bystanders.

4. The desire to create a sensation is a more innocent outcropping of the same craving.

5. The craving for power is simply another expression of the desire to function through others.

C. The reactions of other people are valued as indicators of one's success.

6. Attention, approval, and envy are sought for this reason.

D. Another motive for seeking to produce effects in others is the desire to have them share our experience.

7. People try to get others to share not merely their joys and their sorrows but even their vices.

8. The craving to be useful arises out of the desire to function successfully in relations with other personalities.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

5D1. On what philosophical basis could one argue that there is no sub-social environment?

5D2. When is a horse part of the social environment and when part of the sub-social environment? A dog? A chicken? A mosquito?

5D3. What instances can you give of inanimate objects as part of the social environment?

5D4. The *New York Times* recently published the picture of a brother and sister who are heirs to a $20,000,000 estate. The brother was about to make his debut in a Broadway show. Why should such a rich young man go to this bother? What instances do you know of where people have wanted to get into movies or the drama? How badly have they wanted to do so? How do you explain this desire?

5D5. What honorary organizations do you know of? What attitude toward them have the members? What attitudes have outsiders? What is the net effect of such organizations, as far as you can tell?

5D6. Which is most highly thought of in America to-day: the man or woman who lives lavishly, without working, on the income from an inherited fortune, or the laborer who works hard and faithfully to earn

the necessities of life for his family? Why? Which is thought more highly of, the rich drone, or the rich captain of industry? Why? What changes, if any, are desirable in these respects? (Adapted from Ross)

5D7. Why do Indians collect scalps? What correspond to scalps in modern civilization?

5D8. What do the Chinese mean by "saving face"? How does it relate to this chapter?

5D9. What instances have you personally observed of the desire of animals for attention? For approval?

5D10. What factors determine whether a person likes or hates being laughed at?

5D11. How do you feel when some one whom you regard as inferior to yourself praises you? Have you had any indications of how your superiors feel when you praise them? How do you explain these reactions?

5D12. What is your reaction when people "heap coals of fire on your head"? Why?

5D13. What instances do you know of where people have shown a desire to be envied?

5D14. What instances can you cite of snobbishness? What significance have they in this connection?

5D15. A certain mother who spends her entire time doing her house work and caring for her children always speaks more critically than they deserve of the various women whom she knows who are trying to combine home-making with some other career. Why does she do this?

5D16. Most people seem to get real joy out of criticizing other people adversely. Why?

5D17. Quite often when a child has done some fairly difficult stunt which younger or less clever children are unable to do, the successful one repeats the achievement with the remark, "Why, *anybody* could do that!" How would you account for this sort of remark under the circumstances?

5D18. After having completed any of the experiments or after having written out any of the other assignments in the previous chapters, have you shown the results to any one beside the instructor? If so, why?

5D19. What relation is there between the function of the drama as suggested in the chapter on "Imaginary Functioning" and the desire

to have others share our experiences as discussed in the present chapter?

5D20. How do reformers show the desire to manipulate people? Do you agree with Howe's statement that we are all reformers in America? Why or why not? To what extent are reformers a good thing? To what extent bad? Why?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

5F1. What field trip can you suggest which would illustrate the workings of the craving for attention and approval?

5K2. Look over the advertising in one number of the *Saturday Evening Post.* Make a list of the appeals by advertisers to the desire of people to be superior to others. (One hour)

5K3. Make a collection of letters of children under 12. What subjects do they discuss? Compare with actual letters written by adults. What relation have the results of this study to the present chapter? (Two to ten hours)

5L4. Write a detailed account of the best instances you know of personally where people have sought to be envied. (One hour)

5L5. Make a list (with disguised names) of the people whom you know who show the greatest unselfishness. Which do you like and which not? Why? (One or two hours)

5X6. Get on friendly terms with a talkative child between three and eight years old. Make a mental note of the subjects on which he talks. How do the results of this experiment relate to the present chapter? (One or two hours)

5X7. Show some children six to twelve years of age how to do some "stunt." Note what they say as they attempt to do it. Which of their repeated remarks illustrates a point from this chapter? (One or two hours)

5W8. Write a review of Veblen's *Theory of the Leisure Class* in relation to this chapter. (Five hours)

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL FUNCTIONING: CONTAGIOUS BEHAVIOR

Behavior Patterns Are Mostly Borrowed, Not Invented. We have been talking as if each person found out for himself the way in which he can function. Usually, however, the individual does not work out his own behavior patterns; he picks them up from other people. Behavior is contagious — it is catching. This applies to bodily actions, to ideas, to emotions, and to purposes. It applies to physical functioning, to emotional functioning, to imaginary functioning, and to functioning on purpose. That people want others to share their experiences was pointed out in the last chapter; in this chapter we shall see that people crave also to share the experiences of others.

The Hunger for Action Patterns. Most people most of the time are hungry for action patterns. The healthy body is ready with surplus energy to do anything that is interesting. All that is needed is a good pattern on which to act. The physical or sub-social environment suggests many. But the social environment is vastly more fruitful of suggestions. The normal child is apt to crowd as near as he can to any one who is doing anything interesting; the child keeps trying to participate, and says over and over: "Let me do it!" "Let me help!" "Now it's my turn!" In adults this desire to take part in nearby activities is only a little concealed by manners and by unhappy past experiences of being snubbed.

Dr. H. K. Nixon undertook some experiments to discover what made people look into store window displays. The account in the *New York Times* for October 3, 1926, includes the following paragraph:

> By the use of decoys it was found that interest could be stimulated — thus testifying anew to the validity of the old follow-the-leader influence. These decoys were a young man and a young woman of good appearance; they proved more effective as a magnet than did the window display alone.

Contagious Action Patterns among Apes. Readiness to imitate interesting activities was characteristic of Köhler's chimpanzees. The

stunt of climbing an unsupported pole before it fell over, which was described in a previous chapter, was invented by Sultan, but it was imitated by five other apes, one after another, including the heavy and clumsy Tschego.[1]

Even more complicated behavior patterns were imitated by the chimpanzees from one another. One instance was the fad of fishing for ants:

At the height of summer a small species of ant forms a perfect plague in Tenerife. Wherever they pass, they form wide streams of moving brown, and this stream also poured itself along the beams around the wire-netting encircling the playground. The chimpanzee has a special taste for acid fruit, which he prefers to all others; and so he also relishes the acid flavor of ants. If he passes close by a board or beam covered with ants, he simply rolls his tongue along it and gathers them in! On the beam around the wire netting he could not pursue this primitive method, as the ant-stream was *outside* the wire netting. So, first one of our animals, then another, and then the whole company, began to stick twigs and straws out through the meshes and drew them in immediately, covered with ants which were promptly devoured. . . . Probably the "play spirit" was as strong and stronger here than the special relish for ants; for there were enough places available where they could be enjoyed with one flick of the tongue, and, when "fashion" had taken a different turn, the most profuse hordes of ants were simply ignored. But while the fashion lasted, all our animals were to be seen, squatting side by side along the ants' pathway, each armed with straw or twig like anglers on the river's bank.[2]

It became the reigning fashion to stab the fowls. . . . Between two mouthfuls of bread, a chimpanzee will sometimes hold his slice between the meshes of wire; a hen approaches to peck at the bread, but before she can do so, it is pulled back again. At one meal this joke will be repeated about fifty times. . . . Rana, the most stupid of all our chimpanzees, really feeds the hens intentionally. . . . She continues to hold out her slice, so that a hen can, and does, take several pecks at it in succession; she gazes in lazy benevolence at the fowl. . . . A third game is as follows: the fowl is attracted to the bars with a slice of bread, but in the very moment when she is about to peck, the free hand of the same chimpanzee (or of another beside him) thrusts a stick or — even worse — a strong pointed wire into her feathered body. When two chimpanzees take part in this (one as baiter and one as thruster) there has certainly been no previous agreement between them; circumstances decree that the momentary activity of each happens to suit the other; they realize it and continue their "collusion."[3]

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 71 and 73. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 79–80. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 87–8.

Spontaneous leadership through contagious behavior occurred also among the apes. Tschego and Grande sometimes led dances:

One after another the rest of the group approach, join the two, and finally they march in an orderly fashion and in single file round and round the post. Their movements become animated; they no longer walk, they trot, and as a rule with special emphasis on one foot, while the other steps lightly; thus a rough approximate rhythm develops, and they tend to "keep time" with one another. They wag their heads in time to the steps of their "dance" and appear full of eager enjoyment of their primitive game. Variations are invented afresh with every occasion. . . . That the whole company was playing could not be doubted by any one seeing them, marching in a circle, one behind the other, the big animal stamping its foot violently at every step, or every other step, and the others exaggeratedly accentuating the marching movements. . . . It seems to me extraordinary that there should arise spontaneously, among chimpanzees, anything that so strongly suggests the primitive ring-dancing of some indigenous tribes.[1]

Contagious Action Patterns among Children. Miss Verry has reported the following examples:[2]

On the slide, the children already go down in various ways, head first, lying down and sitting up, and backwards. On the first and second day, Gertrude and Sylvester were the only children to slide in various ways. To-day five others went down backwards. . . .

The children were kept busy with molding clay. Belle made a birthday cake, sticking it full of colored sticks for candles. The teacher remarked about it, and the rest of the children did likewise at once. . . . To-day, the children got out the beads again. Charles made a pen of some of the square beads, saying to the teacher, "This is my garage." The others then began to pile up the beads, making each his own tower or pen, instead of stringing necklaces. They would leave this occupation to slide or make a cake every few minutes. . . .

Helen, who had pulled one lace through a hole in her card, began to drag it about the floor for a "wagon." Four others then spent the rest of their play period dragging cards about. . . .

There was great variety in the ways of making the cakes; they were sometimes "baked" in special corners, or turned out of the pan, etc.; each child following a routine but adopting suggestions from what the other children were doing.

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 96 and 326–328.
[2] *Op. cit.* pp. 35, 39, 61, and 63.

A mother was in the habit of reading the *Atlantic Monthly* while she rocked her baby to sleep. The baby's sister took over the action pattern by rocking her doll to sleep, and although she was too young to read she insisted that she, too, must have an *Atlantic Monthly* to hold during the process.

It is scarcely necessary to call attention to the fact that adult human beings copy also from each other complicated ways of acting. The bobbing of women's hair, the new dances, the operating of radio sets, the working of cross-word puzzles, the use of new slang words — indeed anything which can be described as a fad or fashion — illustrates the fact that ways of acting are catching.

Behavior Epidemics Violate " Instincts " and Reason. Not only pleasant and harmless ways of functioning but even painful, dangerous and self-destructive action-patterns — ways of behaving that seem to go directly contrary to " instincts " — have caused behavior epidemics. For instance, in the middle ages a sect grew up called flagellants. They made a practice of walking down the street scourging their own naked backs until they bled. Great numbers of people caught this way of behaving. In the early centuries martyrdom became so fashionable that the church forbade people from seeking it purposely. Behavior patterns like wearing extremely tight corsets, binding the feet of girls as was once done in China, flattening the foreheads of babies by binding boards against them as certain tribes of American Indians used to do, thrusting pieces of metal or wood through one's nose, lips, or ears, as certain African and American tribes have done, making deep scratches in one's flesh and rubbing irritating roots into the wounds so as to make ornamental scars, as the Australian natives have done, or tattooing words and pictures by painful processes as sailors and others do, indicate that pain is not a sufficient argument against imitating the behavior of other people.

We are apt to think of the contagion of action patterns as being a matter of intellectual choice. Quite often, however, it is purely involuntary. Not long since it became usual for people in Bryn Mawr (and I suppose elsewhere) to start every third sentence or so with the words " I mean." The phrase was insignificant and not in the least clever, yet it was hard to avoid picking it up as a habit. Similarly, northern visitors to the south are likely to pick up unconsciously the southern accent.

Mental Functioning Also Is Contagious. Not only bodily movements but also ideas are catching. Instances noted among the preschool children were as follows:

The teacher said, "I am a big bear and I'll catch you." Will shouted with pleasure and ran. Five other children joined in the run. The teacher dropped out in a few minutes, but for a long time the children would run up to each other saying, "I'm a bear." Will began to crawl after Myrle to his evident enjoyment. Myrle would run, Will after him, growling. Sylvia dropped on her knees and went growling after the two boys. The children would stop and slide, or play at the sand, then go back to being "bear" all the morning. Three days later Beatrice, Myrle, and Sylvia played "bear" up and down the slide. Sylvia began by calling "See, I'm a bear," and growling as she went down. "I'm a bear," Myrle said and also came down growling. Beatrice and Genevieve did the same. Then Sylvia came down saying, "I am a mouse." The children spent a long time sliding as various animals, but aside from making a uniform growling noise made no attempt at impersonation of the different kinds they made believe to be. The teacher was used as an audience for this game. . . .

After each child had been down the slide a time or two, Helen, apparently from some inner impulse, shouted, as she went down, "All aboard for Iowa City." At once six other children joined, shouting "All aboard for X" (fitting into the sentence whatever town they happened to think of). Wilma went slowly to the slide and tried it once, but did not shout; then she went back to her sand.[1]

During the war some publicity man changed the title of a photograph of a factory where animal bodies were reduced to soap and the like, so as to indicate falsely that the Germans were making soap out of the bodies of their soldiers. This idea spread contagiously throughout the allied world.

In ancient Greece, shortly before the time of Christ, the old religion was falling into decay. The Chaldeans had been studying the stars for centuries and had built up a pseudo-science called astrology for predicting human events from movements of the heavenly bodies. This system was introduced into Greece. Gilbert Murray says that astrology fell upon the Greek mind as a new disease falls upon some remote island people who have never built up immunity to it. Every one was ready to receive the astrology germ.[2]

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 49–50 and 67.
[2] *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, pp. 177–8.

Rumors are easily started and hard to stop. We pick up most of our ideas uncritically from those around us. Le Bon says:

> Affirmation pure and simple, kept from all reasoning and proof, is one of the surest ways of making an idea enter the minds of crowds. The conciser the affirmation is, the more destitute of every appearance of proof, the more weight it carries. . . . Affirmation, however, has no significance unless it is constantly repeated, and so far as possible in the same terms.[1]

Contagious Emotion. While emotions cannot be separated from actions and ideas, activities which are especially emotional are also especially contagious. Watson tells of a boy less than two years old who showed no fear of a rabbit, laughing and reaching for it even when it was put against his face. The same day he was taken into a pen with a little girl who cried at the sight of the rabbit. The boy immediately developed a fear response, and continued for two weeks to be afraid of rabbits.[2]

A crowd was gathered in a theater. Some one back of the stage dropped a match where it caught in a pile of waste. A voice called "fire!" Instantly the audience turned into a raging mob, fighting toward the exits. Scores of people were hurt by being crushed or trampled; many were killed. All might have escaped safely if every one had been self-controlled. But fear is contagious.

A group of pioneers were journeying westward in the early days. A scout met them and warned them that Indians were in ambush a mile away. One of the reckless young men said, "Come on — let's charge them!" Without waiting to plan their attack, the entire party charged. When the Indians opened fire the leaders of the whites waved and turned back. The others followed their example and the epidemic of bravery turned into an epidemic of cowardice. Emotions are contagious.

Children seeing others eating or drinking are likely to discover that they, too, are thirsty or hungry, but without thereby necessarily sympathizing with the other children; wants may thus, in a sense, be said to be contagious. A certain nine-year-old girl often complains of having nothing in the house to read. If, shortly after making such a complaint, she hears her father reading to the younger children a perfectly familiar book, which has been lying about all the time, she

[1] *The Crowd*, pp. 141–2. [2] *Behaviorism*, p. 136.

is likely to pick it up when he stops reading and finish it for herself with great interest.

Sometimes this infection with the interests, action patterns, and purposes which one find in others may prove disastrous. O. O. McIntyre suggests this possibility in the contagiousness of Marion Talley's aspiration:

> Marion Talley is a little nineteen-year-old girl with the world at her feet. The most brilliant audience the Metropolitan Opera House ever held hung on the golden notes of this plump corn-fed child so vibrant with health and girlish freshness.
>
> Tickets sold for as high as $300 each. The famed Horseshoe Circle sparkled with customary jewels. The Social Register was there *en masse.* It was the night of nights for the girl from Kansas City who had achieved where a hundred thousand failed. . . .
>
> The real tragedy of Marion Talley's début is to come. Thousands of obscure homes bloom with a new hope. Thousands of potential Marion Talleys are girding themselves for the futile fray. Homes will be mortgaged, bent mothers and work-worn fathers will renew the unending sacrifices to send their daughters to New York and abroad to duplicate Marion Talley's success.[1]

This is a mere prediction. To find the realities one has only to consult the social workers who deal with the problems of the young people who " go broke " in Hollywood, seeking a career in the movies.

Putting the Self in the Place of the Other. All of the instances thus far given in this chapter relate simply, or primarily, to the taking over of action-patterns without a merging of purposes. In the following instances, however, the similarity of behavior is clearly due to the fact that one individual puts himself in the place of the other. We have been talking of the copying of purpose; what we are now to consider is a sharing or merging of purpose.

In one of Köhler's photographs of his chimpanzees, the ape on top of a pile of boxes was reaching up for the coveted banana, and the ape on the ground, who had been prohibited from engaging in the activity, had his own arm raised in the same position, as though he too were reaching for the fruit. The writer has observed a similar incident among children. A six-year-old girl had a loose tooth and stood beside her mother with open mouth to have it extracted. Close beside her, quite spontaneously and with serious face, stood the five-year-old

[1] "To Aspiring Marion Talleys," *Cosmopolitan*, July, '26.

daughter, with *her* mouth open as though she too had a tooth to be taken out. Apparently the imitation was entirely unconscious until the mother laughed about it. Similarly a hunter told the writer that while watching another hunter try to pull a rusty trigger he himself by unconscious contagion pulled the trigger of a gun which happened to be in his hand, and wounded the man who held the rusty piece. Experienced automobile drivers, when sitting beside other persons who are driving, will, when the speed needs slackening push their feet against the floor as if applying brakes. In each of these instances, note that the individual unconsciously puts himself in the place of the other person.

Sympathy Means Putting the Self in the Emotional Situation of the Other. This tendency to put oneself in the place of another is vividly illustrated by the contagious sense of guilt. One of the apes showed clearly that she felt guilty in behalf of another:

> Their habit of eating their excrements was often, and finally very sharply, punished, but all to no purpose. . . . Chica once began to hop agitatedly from one foot to the other, when I happened to come up unexpectedly; I had noticed nothing unusual. As I got nearer, her agitation increased, and all at once she let a mess of rubbish fall out of her mouth. More striking was it when one day Chica received me with the same disquieting hopping and would not stop, although I could not discover guilt in her. Thus made attentive, I became aware that her friend Tercera was missing, or rather that a piece of her black fur kept on disappearing behind a box each time I came round the other side of it. Nearer investigation showed clearly that this time *she* was the sinner.[1]

Putting oneself in the place of another who is suffering is characteristic of the apes, according to instances cited by Köhler:

> Considerable — though transitory — interest is shown when an isolated creature's wailings can be heard or seen. . . . I noticed the strong effect on the others, when they once saw with their own eyes the signs of weakness and illness of one of the little chimpanzees. At the beginning of his fatal illness Konsul was once lying helpless on the floor, with his eyes closed. Rana, who happened to be passing by, placed Konsul's hands on her own shoulders as an invitation to accompany her. As he hardly moved, and immediately sank back again, she grew attentive, first lifted his head, and then, putting her arms around the little fellow, carefully lifted his weak body, and seemed by her bearing and her look so deeply concerned that there

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 309–10.

could be, at this moment, no doubt whatsoever as to the state of her feelings. When some days later, during which he had been kept away, she again saw the poor creature, in a very wretched state, she seemed only to shy away. But again, one day when he seemed a little better, the little fellow was once more let out into the open, where the others were gayly eating green stuff. He dragged himself painfully to them, but after taking a few steps he suddenly fell to the ground with a piercing cry of fear. Tercera was sitting some distance away, chewing. She sprang up, her hair standing on end all over her body with excitement. She reached him in a few strides, on two legs, her face filled with the utmost concern, her lips protruding with sorrow, and uttering cries of distress; she caught hold of him under the arms, and did her best to raise him. One could not imagine anything more maternal than this female chimpanzee's behavior. . . .

It is an indispensable condition that the weakness and helplessness has to be seen or heard first; it must be a concrete fact. More than once I established that the . . . disappearance of a sick or dying animal has little effect on the rest, so long as he is taken out of sight and does not show his distress in loud groans of pain.[1]

As Köhler points out, the sympathy shown by Rana for Konsul was closely like that of a mother for a child. This relation between sympathy and mother-feeling is reinforced by his observation that although the chimpanzees were violently unfriendly toward a new grown-up chimpanzee who was brought into the group, when little human children and babies were brought near there was no need for the apes to know them at all in order to be very friendly.

Children quite often put themselves into the emotional situations of each other. Among three small children whom the writer has observed, when one of them has started to cry because of being frightened or reproved, the other two sometimes start crying out of sympathy, shedding real tears although not themselves direct victims of the cause of the grief in the child who first cried. Sometimes this sharing of emotions leads to the defense of the reproved child by one of the others. Beatrice says through her tears: "You shouldn't scold Barbara!" Sometimes she takes Barbara away and gives her a present to make up for some richly deserved punishment.

The pre-school children studied by Miss Verry also showed sympathy for the grief of their little associates:

Dorothy, who cried very pathetically, was the object of some solicitation. Belle went up to her, patting her arm and saying, "Poor Dorothy." Ger-

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, freely abridged from pp. 294–7.

trude asked the teacher, "Why does Dorothy cry?" And Genevieve went up to her several times and patted her; but none of the children received any response. . . . Next day Dorothy sat upon her chair, crying dismally. Belle went up to her, touching her arm and saying, "Poor Dorothy," before she went to the slide.[1]

Sympathy for the Hungry. Putting oneself in the place of a hungry associate occurs among chimpanzees:

There is nothing that looks more undisturbed, more indifferent, more uninterested than, in the ordinary way, a chimpanzee who is eating, and of whom another, with outstretched hands and pleading voice, is begging for some of his superfluity. . . . But this scene may have a different ending, when the pleader is a good friend of the ape in possession, and the latter happens to be in a good mood. . . . There are yet enough cases where the whole attitude of the giver is a picture of pleasant friendliness. He will suddenly gather some fruit together and hold it out to the other — as I have seen dozens of times — or will take the banana which he was just going to put in his mouth, break it in half and hand one piece to the other ape, eating the rest himself.[2]

Köhler tells how Sultan, when isolated and starved a little for experimental purposes, persuaded Tschego to feed him:

The isolated ape vigorously began his lamentation the next day as soon as Tschego began to eat, and actually succeeded in making Tschego feed him in this way for five days. But on the sixth day the big female took no notice of the little male's loudest cries; she had probably lost interest in him, for on the sixth day the cold phase of Tschego's sexual period (which was recognizable in other ways) began, and it was not until this was over that her former behavior recurred.[3]

Thus, while the sympathy of Rana for the sufferings of little Konsul was of the mothering type, the response of Tschego to the hungry pleadings of Sultan were related to another fundamental emotion. Köhler gives other evidence of the importance of sex feeling in the social functioning of the apes.

Among human beings sympathy for hungry people is very prevalent. For instance, Jane Addams says:

The woman who lives upstairs will willingly share her breakfast with the family below because she knows they "are hard up"; the man who boarded with them last winter will give a month's rent because he knows the father

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 34. [2] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 312. [3] *Ibid.* pp. 312–3.

of the family is out of work; the baker across the street, who is fast being pushed to the wall by his competitors, will send across three loaves of bread because he has seen the children looking longingly into his window and suspects they are hungry.[1]

Similarly Lillian Wald tells the story of a man living in a tenement in New York who happened to have work during a period of unemployment, and who had taken into his home and was feeding, in addition to his own family, four friends and three strangers who were less fortunate than himself.

Contagion of Purpose. The sharing of action-patterns and of emotions, illustrated by the preceding instances, grew out of a merging of purpose through feeling as though one were in the place of the other individual. This merging of purpose is admirably illustrated by the following instance, relating to the tests which Köhler carried out, in which a banana was hung up out of reach of the chimpanzees. The banana could be gotten in no other way than by piling boxes under the fruit and climbing up:

It is only rarely that one animal *helps* another, and when this happens, we must carefully consider the meaning of such action. As Sultan was much more expert than the others, in the beginning, he was often obliged to be present without helping, as I wished to ascertain of what the others were capable. . . .

If one's vigilance is at all relaxed, and the veto on building not continuously renewed, he does not venture to enter fully into the work, but he cannot keep from "lending a hand" here and there, supporting a box that threatens to fall under some adventurous and decisive effort of another animal, or otherwise taking a less important part in the work. On one occasion when we had forbidden him to participate in the building, he could not keep to the rôle of passive spectator, when Grande had piled one box on the other and was still unable to reach the prize. He fetched a third box from a distance of about 12 meters and quickly left it close to the pile; then he squatted down again and watched, although he had not been reminded of my prohibition by either word or gesture. But we must guard against misconceptions; Sultan's motive is not the wish to help his fellow, at least not predominantly. When we watch him, squatting beside the other animal, following all Grande's movements with his eyes and often with slight sketchy movements of arm and hand, there can be no doubt that these proceedings interest him in themselves and to a very high degree; that he follows and "feels" them himself, and all the more keenly as they grow more difficult and

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 162–3.

crucial. The "help" he offers at the critical moment is simply a heightening of his already indicated participation in the process; and interest in the other animal can only play a very secondary part, for Sultan is a pronounced egoist. . . . We are all acquainted with similar states of mind. It is difficult for any one who understands any form of work as a result of long practice, to stand aside, while another bungles it; his fingers itch to intervene and "do the job." And we humans, too, are far from wishing to help such a bungler from motives of pure altruism our feelings towards him at the moment are not particularly cordial). Neither do we seek some external advantage for ourselves; the work attracts and dominates us.[1]

Miss Verry's pre-school group furnished instances in which one child put itself in another's place and functioned in behalf of the other, as Sultan did for Grande. For instance, when Dorothy and Fred persistently refused to answer "Present" at roll call, Belle looked tearfully at the teacher, saying, "Dorothy can't." Genevieve looked up appealingly as though to plead for Dorothy and Fred, and answered "Present" for each of them. Sylvia and Charles also sometimes chimed in. Genevieve kept up this service delightedly until the children learned to answer for themselves. A similar sharing of another child's purpose occurred when Henry caught his foot in the slide. Paul sat down at once to help him get it out.[2]

Chimpanzees at times may even take satisfaction in rendering service to human beings:

> Chimpanzees like very much to remove splinters from each other's hands or feet, by the method in use among the ordinary human laity. Two finger-nails are pressed down on either side and the splinter levered upwards, to be caught and removed by the teeth. At the risk of infection, I went up to a chimpanzee on one occasion when I had run a splinter into one of my fingers and pointed it out to him. His mien and expression assumed the eager intensity proper to "skin treatment," he examined the wound, seized my hand, and forced out the splinter by two very skillful but somewhat painful squeezes with his finger-nails; he then examined my hand again, very closely, and let it fall, satisfied with his work.[3]

That this sort of behavior is characteristic very often of adult human beings needs scarcely to be pointed out. A striking instance given by Miss Wald has to do with a mother whose dead baby was buried in the potter's field because of her poverty.

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 173–5.
[2] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 4, 45, and 71.
[3] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 322.

Three times that year did Mrs. G. painfully gather together enough money to have the baby disinterred and fittingly buried in consecrated ground, and each time she gave up her heart's desire in order to relieve the sufferings of the living children of her neighbors.[1]

Two other instances which she gives are as follows:

An errand took me to Michael the Scotch-Irish cobbler as the family were sitting down to the noonday meal. There was a stranger with them, whom Michael introduced, explaining when we were out of hearing that he thought I would be interested to meet a man just out of Sing Sing prison. I expressed some fear of the danger to his boys in this association. "We must just chance it," said Michael. "It's no weather for a man like that to be on the streets, when honest fellows can't get work." [2]

A Jewish woman, exhausted by her long day's scrubbing of office floors, walked many extra blocks to beg us to get a priest for her Roman Catholic neighbor whose child was dying.[3]

In other places she speaks of the readiness of physicians and surgeons to set aside paying patients for more urgent non-paying ones, the way in which the janitress (of the building where she and the other visiting nurse first lived) dedicated herself and her entire family to their service, and the ease with which sympathy was excited in the neighborhood of the settlement for people deprived of books and learning. These are further instances of the contagion of purpose.

A practical application of this principle is given by a prominent settlement worker in a large eastern city. She has said that she never has difficulty in raising necessary money for her work, because she takes pains to have wealthy people visit the settlement and get familiar with its activities. Natural contagion of purpose stimulates them to provide the resources needed for the activities in which they have thus become interested.

The word "sympathy" usually covers this tendency to share the purposes of others who are in need — to feed the hungry, comfort the sorrowing, help the struggling. The term "contagiousness of purpose," however, includes also the process in which a group of people develop a common goal. For instance, the members of the clubs of the University Settlement of Milwaukee have built coöperatively a summer camp which all of them use. The growth of the undertaking

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 18. [2] *Ibid.* p. 17. [3] *Ibid.* p. 21.

has involved continually the spread of purposes from person to person and from group to group.

Infection with each other's purposes seems to occur right often at settlements. On one occasion an outside orchestra, hired to play at a dance at the East Side House Settlement in New York, failed to appear. One of the settlement clubs had a little orchestra of its own, whose members had hoped to take part in the dance as guests, not as performers, and had each brought a young woman friend as partner. When these boys saw the fix in which the settlement was placed they hurried home after their instruments, and gayly took the place of the missing musicians, arranging as best they could for the entertainment of their girl partners. When the dance had come to a triumphant close, Miss Helen Hart, the head resident, took aside the leader of the impromptu orchestra, and suggested quietly that the club was entitled to the money which otherwise would have been paid to the players hired for the occasion. "Oh, no, Miss Hart; we couldn't take a cent!" was his instant response. She urged him to consult his associates, and suggested that the club had long been wishing to raise a fund for baseball uniforms, which might very properly be purchased with this dance money. He consulted with the other boys, but at once returned with the news that these lads, who were all working to earn their livings, thought of themselves as part of the settlement, and had done their bit at the dance simply to help make the common cause successful.

An orthodox Jew had come into contact with Miss Wald's work for distressed families:

> This man, when I called on a Sabbath evening, took one of the lights from the table to show the way down the five flights of dark tenement stairs, and to my protest, — knowing, as I did, that he considered it a sin to handle fire on the Sabbath — he said, "It is no sin for me to handle a light on the Sabbath to show respect to a friend who has helped to keep a family together." [1]

Vicarious Functioning. The tendency to share in the purposes of others may explain the popularity of functioning through other people (vicarious functioning), as, for example, when crowds watch a piece of construction work or when spectators "go wild" over a ball game or a prize fight. When you go to the ball game you get infected with the purposes of the players. When you go to the movies you get

[1] *House on Henry Street*, pp. 21–2.

infected with the purposes of the hero and heroine — so much so that you are frightened when they are in danger and you are joyful when they have good fortune.

Commander Byrd, who was the first to fly over the North Pole in an airplane, received many letters, of which the following, from a lady, was typical:

"Little do you realize," she wrote, "that thousands of people who have no chance of adventure live your adventure with you. Probably you have no idea what pleasure you give us." [1]

Putting the Self in the Place of the Other Is as Natural as Eating — or Fighting. A vital point to remember is that contagious behavior is as natural and normal as are hunger, fear, rage, and the other "instinctive" springs of action. The word "unselfish" has been used to mean acts involving contagious purposes or sympathy. But it is as truly an expression of the self to absorb the emotions and the purposes of others as it is to function in other ways. We may take it for granted that, if conditions are favorable, people will take up the purposes of people near them. Only by recognizing this fundamental tendency can human behavior be understood and directed.

Like other human motives, the tendency to put the self into the place of the other may be used for constructive social purposes or may be made a means of exploiting others. Efforts to raise money for philanthropic purposes make use of the sympathy motive. For example, in the course of a campaign for more adequate mother's pensions the following appeared in an editorial in the Philadelphia *Evening Public Ledger* for November 19, 1926:

There are by actual count 450 mothers and 1,600 children in this city to-day who will in all probability go to bed hungry to-night.

With chill fall winds gnawing through every crevice of door and window, they will, more than likely, have to huddle together to keep warm under inadequate bedcoverings.

If the children are old enough, they may have scavengered enough wood in the neighborhood to boil some cocoa to drink with their portions of butterless bread for supper.

On the other hand, beggars often make use of this motive to get money on false pretenses. Conditions in Russia have been described recently as follows:

[1] *National Geographic*, Sept. '26.

Begging is a lucrative profession in Moscow. . . . One day I asked a familiar member of the profession, daughter of a former Russian nobleman ambassador, why she did not take a few language pupils, especially in English which now is the popular accomplishment. She replied that she liked the outdoor work and that begging was much easier and also profitable, averaging $4 to $5 a day more than a commissar's salary.[1]

As we go into the following chapters we shall find that out of the contagiousness of behavior arise cultural functioning, the sense of justice, the willingness to follow leadership, and integration of purpose — phenomena which are basic in the development of social relations.

Summary

A. Action patterns are much more likely to be borrowed than invented:

1. The hunger for interesting ways of functioning leads to the exploration of the ways of behaving suggested by one's associates.
2. Even when behavior patterns involve acute suffering, they may be so contagious as to become epidemic.
3. Ideas and emotions, as well as forms of muscular behavior, are catching.

B. Putting the self in the place of an associate is a fundamental cause of the sharing of functioning and of purposes.

4. Simple muscular imitation is often due to involuntarily imagining that one is in the place of some one whom one is observing.
5. Sympathy means putting the self in the emotional situation of the other.
6. Putting the self in the place of the other is likely to result in taking over in part his purposes as one's own.
7. The contagiousness of a plan for meeting some common problem may lead to a coöperative sharing of effort to reach a joint goal.
8. Putting the self imaginatively in the place of the other is the basis of vicarious functioning, in which one functions through some one else.

[1] Junius B. Wood, *National Geographic*, Nov. '26, p. 524.

C. Sympathy, coöperation, and the sharing of purpose, are as natural ways of functioning as are antagonism and conflict.

9. The tendency to put the self into the place of the other may be used either constructively, as in raising money for philanthropy, or to exploit others, as in fraudulent begging.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

6D1. Comment on the following Associated Press dispatch from London, dated November 27, 1926:

The Tailor and Cutter, the London trade magazine, which voices the decrees of style dictators, asserts: "Spats are essentially a dandy article of attire, but they belong to the vogue of yesteryear."

It is related that after a garden party at Buckingham Palace the shrubberies were "snowed under" with white spats discarded by Americans, who at the last moment found out their mistake. The Americans took their courage and their feet in their hands and flung away the offending spatterdashes.

6D2. What in this chapter throws light on the question of which has the easier time in learning about life in the earliest years — the only child, the oldest child, or the younger brother or sister?

6D3. In what various ways has the use of alcohol as a beverage affected the contagion of behavior and of purpose?

6D4. How accurately can you tell from what part of the United States or of the British possessions a person comes, simply from the way he speaks? What has this to do with contagious behavior?

6D5. When is contagious behavior undesirable?

6D6. Under what conditions are people immune from the contagion of behavior to which they are exposed?

6D7. How far is social solidarity based upon concrete and sentimental rather than upon abstract and rational relations? What two chapters of our text are involved in connection with this question?

6D8. Discuss comparatively the meanings of the words imitation, suggestion, sympathy, mob-mindedness, stampede.

6D9. What is meant by "stereotypes"? What relation has this concept to the present chapter?

6D10. Tell the story of "The Emperor's New Clothes," as found in Hans Andersen's *Fairy Tales*. What points in this chapter does it illustrate?

6D11. What instances can you give, parallel to this quotation from Williams' *What's on the Worker's Mind*, p. 90?

As they work they follow the example of their elders; little tots of eight and ten curse at each other shockingly.

6D12. Why does it often weaken a case to argue in favor of it?

6D13. Why is indirect suggestion often more powerful than direct?

6D14. What was the basis of the snuff-taking habit?

6D15. Discuss the following instance given by Köhler:

Sometimes the behavior of the animals strongly resembles collaboration in the strictly human sense, without, however, entirely carrying conviction. The little ones had made repeated efforts to reach an elevated objective, without success. At some distance stood a heavy cage, which had never before been used in the tests. Suddenly Grande paid attention to his cage; she shook it to and fro, to turn it over and roll it toward the objective, but could not move it. Rana forthwith came up, and laid hold of the cage in the handiest way possible, and the two were in the act of lifting and rolling it, when Sultan joined them and, seizing one side of the cage "helped" with great energy. Alone, none of the three could have stirred the cage from its place, but under their united efforts — which were timed perfectly — it rapidly approached the goal. It was still at a little distance when Sultan bounded on to it, and then, with a second spring, secured and tore down the fruit.[1]

Which was involved in this case — contagious action-patterns or merging of purpose? Why do you think so? Was it an instance of contagious purpose? In what ways was the type of coöperation below the "strictly human" level? Why do you say so? Can you cite any comparable human instances?

6D16. How are emotions created by art?

6D17. Why is functioning through drama brought in both in this chapter and in that on imaginary functioning? Can you coin a phrase which would describe both of these aspects of drama?

6D18. What was the reason for the difference between the reaction to the crying of Dorothy in this chapter and that of Will in the preceding chapter? How broad and far-reaching is the significance of this difference?

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 175–6.

6D19. A father killed a chicken for the family's Sunday dinner. The six-year-old child objected: "Don't you suppose that chicken has the same feelings you do?" Explain this behavior by the child.

6D20. Has any one in the class ever seen angleworms, from wet grass by a roadside, plowing into the dusty desert of the road, and had an impulse to put them back in the wet grass? If so, why? What fairy stories can you remember where the hero helped ants, fish, trees, or even inanimate things? Why did such stories grow up?

6D21. How do you feel when you are with a person who is constantly complaining? Why?

6D22. To what extent is sympathy among human beings dependent upon direct contact? Give cases to support your position on this question.

6D23. Some one is reported to have asked Charles Lamb if he did not hate a certain person. "Why, no," he said, "I know him, don't I? I never can hate any one that I know." What basis of truth is there in the generalization suggested by Lamb? Can you cite instances where people hate other people whom they really know?

6D24. What instances can you give in which animals or humans who were small and helpless thereby attracted sympathy?

6D25. What is the difference between contagion of action-patterns and sharing of purposes? Give instances to illustrate the difference.

6D26. To what extent does merging of purpose involve a sacrifice of individuality?

6D27. A certain lady loves to drink coffee, but she cannot enjoy it unless she has some one to drink it with her. How does this instance form a connecting link between this chapter and the one just before it?

6D28. In what sense may it be said that sympathy is the converse, or opposite, or reciprocal, of the desire for attention? In what sense might they be said to be two sides to the same thing? Which expression do you prefer? Why?

6D29. A manufacturer wishes to train some new girls to operate a machine in a factory. Which is the best method: to hire an instructor, or to place the new girls at machines alternating with those of skilled operators? Why?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

6F1. Visit a day nursery or an orphan asylum. Write out an account of your feelings during the visit. (Two hours)

6F2. Attend a good exhibition of boxing. Immediately after the trip write out as fully as possible your feelings during the exhibition. How do you account for them? What reactions did the audience show? (Two hours)

6K3. Look up Watson's experiment, in *Behaviorism*, pp. 136–138. Why could he not overcome fear by having the fearful child observe fearless children? (One hour)

6K4. Read the account of Romanetti, the outlaw, as given in the *New York Times Magazine* for June 6, 1926, pp. 5 and 16, or recall the story of Robin Hood, or both. What was the attitude of the common people toward these men? Why? (One hour)

6K5. Read the account from "Over There and Back" in Park and Burgess, pp. 800–805. Point out the elements of contagious behavior involved. To what extent do you suppose that similar phenomena occurred at the same time in Germany and Austria? Why did not the German people "repudiate its army"? (One hour)

6K6. Read "The Growth of a Legend" in Park and Burgess, pp. 819–22. To what extent was the same process at work in the growth of stories of German atrocities? (Half an hour)

6K7. Study the instances cited by Park and Burgess, pp. 878–81. How abnormal are these? What are the nearest approaches to similar behavior which you can cite? (One hour)

6K8. Read the editorial in the *Survey* for January 15, 1926, p. 472, beginning: "Thousands for Relief." Look up for a year or two back the material printed in the *New York Times* under the title: "The Hundred Neediest Cases." What is the basis of these appeals? How sound do you regard this method? Give reasons. (One to three hours)

6K9. If the students in the class come from various communities, let each secure from his home town copies of the publicity material used by the Community Chest, or whatever the largest organization raising charitable funds may be called. Let all the members of the class study the resulting collection of publicity materials with a view to seeing how the principle of contagious behavior is used in getting

contributions. If possible, attend luncheons and meetings in connection with a campaign raising funds for a charitable purpose. Write out a report of the methods used to develop interest. (Time credit to be arranged with instructor)

6K10. Dr. Gilbert Murray, Professor of Greek at Oxford University, England, says:

> My whole experience leads me to believe in the truth of M. Bergson's suggestion that telepathy is, as a matter of fact, operating at every moment and everywhere. I greatly doubt whether it does not lie at the root of language. It is hard to see how language can originally have grown or how an infant can learn it, or how we can ever, by means of language, understand a new idea, without telepathy.

What bearing would this, if true, have on the contagiousness of behavior? Read the accounts of Prof. Murray's experiments in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research*, Vol. 29 (1916), pp. 46–110 and Vol. 34 (1924), pp. 212–74. Discuss these experiments in relation to our present chapter. (Three hours)

6K11. Some psychical researchers claim to have shown that certain persons when hypnotized experience the sensations of other persons near them without normal contact. Look up the sources on this subject, and discuss it in relation to contagious behavior. (Time credit to be arranged)

6K12. Go through the instances cited in this chapter and note down the illustrations which occur in them of the principles discussed in previous chapters. (One hour)

6K13. Write down, as accurately as you can remember them, your exact feelings when any of the following have occurred:

a. When you have seen a moving picture of a person tottering on the edge of a cliff or roof, or on a high narrow structure.

b. When you have seen some one cut or injure himself.

c. When you have come upon a strange child crying.

d. When you have seen an acrobat make a pretended fall.

e. When you have heard a person make a speech in a husky voice.

f. When you have seen some one doing something which you can do better.

Discuss the meaning of the answers turned in by yourself and others. (Two hours)

6X14. Visit a social settlement at some time when it is active, and observe the work which is going on. At some time when it is not active, revisit it, talk with some of the workers, and try to find out what is their central idea in doing such work. Write out your conclusions. (Five hours)

6X15. Find a man or woman who is begging on the street. Take up a position nearby, where you can watch without interfering. Note the actions of the beggar and the reactions of passers-by. Write up an account of your observations, and your conclusions. (Two to four hours)

6X16. Select a series of emotional paintings or photographs. Put yourself as nearly as possible into the facial and physical posture represented by each. Note the effects on your own mood at the moment. Write up and discuss your results. (Two hours)

6X17. Ask 50 different individual fellow students to state to you their political party preferences and those of their fathers, or their religious affiliations and those of their parents. To what extent are the views of the younger generation on these matters, as reflected in these replies, influenced by the views of the parents? Discuss the results.

6X18. Go to a place on some ground where children are playing freely. Without interfering with their games, quietly take out a puzzle and begin to work at it where they can see you. Note the reactions of the children. Write up an account of the experiment and your conclusions. (Two hours)

6X19. While at work in a laboratory, or while with some other group whose attention is distracted, whistle softly, or hum, a series of popular tunes, pausing after each to observe the reactions of the group. To what extent are you able to get the group to take up absent-mindedly the tunes you start? Write up your results. (One to two hours)

6W20. Write a review of either *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, by Jane Addams; *The House on Henry Street*, by Lillian Wald; or *The City Wilderness*, by Robert A. Woods. How did the writer of the book which you review get infected with the purposes of the people about whom he wrote? (Five hours)

6W21. Write a critical and comparative review of Le Bon's *The Crowd*, of Tarde's *Laws of Imitation*, or of Trotter's *Instincts of the Herd in War and Peace*. (Five to ten hours)

6W22. Discuss in relation to this chapter, Lumley's paper on "Slogans as a Means of Social Control," *Publications American Sociological Society*, Vol. 16 (1921), pp. 121–34. (One hour)

6W23. Read the section on "Natural Forms of Communication" in Park and Burgess, pp. 356–75. Make a detailed comparison with our treatment in "Contagious Behavior." (One hour)

6W24. Compare with the treatment in the present chapter Park and Burgess, pp. 344–6 and 390–420 on "Imitation and Suggestion the Mechanistic Forms of Interaction." (Two hours)

6W25. Read the summary of Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* (pp. 293–300). How does this relate to the contagion of behavior? (One hour)

6W26. What laws of imitation, suggestion, and sympathy are stated by Ross, Tarde, Le Bon, Allport, and other sociologists? What evidence do they give for the validity of these laws? What exceptions or contrary instances can you show? What practical applications have their laws? (Time credit to be arranged)

6W27. Look up in one or more large dictionaries and in one or more textbooks of psychology and of social psychology the terms "imitation" and "sympathy." Is the distinction chiefly between motor and emotional contagion, or between taking over an action pattern *versus* sharing a purpose? Discuss the proper technical use of these two words in sociology. (One to two hours)

6W28. Professor Ellsworth Faris of the University of Chicago published an article in the *American Journal of Sociology* for November, 1926, pp. 367–78, the abstract of which includes the following sentence:

> All three mechanisms which produce imitation may be shown to result quite as often in behavior which is so unlike any model that imitation becomes an impossible assumption. The conclusion is that imitation is not an essential attribute of behavior, but a mere accident. The problem ought to inspire extensive researches in order to clear up the unclear issues.

Write a critical review of that article.

6W29. Although Adam Smith is usually thought of as an economist, his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, published in 1759, discusses sympathy and the efforts of people to enter into the feelings of others. Indicate, in a brief paper, the extent to which his treatment of these topics anticipated recent theories on these subjects. (Three hours)

6W30. The central thesis of Cooley's sociology is that the individual and society are aspects of the same phenomenon; that they are twin-

born and twin-developed. Make a study of this aspect of his teaching, relating it to our present chapter. (Three hours)

6W31. Look up Sumner's treatment of fashion in his *Folkways*. Compare it with the treatment of the same subject by Ross in *Social Psychology*. (Three hours)

6W32. Giddings' concept of pluralistic behavior accounts for certain types of similarity in behavior not due to contagion. Make a study of this concept as presented in Giddings' own works. How broad is its usefulness? Indicate its practical applications. (Time credit to be arranged)

CHAPTER VII

LINKED UP EXPERIENCE

Inborn Likes and Dislikes. Preceding chapters have pointed out that the root of human motives is the desire to function. It has been shown that usually it is a joy to function, but that certain activities have become painful or disagreeable because they lead to destruction of the individual or the race, or to interference with functioning.

The liking for certain sorts of experience and the dislike for others appears spontaneously very early in life. The new-born baby has certain forms of functioning which it enjoys without having to be taught. It does not have to learn to like sucking in enough warm milk to fill its stomach comfortably, or to like kicking and throwing its limbs about, or being patted and stroked on certain parts of the body. Other experiences, without training, bring signs of fear, anger, and grief. Among these hateful experiences are hearing a loud noise, having the support suddenly taken away from beneath him, being held perfectly still, and suffering physical pain. As the child grows older, and various parts of the body mature, other experiences become, in and of themselves, pleasant or unpleasant.

Very quickly, however, every normal person begins to *learn* to like some things and to dislike others. Human motives include not merely the inborn likes and dislikes, but also the learned, or acquired, devotion to friends, to things and to ideas, and the acquired aversion to other people, things, and ideas. How are these acquired motives built up?

Linked Up Experiences. The likes and dislikes which people learn, develop through a process of linking up experiences with old likes and dislikes. This process of linkage is fundamental. Even reflexes can be linked up with signals which at first had nothing to do with them. A reflex is something which one does without thinking, in response to something which has happened. For instance, the winking of the eye at a loud sound is a reflex; the jerking back of the hand when it

touches a flame is a reflex. Pavlov, a Russian psychologist, made a famous study of the reflex flow of saliva which comes in the mouth of a dog when it is given a piece of meat. After getting a method to measure the amount of saliva given out, Pavlov proved that if a bell was rung every time one gave the dog a piece of meat, after a while the ringing of the bell without giving the meat would bring the flow of saliva just as if the meat had been given. Pavlov called this a " conditioned " reflex. We can say that the saliva reflex had become linked up with the sound of the bell.

This process of conditioning, or linkage, works with children just as well as it does with dogs. If a child is given a piece of chocolate, saliva begins to flow rapidly. Now if a bright light is flashed each time a small piece of chocolate is given to the child, it will not be long before a flash of the light will start the saliva flowing without any chocolate at all. Similarly, Watson showed that the jerk of a finger away from an electric shock can be so closely linked up with the sight of an apple, by repeatedly giving the shock when the apple is shown, that the mere sight of the apple causes the jump of the finger just as surely as does the electric shock.

The linking up process may be used not only to make one function in a certain way, but also to keep one from functioning in a given way. An instance is given by Burnham:

> A Boston terrier was taught to sit in his chair with meat placed before him until permission was given to take the food. Even when the dog's favorite food was placed directly under his nose and he was left in the room alone, he would not touch the food until his master returned and permission was given.[1]

Linkage and Learning. Language gets meaning only by linking up the sound or the look of each word with the experience which it is meant to refer to. When we say that the child has learned the meaning of the word " mama " we mean that he has linked up that sound with the experiences which for him are his mother. He sees his mother, touches her, hears her speak, and so on, and with each of these experiences he links up the sound " mama." In the same way he associates, or links up with other words the set of experiences which other people have linked up with those words, and thus he comes to understand what they say or write.

[1] *The Normal Mind,* D. Appleton & Co., 1925, p. 75.

In just the same way the girl who is learning shorthand has to link up certain word " outlines " with certain sounds; when she has done this, both for the experience of seeing the outlines and for the experience of writing them, she has mastered the fundamentals of the subject. So, too, the task of learning to drive an automobile consists simply of linking the driver's various wishes, as to how he wants the car to move, with the proper movements of his arms and feet on the levers, pedals, and steering wheel. When he wants the car to go faster he must know without thinking that pressure on the accelerator increases the speed; when he wants to stop he must " have the feel " of the fact that stepping on the clutch and brake pedals will bring the car to a standstill. When he has linked up each of his possible purposes as to the motion of the car with the movements which he must make to get that motion, he has learned how to drive.

Even when the thing to be learned is a long series of actions, like saying a poem or performing a complicated dance, the process is a linking up of each word of the poem with the next word, or the linking up of each step in the dance with the steps which have gone just before. If the performer forgets, he goes back a few lines or a few steps and if he has linked up the series well enough the part he goes back over will call up the forgotten line or step.

Magic and Science Grow Up from the Linkage of Experiences. This linking process has been the basis not only of all learning but also of magic and science. A friend of mine is a great gardener. One day he took his three-year-old boy out to the garden, and while they were there a thunder storm blew up. A few days later he took the child to the garden again, and again it rained. By coincidence it happened that also on the third trip when the boy went with his father to the garden a storm broke while they were there. When the father next asked the boy to go to the garden the child cried and struggled. " Garden " and " thunderstorm " had become linked up in his mind.

Just this sort of process underlies magic. A savage hears plovers singing before a rain. This happens several times. The song of the plover becomes linked up in the savage mind with the experience of rain. When a dry season comes the medicine man is likely to imitate the song in order to make rain come. Of course the original linked up experiences on which magical practices are built get covered with traditions, superstitions, and systems.

The basis of science as well as of magic rests on linked up experiences. The savage learns by repeated experience that rain is needed to grow corn, that fire bakes pottery, that certain kinds of wood make good arrows. When linked up experiences are reasoned out clearly and systematically they grow into the body of knowledge called science. Magic is different from science in that magic grows up on the basis of false reasoning and incomplete observation.

The Strength of Linkages Depends on Emotion and Repetition. The firmness with which the associated experiences are linked depends upon how vividly the emotions are roused by the experience and on how often the two experiences happen together. A young woman was very fond of canoeing. Toward the end of a long canoe trip she accidentally upset in the canoe with her clothes on, and barely escaped drowning. This was the only serious mishap connected in her experience with a canoe or boat, but for years thereafter she had a dread of being on the water in a boat or canoe. Any violent shock may thus link up the associated situation with the emotion experienced at the time.

Endless repetition, on the other hand, even without any very strong emotion, serves to link one experience with another. It is both by repetition and by the emotions stirred up by harsh language and punishment that soldiers are taught, through weeks and months of drill, to go through the bodily movements needed in the handling of a company of men, and to perform these movements automatically on the word of command. It is said that a sergeant was searching for two deserters who had skipped out after years of service. He had traced them to a restaurant where forty or fifty men were seated at tables. The sergeant stepped quietly inside the door and in a military tone of command called out "Attention!" Instantly the two deserters jumped erect and stood rigidly as they had learned to do through years of drill. The sergeant then promptly arrested them.

Linkage and Social Motivation. If the motives that drive men and women in their social relations were merely the ones that are unlearned, like the need for food or the fear of a loud noise, social motivation would be quite a simple problem. By linkage, however, the things that happen with the experiences that we detest come to be detested, while the things that happen with experiences that we like come to be liked. The suitor loves not only his sweetheart, but also the sound of her voice, the touch of her dress, the house where she lives. When he is away from her he presses to his lips her handkerchief,

her glove, her picture. After being in an accident the victim is afraid not only of the car in which it occurred, but even of the street in which it happened.

The process by which inborn likes and dislikes become expanded to include objects toward which the individual was at first indifferent has been studied in a series of scientific experiments by John B. Watson, the behaviorist.

Building up a fear reaction was the purpose of the first experiment. Watson selected a baby named Albert, who was eleven months and three days old. By repeated experiments Watson showed that nothing but loud sounds and removal of support would bring out the fear response in this child. His reaction to a loud sound, however, was what occurs with most children: he would try to get away from the noise as far and as quickly as possible, and sometimes would cry. A steel bar about one inch in diameter and three feet long, when struck with a hammer, made him weep and crawl away.

Manufactured Fear. For weeks Albert had played fearlessly with a white rat. One day the rat was taken from the basket as usual and placed before the baby. He began to reach for it. Just as his hand touched the animal the bar was struck with a hammer, making a loud clang a short distance behind his head. The infant jumped violently and fell forward, burying his face in the mattress, but he did not cry. A little later he reached for the rat again and again the bar was struck. Again the child jumped violently and fell forward. This time he began to whimper.

A week later the rat was placed suddenly before Albert without the sound of the bar. He looked steadily at it, but made no move to reach for it. The rat was then placed nearer, whereupon the baby began slowly to reach toward it. When the rat nosed his hand the baby at once pulled it away. He started to reach for the head of the animal, but pulled his hand back suddenly before touching it. It is thus seen that the fear of the loud sound had already, by only two experiences a week before, been somewhat linked up with the touching of the rat. The baby still freely picked up and played with his blocks, which had not been linked up with the clang of the hammer.

The blocks were now taken from the child and the rat given him again. As he touched it the bar was struck with the hammer. Albert fell over immediately and turned his head from the rat, but did not cry. This was repeated twice with the same result. Then the rat was

suddenly put before him *without* the clang. Albert puckered his face, whimpered, and turned. The combination of the rat and the noise was repeated twice more, and Albert whimpered both times. Again the rat was presented without the sound. The instant the rat was shown, the baby began to cry. Almost instantly he turned, fell over, raised himself on all fours, and began to crawl away so rapidly that he was caught with difficulty before he reached the edge of the mattress.

Five days later Albert cried and scurried away when the rat was put in front of him without the clang of the bar, but he played cheerfully with his blocks. Albert had for weeks been playing with rabbits, pigeons, fur muffs, and false faces. Now for the first time since the experiment began with the rat and the clanging noise, a rabbit was brought to him, without the sound of the bar. At once Albert leaned away and burst into tears. The rabbit was brought near enough to touch him, and Albert crawled away crying, although he had never before been afraid of a rabbit. After a few minutes his blocks were given him. He played with them far more energetically than before. He raised them high over his head and slammed them down with a great deal of force.

A dog was then brought close to him. Albert, who had loved dogs, leaned away and began to cry. A fur coat made him cry and crawl away. The fear which the sudden noise had always brought had now been linked up not only with the white rat but also with other furry animals and objects. It is thus, according to Watson, that we learn to be afraid.

Unmaking Fear. If fear can be made to order can it be *un*made to order? Certainly, says Professor Watson. Peter was an active, eager child about three years old. He was afraid of white rats, rabbits, fur coats, feathers, cotton-wool, frogs, fish, and mechanical toys. Only Peter's fears were "home grown," not experimentally produced as were Albert's. Peter's fears were also more violent than Albert's. Peter was put in a crib in a playroom and at once became absorbed in his toys. A white rat was put into the crib from behind. At the sight of the rat, Peter screamed and fell flat on his back in a paroxysm of fear. He was then taken out of the crib and put into a chair. Barbara, a girl of two, was brought to the crib and the white rat was put in as before. She showed no fear but picked up the rat in her hand. Peter sat quietly watching the two. A string of beads belonging to Peter had been left in the crib. Whenever the rat touched a part of the

string, he would say " my beads " in a complaining voice, although he made no objections when Barbara touched them. His fear lasted so that it was twenty-five minutes after the rat was taken from the room before Peter was ready to play about freely.

Now an experiment was begun, to remove this fear of furry things. Peter was seated at a small table in a high chair in a long room, and a lunch of crackers and milk was given him. Just as he began to eat his lunch, the rabbit was shown him in a wire cage, just far enough away not to disturb his eating. Next day the rabbit was brought closer and closer until disturbance of the child was first barely noticed. The third and following days the same thing was repeated, moving the cage nearer and nearer each day. Finally the rabbit could be put on the table, then in Peter's lap. Next he began not only to cease fearing but actually to like the animal. Finally he would eat with one hand and play with the rabbit with the other. He had linked up the rabbit experience with the pleasure of eating.

But Peter had been afraid of all sorts of furry animals and things. Cotton, the fur coat and feathers, of which he had been terribly afraid, were now brought in, and at once he played with them freely. His fear of them was entirely gone. While he did not yet love white rats, he would now, instead of screaming, pick up boxes containing rats and frogs and carry them around the room.[1]

Lingering Linkages. Linked up likes and dislikes may last long after the original link is forgotten. Some time in childhood a person may eat so much melon that painful results follow. Long after the experience has been forgotten that individual is likely to have a strong dislike for melon. In very early life a child may be tormented by a red-haired person, and thereafter, without knowing any reason for it, may feel a strong dislike for all red-haired people. Or the red-haired person may give the baby candy, romp with it and so gain its affection that all through life, without remembering the reason why, that baby though grown-up may have a strong " instinctive " liking for those with red hair.

Quite often unreasonable terrors which arise from forgotten linkage of experiences may be removed by finding the original source and explaining it. A friend of the writer's on recovering from a long sickness, was tormented by night terrors. She would wake from sleep

[1] The original account of these experiments is given in Watson's *Behaviorism*, pp. 126–8; 136–8.

screaming with horror. A psychiatrist, by patient uncovering of forgotten experiences, found that in childhood this girl had slept during a delirious illness in a room where a light from the hall fell slantingly across her bed. It happened that her room during her present convalescence was arranged in just this way. This linking up of experiences was explained to her and to the nurse. When she next awoke in terror the nurse reminded her laughingly of the source of the trouble, and the whole difficulty rapidly disappeared.

Conclusion. Our personalities are not simple units; they include all the objects, situations, and experiences which we have linked up with our purposes and with our aversions. In the following chapters this fact will be further developed. Later we shall find that the making of friends, the treatment of children, the reform of criminals — indeed the whole range of social relations — involves in a vital way the linking up and unlinking of experiences.

Summary

A. Inborn likes and dislikes are relatively few.

1. The new-born baby begins spontaneously to function in such ways as sucking and kicking, and he objects to such experiences as a loud noise, being dropped, being held still, and being hurt.
2. Other likes and dislikes either develop as the body matures or are learned.

B. The linking together of experiences is fundamental in the building of the self.

3. Reflexes can be linked up so as to be set off by stimuli which at first had nothing to do with them.
4. Language is acquired by linking certain sounds with corresponding experiences; all other forms of learning also are based on linkage.
5. Magic is based upon mistaken linkages between events; science is built upon observed linkages between causes and effects.
6. The strength of linkages depends upon the amount of emotion roused when the two experiences occurred together and upon the number of times when they came together.

C. Learned likes and dislikes are acquired by the linkage process.

7. Watson has demonstrated, for example, how new fears can be hooked on to old ones, and how they can be unhooked by linkage of the feared experience with a pleasant experience.

8. Likes and dislikes acquired by linkage may linger, irrationally, long after the original link is forgotten.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

7D1. Why is it hard to tell just which likes and dislikes are inborn? What difference does it make how many are innate and how many acquired after birth?

7D2. What instances have you known of the linking up of experiences in animals? In children? In your own life? Under what conditions can a firm build up goodwill for itself by having its name mentioned in connection with a radio program?

7D3. When you are trying to recall something forgotten, how do you go about it? Why?

7D4. What instances can you give where learning has not involved the linking process?

7D5. In your study of other languages, how have you come to know the meaning of foreign words? Give details.

7D6. A mother said to her husband at table: "Shall we g-o c-a-l-l-i-n-g to-night?" When she spelled out the words "go calling" the children all shouted "Movies!" Why do you suppose they did that?

7D7. An Appendix to Tozzer's *Social Origins and Social Continuities* contains material from the themes of Harvard Freshmen confessing their authors' cherished superstitions. Here are interesting examples of the origin of personal fetishes. Success in an examination is ascribed to the necktie worn at the time, and thereafter at all examinations that necktie is worn — it has acquired *mana*. What instances of this sort can you cite from student life?

7D8. What is the difference between magic and science?

7D9. Stuart Sherman, writing in the *Mentor* for October, 1926, cites this incident from the life of Benvenuto Cellini:

> One day the old Giovanni called the little Benvenuto to see a salamander in the fire and at the same time administered him a resounding box on the ear — not, explained the old man, for any fault of his son but merely to make him remember, with lively consciousness, that he had seen a notable sight.

On what principle was this method of instruction based? In what ways might this principle be applied in modern education? What dangers has it?

7D10. What difference does it make in the linking up process whether the person is interested in the experiences to be linked up? What do you mean by "interested"? What relation is there between the effects of being interested and of being shocked?

7D11. Have you any strong, unreasoning fears or dislikes? What are they? Can you trace their beginnings?

7D12. What flavor have the following words for you: "charity"; "asylum"; "reformatory"? What was their original flavor? Why have their flavors changed? What other words can you think of whose flavors have changed? Why have these changed?

7D13. Why did Albert not learn to *fear* crackers and milk instead of learning to *love* the rabbit? How could the experiment have been changed so as to produce the former result instead of the latter?

7D14. How much place does consciousness have in the process of linkage? What difference does the answer to this question make? When one tries to teach some one something, does one try to get him to understand it or to link it up?

7D15. Which would be the best title for this chapter: "Linked Up Experiences"; "Association"; "Conditioned Reflexes"; or "Conditioning"? Give reasons for your answer. Distinguish between the meanings of the words used in these titles.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

7K1. Read and discuss the instances cited in *Mental Hygiene*, Vol. 3 (1919), pp. 16–23. (One hour)

7K2. Get some professional dog raiser to explain to you how he trains his dogs not to kill hens, not to be gun-shy, not to dirty the house, to come when called, and the like. Write out an account of the methods used. (Three to five hours)

7K3. Even earthworms learn by linked up experience, according to an experiment described in the *Literary Digest* for July 3, 1923, p. 20. How far down the scale of life does psychological linkage extend? Why is the answer to this question significant? (Time credit to be arranged)

7L4. Write an essay on the subject: "The Craving for Approval and Shrinking from Disapproval, as Results of Linkage." Cite instances as far as you can. Discuss the relations between your conclusions and the findings suggested in Chapter 5.

7L5. List a number of attempts which you have made to learn to do things. Fill in as much detail as possible as to the methods used and the attendant circumstances. Which attempts succeeded best? Why? (Two hours)

7L6. From your own experience give an instance of a magical belief established by the linking process. (Half an hour)

7L7. Give an instance in which you have learned a scientific truth through the linking up of two phenomena. (Half an hour)

7L8. Give a detailed account of some incident in which a shock linked up experiences in your life. (One hour)

7L9. Write an account of instances in which an experience came to be liked or disliked by being linked up with an experience which in turn came to be liked or disliked by linking up with some other experience. How far could this process be carried? (One to four hours)

7X10. Select some friend (preferably a child) with whom you often spend time. Select some delicacy of which this friend is fond, such as candy or salted nuts. Decide upon some trivial signal which ordinarily would attract no attention — say clearing your throat, dropping a pencil, rubbing your hands together, or mentioning a familiar city. On some occasion when you are to be in the same room with this friend for some time, bring a supply of this delicacy but do not let the friend know you have it until you (apparently accidentally) give the signal. Then, after a moment's pause, offer the delicacy. After a few minutes give the signal again without calling any special attention to it, and again, after a moment's pause, offer the delicacy. Repeat until the friend makes some comment on the connection between the signal and the offer of the delicacy. How many repetitions were required? (Two hours)

7X11. Select some animal such as a dog, a horse, a rabbit, or a bird which you are allowed to feed. Decide upon some signal which you are to give just before each time when you feed this animal. The signal may be blowing a whistle, ringing a bell, snapping the fingers, calling out a word, waving a handkerchief, or the like. The signal should be one which will not be given except when you are using it in the experiment. Record carefully the conditions of your experiment. Note how soon the animal comes to be fed upon the giving of the signal, with no show of food. (Time credit to be arranged)

7X12. Burnham tells of how a friend taught a dog to sneeze by tickling the dog's nose until he sneezed and then praising and rewarding

him. Try an experiment of this sort in which a trick is taught an animal by linking up the desired act with a reward in terms of food or praise. (Three to five hours)

7W13. Read the sections on the learning process in some good educational psychology. Which of the points raised are similar to points in this chapter? What new material is given? (Two hours)

7W14. Read the chapters on " The Conditioned Reflex " (Chapters III to VI) in William H. Burnham's *The Normal Mind.* What points important for the understanding of social relationships are brought out by Burnham but omitted in our chapter? (Four hours)

7W15. Summarize in a brief paper the differences of opinion among psychologists as to the number of inborn likes and dislikes. (Two to four hours)

7W16. What has consciousness to do with the conditioned reflex? (Two to ten hours)

CHAPTER VIII

THE EXPANDED PERSONALITY

The Organism and the Personality. If one starts out to define the personality, a point on which all can agree is that one's body, or organism, is included in the self. The essential point of the present chapter is that the personality includes a great deal more than the body. Toward a great many other things we act as if they were parts of ourselves in only a slightly less degree than are our hands or our faces. The healthy man enjoys the smooth functioning of his body; almost as much, however, he enjoys the smooth functioning of his automobile. Normally we grieve over any damage to our bodies — but the woman whose best china plate has been broken weeps more bitterly than she would if her arm had been gashed. It is natural for a person to resist an attack on his body — yet a mother may fight more fiercely to protect her child than herself. If we include in the personality those things whose functioning we delight in, whose injury we deplore, and threats against which we resist, then the automobile, the china plate, and the child would be included in the personalities of their possessors.

Property as Part of the Personality. The adding of annexes to the personality occurs through the process of linkage. An object which helps one to function in an interesting way gives him a vigorous sense of satisfaction, and comes to be linked up with desirable experiences, so that the individual wants to keep that object where he can get it again. This linking of objects with the experiences of satisfying functioning is the basis for property rights. Indeed, property really means things through which the owner has the right, without interference, to carry out his purposes.

The pre-school children showed their feeling of property rights in the things through which they functioned:

Gertrude was playing with colored wooden cubes. She was the only child to talk to the others and her words were entirely "No-no" and "You are bad" when any other child reached for her cubes. The children would not,

even at the teacher's suggestion, use what cubes they wanted from a common pile, but rather each child took a handful which he defended as his and from which he drew to construct as he wished. . . .

Genevieve stood by Sylvia at the sand. Each child was making a cake. Suddenly Genevieve snatched Sylvia's cake pan and seemed surprised when Sylvia took it back. . . .

Sylvia got the chalk and began to draw on the blackboard. Charles went up to her and began to write also. "Don't, on my part," Sylvia protested to him, and he moved further toward the other side of the board. . . .

The boys were building a house. They took all the unused blocks; then Peter took one that furnished a side to the girl's house. "That's mine," Margaret said, and Peter put it down. Albert took one from Gertrude's square, but after a moment's pause put it back, remarking, "We can't take any more. The rest are hers." [1]

The so-called instinct of acquisitiveness is clearly only an extension of this tendency to link with one's purposes the objects through which one functions, and to adopt them as part of one's personality. This tendency is evident, of course, in the storing of honey by bees, in the hoarding of nuts by squirrels, and of corn and other food by rats, in the burying of bones by dogs, and in various sorts of human hoarding and collecting. Among the chimpanzees Neuva was noted as "an indefatigable collector." Children continually accumulate collections of stones, boxes, rags, dolls, colored papers, and so forth, which they defend as theirs and to the destruction of which they violently object if they happen to notice it.

Tools Become Extensions of the Self. Because one functions through one's tools, they become parts of the expanded personality. Whiting Williams observed two laborers having a fist-fight over a shovel which belonged to the company. Each claimed to have used the shovel for three months past, and so each asserted that it was his.[2] He tells also of an aged workman who, seeing his work-shop in flames, rushed into the building to save his tools and was burned to death.

Miss Addams gives an instance where the tool through which the woman functions is linked up with the whole of the old life, and brings it all back:

I saw an old Italian woman, her distaff against her homesick face, patiently spinning a thread by the simple stick spindle so reminiscent of all southern Europe.[3]

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 37, 46. [2] *What's on the Worker's Mind*, 36.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 235.

Children are particularly likely to develop strong attachments for objects which they use. A young baby had become accustomed to being covered with a certain pink quilt. As she became older it became more and more essential for her to have this quilt over her when she went to sleep. The quilt washed out white and thin; still she clung to it. Finally it dwindled to a rag and at last to a wisp, but still she had to have that last remnant to give her comfort in sorrow or to lull her to slumber.

Places as Part of One's Personality. We link up our personalities not only with objects but also with places. Mary Lee Davies, writing in *Scribner's* for July, 1926, says:

> I have been living for eight years in a little town of far interior Alaska. . . . Because I do love Alaska I am truly hurt to find it misunderstood, just as one resents the misappreciation of a dear friend by a casual stranger. For Alaska to-day, though perhaps not a woman's country, yet appeals strongly as a great challenging personality to a certain type of woman.

A certain couple, soon after their marriage, moved into a cottage on a large estate. Their children were born and grew up in that house. Each birthday their heights were marked on the door post. Their toys were stored in its attic. Finally the family moved into a larger house on the same place. But they still wanted the cottage to go on functioning. They sought for some one who would love the place as they did. They visited the new tenants often and took them in as friends. Yet when the newcomers changed the arrangement of the furniture and worked out new uses for some of the rooms they were vaguely hurt. The changes came as a damage to the expanded personalities of the people who had first lived in the cottage.

Gifts as Part of the Giver. This adoption of objects as part of the personality has an interesting development in the giving of gifts. A little girl, at the age of four, gave her father a screw driver. Thereafter, every time he utilized this tool in her presence, she delightedly called attention to her having given it and to its usefulness. If adults fail at times to get this same joy out of giving, it is because they have lost the art of putting their own personalities into their gifts. That adults are capable of feeling this sort of thrill is proved by the sensation which we all have when we see that some piece of property of ours has rendered a real service to some one else. It is far from a mere matter of form to say, " I'm delighted that it was of some real use to

you!" Our personalities have functioned through the automobile of ours that gives some one else a ride, or the flowers from our garden that have brightened the room of another, or the thing we cooked which another relished, or even the treasured jack-knife which has given to some one else's pencil a sharp point.

Carson C. Hathaway writes in the *New York Times* for December 19, 1926:

To the President of the United States every day is a little bit of Christmas, and the way in which his December 25 differs from other occasions is merely in the greater number of gifts received. For all through the year presents come rolling in. Like humanity in general, most Americans have a half-unconscious feeling that if they can but touch the hem of the garment of some great individual, they are winning for themselves some little share in his greatness. To have driven over a country road where George Washington once drove, to have stood where Lincoln spoke, to have slept in a bed where General Grant slept, are honors that most of our fellow-citizens instinctively prize. And to have sent a turkey or a jack-rabbit or a pumpkin or a cane to the head of the nation reacts with a sense of exaltation upon the donor.

What One Has Created Becomes Part of His Personality. Miss Verry's study of pre-school children contains a number of instances where the child who invents a game claims possession of it, gives orders to those who take part, tries to keep the game functioning after the other children have lost interest, and shows sorrow when the block house, or the row of chairs or what not, where the game is played, gets upset.

The most learned and distinguished men take delight in the functioning of the creations of their minds. J. McKeen Cattell, who had a major part in bringing to its present high distinction the magazine *Science*, recently announced a plan under which he proposed to turn over the ownership of the paper to the American Association for the Advancement of Science. In that connection he wrote:

Only enlightened selfishness is involved in the transfer of *Science* to the American Association. The father wants his child to be cared for when he can no longer look after it himself. Although the editor of *Science* is but one of fourteen thousand members of the American Association, it and its objects have long been one of his chief interests. . . . He has devoted his life in the main to the objects that the journal and the association are there to promote and he is thus doing the best he can to preserve *Science* for his enduring self.[1]

[1] *Science*, Oct. 8, '26, p. 347.

A Man's Job Is Normally Part of His Expanded Personality. To the well-adjusted man, his work is a vital part of his expanded self. It is his source of support; he dreads the hardship of being out of work, the worry of looking for a new position. He has developed friendships among his fellow workers. If he likes his job and has put himself into it, he has developed a sense of achievement and of service which is treasured and which would be shattered by dismissal. Even if he hates the work, being discharged would mean being disgraced, and make it more difficult to get a good position elsewhere. To be dismissed for unfitness is among the severest attacks which the expanded personality can suffer; to be promoted is one of the keenest triumphs.

The extremes to which the adoption of one's job as part of oneself may go is illustrated in the following instance, relating to some laborers in a certain department of a tannery:

> There is a peculiarly pungent and disagreeable odor which permeates this department and which clings to the clothes for hours after one has left it. Yet the men in the hide house — there are about forty of them — do not seem to mind at all. In fact, I doubt if even a few of them feel the necessity of taking a shower bath in the evening — the company has provided adequate washing facilities — or of changing their clothes, aside from removing their overalls. The foreman thought it quite a joke to see people hurriedly leave their seats on street cars at his approach. Many of the men who have spent the best part of their lives at these occupations, pride themselves on being old timers. They continually complain about their wages, but seldom leave to find new jobs.[1]

Additional items on this point will be found in Whiting Williams' *What's on the Worker's Mind*, pp. 73 and 81.

Animals Learn to Love One Another. Up to this point the expansion of personality has been discussed merely as relates to the adoption of lifeless objects as parts of the self. Even more emphatically the conception applies to relationships between living beings. As has been shown above, animals develop expanded personalities by acquiring " property " and tools. But they often also annex their fellows as parts of their expanded selves. Köhler's observations of his chimpanzees give a good deal of light on linked up relations. He says:

> There are in the relations of any two animals all grades of friendship and even qualitative colorings down to a small dislike. . . .

[1] Kax Kossoris, *Survey*, June 15, '26, p. 372.

Big Tschego, quite at first, had a special penchant for the older little male, Sultan, who enviously tried to keep this preference on the part of the head of the group for himself by attacking any other animal who dared approach. But after his character had earned for him one or two hard reproofs from Tschego's hand, he quite lost his rôle of confidant, and it looked most comical to see him, with increased respect and slightly retiring, squatting near her, but quite unnoticed; how he would scratch his head with a more and more disquieted expression on his face, at the same time still trying to chase the others away from Tschego, until at last she herself got angry and drove him away.[1]

Humans as Objects of Animal Affection. Friendship on the part of the apes extended also to human beings:

It is often, indeed, just when the chimpanzees have been most impatiently awaiting their meal that they will at great length hail the person who is bringing their food with loud cries of joy, put their arms around him, slap him and each other with pleasure, pull him and his food-vessel hither and thither, until at last one after the other stop their excited cries of joy, and, after the self-appointed delay, quickly snatch a little food. . . . The animals are pleased simply at seeing again their beloved humans.[2]

This friendship for human beings extended to the point even of marked exhibitions of gratitude. Two chimpanzees had accidentally been left locked out of their cages on a rainy night, and Köhler had gone out to let them in:

I stood aside to let the two chimpanzees run in as quickly as possible, into their warm, dry sleeping den. But, although the cold water was streaming down their shivering bodies on all sides, and although they had just shown the greatest misery and impatience, and I myself was standing in the middle of the pouring torrent, before slipping into their den they turned to me and put their arms round me, one round my body, the other round my knees, in a frenzy of joy. And it was not until they had satisfied themselves in this way, that they threw themselves into the warm straw of their sleeping apartment.[3]

When a conflict ruptured the friendship between the apes and their human associates the longing for reconciliation was quite marked:

The little creature which I had punished for the first time, shrank back, uttered one or two heart-broken wails, as she stared at me horror-struck, while her lips were pouted more than ever. The next moment she had flung

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 310–11. [2] *Ibid.* p. 304. [3] *Ibid.* p. 306.

her arms around my neck, quite beside herself, and was only comforted by degrees, when I stroked her. This need, here expressed, for forgiveness, is a phenomenon frequently to be observed in the emotional life of chimpanzees. Even animals who at first when they have been punished boil with rage, throw one glances full of hate, and will not take a mouthful of food from a human being, when one comes again after a time will press up close, with eager bearing, to which a quick rhythmic breathing and pulling open of the eyes is added, or else will give a sob of relief, press one's fingers affectionately to their lips and make other apish protests of friendship.[1]

Pets Are Parts of the Personality. Men expand their personalities to include animals as well as animals to include men. The expression: "Love me, love my dog!" means that the dog is part of the speaker's expanded self. We had an Airedale whom we reared from early puppyhood until he was nearly grown. The children romped with him. We fed him, bathed him, doctored him. When at last a ruthless automobile driver killed him and drove off laughing, the emotional wrench was only less in degree to the shock and grief which we would have suffered if one of the children had been the victim.

The extent to which pets are adopted as parts of the expanded personality is emphasized by an article in the *New York Times* for October 24, 1926:

To be a pet animal in New York is to recline on a bed of ease, to be sought after and cherished.

Dogs are dressed up in sweaters, walked in the park, or driven around in a motor car. Invitations are declined in order to stay with them if they are afraid of thunder storms, or a janitor is hired to keep them company. Cats and dogs are coddled in New York, and if they become ill there are hospitals especially devoted to their care.

Stores where dog accessories are kept display brushes, combs, lotions, soaps, and salves that rival the fanciest barber shop in toilet appurtenances. Dog slickers may be had for walks in the rain and dog dishes for specially prepared meals.

Still more astonishing in the eyes of those to whom dogs are just dogs is the introduction of canine playthings. One of these is an artificial bone that may be had in white or red; another is a black rubber cat's head.

New York draws the line at no animal that is offered for sale in a shop and duly marked "pet." In addition to the usual cats, dogs, canaries, gold fish, and parrots, one dealer says that he finds ready sale for chameleons, monkeys, baby alligators, squirrels, and marmosets. Turtles and snails and frogs have

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 304–5.

a place of honor in the pet shop. Another dealer declares that "ladies like snakes." Once, it is alleged, he had ninety baby boas at one time and they went like hot cakes. Women bought them for pets.

People Form Friendships through Functioning. If attachments for such things as tools, places, and pets grow up, by a process of linkage, through functioning successfully with them, can this same theory be applied to account for the origin of friendship?

The following incident told by Lillian Wald bears on this point. As a visiting nurse she had found a twelve-year-old boy who, because of a persistent scalp disease, had never been admitted to school. He had therefore never learned to read. He hung his head in shame and inferiority. The nurse took measures to cure the trouble. She says:

> In September I had the joy of securing the boy's admittance to school for the first time in his life. The next day, at the noon recess, he fairly rushed up our five flights of stairs in the Jefferson Street tenement to spell the elementary words he had acquired that morning.[1]

It will be noted in this incident that Miss Wald "had the joy" of functioning successfully through the boy, while he had so far adopted her into his personality that he eagerly exhibited to her his first achievement in reading. The pleasure of a successfully functioning relationship between people is thus shared by both sides. After Miss Wald had spent some months living in her top-story tenement she came to the point of moving to her permanent settlement. Of that move she says: "So precious were the intimate relationships with our neighbors in the tenement that we were reluctant to leave it."

Going through intense experiences together is one form of joint functioning which may cement friendship. Whiting Williams tells of the factory superintendent and gang of men who worked two nights and a day to save their shop from a flood, and ever after greeted one another as pals.[2]

One of the rewards of settlement life is to find that one's neighbors begin to show that friendliness and devotion which means that they have adopted the worker. Miss Addams tells the following:

> An Italian laborer paid my street car fare, according to the custom of our simpler neighbors. Upon my inquiry of the conductor as to whom I was indebted for the little courtesy, he replied roughly enough, "I cannot tell one

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 46.
[2] *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 190, 191, and 272.

dago from another when they are in a gang, but sure, any one of them would do it for you as quick as they would for the Sisters."[1]

Similarly, Miss Wald says:

Though my comrade and I had carefully selected men from the ranks of the unemployed to move our belongings, when all was accomplished not one of them could be induced to take a penny for the work.[2]

This comradeship in shared purpose is illustrated by two other experiences of Miss Wald's:

We found from the beginning an inclination on the part of the officials of the department of health to treat us more or less like comrades. Every night, during the first summer, I wrote to the physician in charge, reporting the sick babies and describing the insanitary conditions.[3]

A campaign was on for an appropriation for the first municipal playground in New York:

So much interest had been aroused in this phase of city government that two city officials left the board meeting while it was in progress to telephone to the settlement that the appropriation had been passed.

A quotation from Jane Addams summarizes the vital point about the expansion of personality to include other people with whom one functions:

The Russian peasants have a proverb which says: "Labor is the house that love lives in," by which they mean that no two people nor group of people can come into affectionate relations with each other unless they carry on together a mutual task.[4]

To care about other people, to be interested in their welfare, is not unselfishness; it is functioning on an expanding scale. This expanded functioning is just as natural, just as deep and powerful a need, as the "selfish" functioning which ignores the purposes of others.

The Members Are Each a Part of the Social Group; but the Social Group Is Also a Part of Each of Its Members. Apes are exceedingly sensitive to being separated from their customary associates:

It is hardly an exaggeration to say that a chimpanzee kept in solitude is not a real chimpanzee at all. Very small animals are extremely frightened. Bigger animals who do not show signs of actual fear, cry and scream and

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 84–5.
[2] *House on Henry Street*, p. 25.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 45.
[4] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 271.

rage against the walls of their stockade, and will risk their very lives to get back to the group. For the first few days after the isolation of the animal it is impossible to conduct any experiments, because they refuse food. . . .

A chimpanzee was locked up alone in the cage. His companions did not come immediately to embrace and comfort him through the apertures of window and grating, in response to his howls and whimpers. He stretched his arms imploring towards them, and, as they did not yet respond, he stuffed straw, his blanket, anything he could find, between the bars or waved it in the air but always in the direction of his mates. Finally, in the extreme of distress, he threw one of his available pieces of property after the other towards the objects of his grief and longing.[1]

Even the inmates of a poorhouse may be parts of the personalities of people who still love them. This came out strikingly in connection with an investigation of the county home by a commission of which Jane Addams was a member. The investigation was the outgrowth of the publication (probably as the result of a political conflict) of a story of abuses of the inmates. Miss Addams says:

Every time I entered Hull-House during the days of the investigation, I would find waiting for me from twenty to thirty people whose friends and relatives were in the suspected institution, all in such acute distress of mind that to see them was to look upon the victims of deliberate torture. In most cases my visitors would state that it seemed impossible to put their invalids in any other place, but if these stories were true, something must be done. Many of the patients were taken out only to be returned after a few days or weeks to meet the sullen hostility of their attendants and with their own attitude changed from confidence to timidity and alarm.[2]

The Human Group Is an Expansion of the Selves of Its Members. The need to be part of the social group is, of course, even stronger among human beings. Two incidents related by Mrs. Eva Whiting White, head resident of Elizabeth Peabody House in Boston, illustrate this fact. One was of a woman who had become a shameless beggar. She found that she could become a respected member of a mothers' club at the settlement only by giving up her begging. For the sake of this approving fellowship she revolutionized her life habits. The other person was a defiant, bitter boy whom a juvenile court judge was about to send to the reformatory. The worker found that the turning point in his life had been his being put out of a club of boys at the

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 293 and 91–2.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 165–6.

settlement. When the club was persuaded to take him back he straightened up completely and became a splendid citizen. Edward Everett Hale's story of "The Man without a Country" is built upon this human craving to be part of the group.

Jane Addams says:

We are only slowly apprehending the very real danger to the individual who fails to establish some sort of genuine relation with the people around him.[1]

Would "Gregarious" Animals Treat Strangers Thus? This tendency of animals to crave group life is often referred to as being due to a "gregarious instinct." But if this were the true explanation, why should animals treat members of their own species in the way described in the following instances?

One day a newly-bought chimpanzee arrived, and at first was put for purposes of sanitary control in a special cage a few meters away from the others. She at once aroused the greatest interest on the part of the older animals, who tried their best with sticks and stalks to indicate at least a not too friendly connection with her; once even a stone was thrown against the wire netting at the new-comer, and any active proceedings taking place between us and the new arrival were accompanied by excited noises from the others. When the new-comer, after some weeks, was allowed into the larger animals' ground in the presence of the older animals, they stood for a second in a stony silence. But hardly had they followed her few uncertain steps with staring eyes, when Rana, a foolish but otherwise harmless animal, uttered their cry of indignant fury, which was at once taken up by all the others in frenzied excitement. The next moment the new-comer had disappeared under a raging crowd of assailants, who dug their teeth into her skin. The wounded ape quickly collected herself, tumbled forward with all haste towards the nearest of us humans, clambered up him, and put her arm round his neck, wailing, while she excitedly stroked his back with one hand. The other chimpanzees were kept off only by our most determined interference while we remained. Even after several days the eldest and most dangerous of the creatures tried over and over again to steal up to the stranger while we were present, and ill-treated her cruelly when we did not notice in time. She was a poor, weak creature, who at no time showed the slightest wish for a fight, and there was really nothing to arouse their anger, except that she was a stranger.

In the transition to gradual endurance the group became a little less closely organized. Sultan, who had played less part in the above-mentioned

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 360.

assault, was the first to be left alone with the newly-arrived female. He at once began to busy himself with her in his most diligent manner, but she was really very shy after her bad treatment. However, he went on trying to make friends, with sparkling eye and a most friendly manner, until at last she gave way to his invitations to play and to his embraces.

. . . When the others came near and he was any distance away, she called him anxiously to her; and he defended her most gallantly when any other member of the group advanced with inimical bearing. Whenever she was frightened, they at once put their arms round each other. Two other female apes, however, likewise soon broke away from the muttering group, and played with the new-comer and kept putting their arms round her.[1]

Human Reactions to Strangers. Compare the above with the following account of a meeting between an explorer and an Indian:

About an hour's walk from camp I was met by an Indian, who on discovering me strung his bow and placed on his left arm a sleeve of raccoon-skin and stood ready on the defense. As I was well convinced this was prompted through fear, he never before having seen such a being, I laid my gun at my feet on the ground and moved my hand for him to come to me, which he did with great caution. I made him place his bow and quiver beside my gun, and then struck a light and gave him to smoke and a few beads. With my pencil I made a rough sketch of the cone and pine I wanted and showed him it, when he instantly pointed to the hills about 15 to 20 miles to the south. As I wanted to go in that direction, he seemingly with much good will went with me.[2]

The pre-school children studied by Miss Verry, while they displayed no violent antagonism against new children, showed in the following instance an impersonal curiosity quite in contrast to the sympathy which they showed for their familiar companions:

Will was added to the group to-day. The children stared at him a little and watched, with intent interest, his crying spells over sitting in school, seeing the nurse, and lying down. At free play, however, they went about their own affairs as usual.[3]

When the children of the younger group in the pre-school were first brought together as strangers, their actions were as follows:

Although most of the time ten children were doing the same thing they did not say a word to one another. Of course, there was much chatter to Miss S.

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 300–2.
[2] J. D. Guthrie, *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 23 (1926), p. 85.
[3] *Op. cit.* p. 42.

and the teacher when either would listen, and if one child talked, two or three others would talk to the same person at the same time. . . .

Helen sat outside the group except when she could enter it close to an adult. . . .

Fred remained in his chair in the circle, but he resisted all the efforts of the teacher to get him to slide or play in the sand. Once, during the morning, when a man came into the room, Fred ran to him talking in a gurgling eager but unintelligible way, though the man was a stranger to the child. . . . Rachael and Fred each sat stringing beads or attempting to, but paid no attention to each other. . . . At the sand table, each child stood in his place putting the damp sand into piles. They did not talk to one another at all and when questioned by the teacher, said they were "playing" or "making cakes." For several days Fred sat apart, and played with some small animals Miss S. gave him. He made no attempt to do as the other children were doing, and refused to stay at the sand or the slide, though Miss S. took him to both places. . . .

Several days later Fred, as usual, sat outside the group staring. Genevieve went up to him saying "Fred, slide," but he pushed her away. He even refused to slide for adults. . . .

Still later Fred was sitting alone and the teacher and Miss S. talked to him a great deal. He was getting much better acquainted since the group was small. When the teacher helped him he became very talkative. At the teacher's suggestion he allowed her to help him slide and seemed to enjoy it. He was much more free with adults, but still ignored the other children.

More and more the craving to be identified with the increasingly familiar and increasingly inter-functioning group, asserted itself:

Gertrude came in eating an apple and was asked to sit outside the circle until it was finished. She sat outside for about a minute, then flung her apple in the waste basket, saying, "I'd rather be in the circle." [1]

Gregariousness? — or Expansion of Personality? The Oxford Dictionary gives the following definition of gregarious: "Of classes or species of animals: Living in flocks or communities of the same species." The inadequacy of any such "instinct" to account for the forms of behavior which we have been reviewing is evident on the following counts:

1. Strange members of the same species are likely to be attacked, regarded with suspicion, or investigated with impersonal curiosity.

[1] Ethel Verry, *Op. Cit.* pp. 34–36, 38, 44, 46, 48, 51, and 60.

2. Among members of the same species who have developed a liking for being together, the intensity of this motive and its quality vary greatly, and these variations can be accounted for in terms of the degrees to which these individuals have functioned together satisfactorily.

3. Attachments between animals are quite likely to cross over the divisions between species; chimpanzees became passionately devoted to human beings; humans develop strong cravings for the companionship of animal pets.

4. The development of these bonds is strikingly similar to the growth of attachments for inanimate objects through which the individual functions successfully.

5. All of these forms of behavior are readily explicable on the basis of the principal of linkage and of the expanded personality.

Maternal Instinct or Expansion of Personality? But what of the instinctive basis of the attachment between mother and child? The intensity of this relationship, even among animals, is illustrated by a story of an elephant, belonging to a circus in Kapstadt, who became vicious because she had lost her baby. A baby elephant was captured for her in the jungle, and she became peaceable again. But the wild mother whose baby had been stolen destroyed the camp of the hunters, stamped a black boy into pulp, and then followed the trail of her baby across country for weeks until she collapsed from exhaustion.[1]

To many people this mother-child relationship will seem to be purely instinctive, and to have no basis in their having functioned together. In support of this view it should be noted that the chimpanzees, though violently hostile to strange members of their own species, were immediately friendly toward human children, and that the most marked instance of sympathy was that exhibited toward a young ape by an adult female. On the other hand, it must be remembered that a mother functions through her child and the child through the mother. Intense maternal emotional bonds can be built up between young women and children who are not theirs but whom they frequently play with and care for. Moreover, when a woman's own child thwarts her basic desires she may fail wholly to develop maternal love for it. Jane Addams gives the following instance:

[1] Joseph Delmont, *Literary Digest*, Sept. 12, '25, p. 62.

For six weeks after an operation we kept in one of our three bedrooms a forlorn little baby who, because he was born with a cleft palate, was most unwelcome even to his mother, and we were horrified when he died of neglect a week after he was returned to his home.[1]

Some inborn tendency to associate together and to care for children undoubtedly exists; the really important fact, however, seems to be that when individuals have functioned with and through each other they tend to build up strong attachments for one another.

Does the Mating Instinct Account for Devotion to One's Mate? The following story is told of what happened when a wild male orang-outang was captured:

Without any of us having perceived it, the mate of the magnificent male orang-outang had hidden in a tree. Only one man, a mere youth, remained behind with the animals. The female orang-outang seized the cage in which her mate lay and made a breach in it. The native, who had been asleep, was awakened by the noise she made and ran to the cage. The boy seized a club and tried to drive off the female, but unfortunately the male had stuck its head out of the hole made by the female and received an unintended blow on the neck which broke the spinal column and instantly killed it.

The female turned against the boy in frenzy and bit him so severely that he ran screaming and covered with blood to the leader of the expedition. The latter, puzzled by the boy's state, ran back to the cage where he found the female trying to drag her dead consort outside.

As we came near she uttered a threatening hiss. I fired a shot to drive her away and opened the cage. The widow narrowly observed us from a neighboring tree. The dead orang was fastened inside the cage and the trap set anew in the hope of catching the female. We withdrew but had not long to wait. Scarcely were we out of sight when she came from the tree and ran without hesitation straight into the cage. The door fell and she was caught. In this case my good luck saddened me. The grief of the widow was so terrible that I had to take her away from her dead mate. She ate nothing and when I put a new mate into her cage she began to rage and attacked him so violently that I had to let her stay alone. I had skinned the dead orang and prepared the pelt myself. I put the pelt into the cage in whose farthest corner she sat. She gazed at the red-brown skin. Then she sniffed the air and spread her eyes wide open. Finally she bent forward and touched the skin, rubbing her hand over it and smelling her fingers. She repeated this several times, at the same time moving her lips as if talking to herself. Suddenly she sat up, stepped forward, and pulled the skin toward her. She began

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 110.

to behave as if quite mad. She picked up the pelt again and again and rubbed herself with it, then she spread it on the ground and waltzed around it. Finally she laid the garment of her dead spouse about her shoulders and hugged it to herself. I was glad to think that the evil spell of grief was broken at last, although she had still refused to take any food. The next morning I found the widow lying dead, stretched out on the skin of her mate.[1]

Miss Addams cites a human instance of the loyalty of mates:

I recall one woman who, during seven years, never missed a visiting day at the penitentiary where she might see her husband, and whose little children in the nursery proudly reported the messages from father with no notion that he was in disgrace, so absolutely did they reflect the gallant spirit of their mother.[2]

In these instances — both anthropoid and human — personalities of mates were vitally linked. Was this a result of the "mating instinct"? If so, what happens to that instinct in the large fraction of marriages which break up? To the discussion of this problem a special chapter later in the text will be devoted. At present it is merely suggested that the functional theory of expansion of personality has a fundamental bearing on the problem.

Pathological Expansions. Normally the expansion of the self is a wholesome growth, involving increasing power to function. It is quite possible, however, to adopt as part of the self some object so poisonous and dangerous that the result is ruin and destruction. The most striking instance of this sort is the development of drug habits. Arthur M. Smith in the Detroit *News* says:

Among the sixty-five drug addicts rounded up recently was a man who, fifteen years ago, was a valuable member of the staff of a Western newspaper. He was asked what his symptoms were when he could not get the "dope" to keep him up. "O, my God," he replied, "they are indescribable. Could you imagine having extreme neuritis in every nerve of your body? That is only a part of it." Other consequences of indulging curiosity regarding drugs are banishment from home and a dependence upon thieving for a livelihood. Lost to old associates and bound as with chains to the underworld where dope-peddling thrives, the drug addict not only takes easily to crime, he is driven to it to live without torture. He is too emaciated and nervously disorganized to take any job and hold it.[3]

[1] Quoted in the *Literary Digest*, Sept. 12, '25, pp. 61–4, from Joseph Delmont, *Das Neue Ullstein Magazin*, Berlin.

[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 171.

[3] *Literary Digest*, Aug. 28, '26, p. 25.

Even when other people are included in the self, however, it must not be supposed that expansion of personality is pure altruism and means the wiping out of all that is selfish, mean, and antagonistic. Integration of purpose among close friends and relatives stands often in the way of loyalty to wider social obligations. Political corruption very frequently arises out of the loyalty of public officials to their friends and relatives regardless of the interests of the general public. Beatrice Webb describes her father as a man in whom personal loyalties — narrow integrations of purpose, limited expansions of personality — dominated over wider obligations:

When I was myself searching for a social creed I used to ponder over the ethics of capitalistic enterprise as represented by my father's acts and axioms. He was an honorable and loyal colleague; he retained through life the close friendship of his partners; his coöperation was always being sought for by other capitalists; he never left a colleague in a tight place; he was generous in giving credit to subordinates; he was forgiving to an old enemy who had fallen on evil times. But he thought, felt, and acted in terms of personal relationship and not in terms of general principles; he had no clear vision of the public good. "A friend," he would assert, "is a person who would back you up when you were in the wrong, who would give your son a place which he could not have won on his own merits." Any other conduct he scoffed at as moral pedantry. Hence he tended to prefer the welfare of his family and friends to the interest of the companies over which he presided, the profits of those companies to the prosperity of his country, the dominance of his own race to the peace of the world.[1]

Commons cites another instance of expanded personalities on a limited scale working against larger expanded interests:

It has even been known to happen that while the Union was making a strong appeal for the preferential shop, individual members have urged upon a Labor Manager the employment of sister or cousin whom the Union had not recommended.[2]

In another place he tells of three men in a clothing factory who organized a conspiracy to restrict output in order to get an increase in wages. This exploitive expansion of personality was, however, thwarted by officials of the labor union who acted " courageously and intelligently " to help bring them to trial before the joint board representing the employers and the union.[3]

[1] Beatrice Webb, *My Apprenticeship*. Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, pp. 6–7.
[2] John R. Commons, *Industrial Government*, p. 244.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 208. Compare *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 298.

Miss Wald tells of trying to get action against a physician who had left a woman in terrible suffering and danger because he could not get his fee in advance. She found that professional loyalty among the doctors interfered:

> Although I finally called upon one of the high-minded and distinguished men who had signed the diploma of the offending doctor, I could not get reproof administered, and my ardor for arousing public indignation in the profession was chilled.[1]

When the narrow integration of purpose of a limited expansion of personality works out in exploitation and conflict in broader relations, we may speak of the lesser loyalty as "socially pathological integration of purpose."

The Anti-Personality. We tend to adopt as parts of ourselves those things and companions through which we function successfully. But what happens when things thwart or hurt us? Toward these we develop antagonisms, antipathies, and enmities. Toward such objects we react in ways directly the opposite of those toward objects in the expanded personality. For convenience, these objects of antipathy, antagonism, and enmity may be called the "anti-personality." The term includes the things, places, ideas, and people which one actively dislikes — which he avoids, attacks, or likes to see thwarted or injured.

When the individual tries to handle something which hurts him, like a thorny bush, or a hot coal, or a wasp, the resulting pain helps to link up that object with disagreeable experience; objects of that sort are likely to be avoided thereafter by that individual. For instance, people who have had to take castor oil with orange juice are likely to get to hate orange juice. By being linked with castor oil it becomes part of the person's antipathies.

Clemenceau's early life affords a clear instance of the formation of lasting antagonism against ideas linked up with a tragic experience of his boyhood:

> At the age of four years, he saw his father led away by gendarmes because of his radical opinions. The boy clenched his teeth and shouted: "I will avenge you," and from that moment on, apparently, Clemenceau was a republican and a radical.[2]

[1] *The House on Henry Street*, p. 34.
[2] *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Nov. 14, '26, p. 1.

Places may be part of one's anti-personality; they may be associated with the thwarting and defeat of one's purposes and so may be hated. Take for instance the attitude of the resentful criminal toward his prison.

Ideas that give us pain are apt to be avoided, or be hated and attacked. Bryan's attitude toward evolution is a good instance.

The same process applies to people as well as to things and ideas. If some one has thwarted our purposes or injured us, our impulse is to class him as an enemy. We are likely to hold animosity against him; that is to say, we have an emotional attitude toward him which prevents us from coöperating with him or which leads us to attack him. He is apt to become part of our anti-personality. This may apply even to a group of people, or to a social institution as a whole.

Jane Addams gives the following instance:

> I met an acquaintance, who angrily said "that the strikers ought all to be shot." As I had heard nothing so bloodthirsty as this either from the most enraged capitalist or from the most desperate of the men, and was interested to find the cause of such a senseless outbreak, I finally discovered that the first ten thousand dollars which my acquaintance had ever saved, requiring, he said, years of effort from the time he was twelve years old until he was thirty, had been lost as the result of a strike; he clinched his argument that he knew what he was talking about, with the statement that "no one need expect him to have any sympathy with the strikers or with their affairs."[1]

The chief executive of a great industrial corporation had been selected by the board of directors from among the shop superintendents. One of the other shop superintendents had been a close rival in the contest. Neither of them had forgotten their antagonism; the rival was scheming to succeed the executive, while the executive was watching the shop superintendent with jealous eyes. It happened that the personnel director of this corporation found that this shop superintendent had done some very admirable things in his department, and the personnel director wrote him a letter praising these achievements. The shop superintendent had copies of this letter of praise sent to each member of the board of directors of the corporation, hoping thereby to strengthen his own prospects of promotion. When the chief executive heard of this, he called in the personnel director and

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 216.

criticized him bitterly for his action. He told him that he need not hope for promotion as long as he was friendly to the executive's enemies.

Laws of the Expanded Personality. The *development of the personality* conforms to the following laws:

1. The expanded personality grows by assimilating to itself, through a process of linkage, those parts of its environment through which it functions successfully or hopes so to function.

2. The intensity and permanence with which the new element is adopted into the personality depends upon three factors:

a. The degree of emotion involved in the successful functioning through which the new element was linked into the personality.

b. The persistency with which successful functioning with the new element occurs — that is, the number of times the individual has functioned successfully with it, and the prospects of future successful functioning with it.

c. The degree to which the *whole* personality, rather than a mere part of it, is linked up with the new element.

The *contents of the expanded personality* may include such items as the following:

3. Physical objects may become part of the personality, such as one's tools, home, familiar scenery, property, money, clothes, gifts given or received, and the like.

4. Purely mental elements may become part of the self, as memories, beliefs, valuations, opinions, attitudes, purposes, one's mental picture of oneself and of others.

5. Other people, such as one's mate, children, neighbors, associates, friends, or lover, may become parts of the personality.

6. Social relationships become part of the self, including one's job (if it is reasonably satisfactory), one's prestige, one's positions of leadership or followership, one's distinctions, ranks, and titles, one's memberships in clubs, churches, and other organizations, one's national allegiance, and the like.

7. Successful products of one's own endeavors are particularly likely to occupy a prominent place in one's expanded personality, whether such products are food cooked, money received for work, tinkering done around the house, speeches delivered, machines invented, ideas suggested or what not.

8. Expansion of personality is not always beneficent: elements destructive of the self may be absorbed; relationships damaging to society may be built up.

One's *reactions to the elements* in one's own expanded personality are of the following character:

9. One takes pride and satisfaction in the functioning of any part of one's expanded personality. As corollaries:

a. One gives aid and support to the functioning of things, ideas, and people in one's expanded self.

b. Successful functioning through any part of the environment leads to search for other ways of functioning through it.

10. One tries to think of the elements of his expanded personality in terms of idealization.

a. One tends to emphasize their good traits and ignore their defects.

b. One refers to them in terms of approval or even of boasting.

c. One enjoys having others approve of them, and resents or grieves over their being disapproved.

11. One enjoys being with and thinking about the elements in one's expanded personality, and resists or grieves over being separated from them.

12. One is hurt by any attack against or damage to the elements of one's expanded personality, and tends to defend them against injury.

Each of these laws about the expanded personality applies in a negative way to *the anti-personality*.

13. The anti-personality is a convenient phrase to cover the objects, ideas, people, and relationships toward which one feels antipathy, antagonism, or enmity.

14. The anti-personality grows by linking with itself those parts of the environment which thwart or injure the expanded personality, and people who are regarded as treating one unjustly.

15. The contents of the anti-personality are analogous to the types included in the expanded personality, except that in every case the basic relationship is conceived by the personality as one menacing to itself.

16. The reactions toward the anti-personality are the antitheses to the reactions toward the expanded personality.

Social motivation can be understood only in terms of the expanded and anti-personality.

17. The motive of life is that the expanded personality may function, and that the anti-personality may be thwarted, eliminated, or destroyed.

18. Purpose is personality projected into the future.

19. The behavior of people may be influenced fundamentally in two ways:

a. By stimulating, releasing, and facilitating the functioning of their expanded personalities (or by attacking or thwarting the objects of their antagonisms).

b. By threatening, attacking, or thwarting their expanded personalities (or stimulating, releasing, and facilitating the objects in their anti-personalities).

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

8D1. Describe as fully as you can the expanded personality of some dog or other animal whom you know well.

8D2. A certain husband was in the habit of beating his wife cruelly. In what sense might it be said that because he beat her she was part of his expanded personality? A big bully was fond of teasing a certain little boy: could the little boy because of that fact be part of the expanded personality of the bully? How could you decide these questions?

8D3. A certain agency for doing social case work tried the experiment of having the members of its board of directors each spend four hours a day for a week working alongside a field worker of the agency. The result was greatly increased interest and enthusiasm by these directors in the work. Why would this result be likely to occur? Under what circumstances might opposite results develop?

8D4. Why is it that meetings held in connection with luncheons, dinners, or refreshments are likely to be more successful than meetings held without food?

8D5. An editorial in the *New York Times* for November 14, 1926, includes these paragraphs:

The third Pan-Pacific Science Congress has just closed in Tokio. Among its results have been arrangements for scientists on both sides of the Pacific to exchange data on seismology and volcanic activities, in the hope that they will thus be better able to understand the forces which from time to time cause such devastating earthquakes on both borders of the Pacific. In the meantime plans are progressing for the Pan-Pacific Conference on Education,

Rehabilitation, Reclamation, and Recreation which is to be held in Hawaii in April next.

We have been told that the Japanese are devotees of baseball and tennis. But we have not realized that this conception of the sporting spirit, essentially alien to the Oriental mind, has perhaps done more than anything else to help Americans and Japanese to understand each other.

How much influence, and what kind of influence, are such things as these likely to have on international relations? What additional items of this sort can you think of?

8D6. It often happens that when a person masters an idea he really begins to think that he has discovered it himself. How can this tendency be explained?

8D7. What is the relationship between the organism of a good typist and her typewriter? Between that of a good soldier and his gun? A good engineer and his engine? An automobile owner and his first new car? What are the emotional relationships in each case? What additional instances can you cite?

8D8. A child who passionately loved to read was asked by her father what punishment she should have for a certain offense, and they agreed that she should not be allowed to read during the whole of the next day. Toward evening of that day the father said that she had been so good that she might go back to her story. She was upset by this permission, and suggested that she thought this was not right. How would you explain this child's behavior? What relation has it to the present chapter?

8D9. Give instances which you know of where people love to talk shop. How would you account for such behavior?

8D10. Whiting Williams tells of having had a landlady in a steel town who, at one dollar per day, not only gave him a full bucket of delectable lunch, but set a groaning table at supper and stood over it urging and re-urging her good food on her boarders. Does this sound plausible to you? Why or why not?

8D11. What arguments, other than efficiency, economy, and profits, probably weighed with Henry Ford when he was considering abandoning the type of gear shift employed in the model of engine on which he made his fortune?

8D12. What different inward emotional reactions might one plausibly expect from Prof. William MacDougal toward the comments made in this chapter relative to instincts? Why?

8D13. Tell the story of *The Man Without a Country*. How does it fit into this chapter? If none in the class remembers it, have some one read and report on it.

8D14. What instances do you know of where desire to be a member of some social group made a person do difficult things?

8D15. What instances do you know of where human beings have treated strangers as the chimpanzees treated the strange ape? In what instances that you know of have strangers been treated differently from that? How do you explain these differences?

8D16. What data, if any, can you give to show that friendship is not the result of successful joint functioning?

8D17. Under the theory of friendship and love developed in this chapter, how would you account for the devotion still shown by a hopelessly rejected suitor who has always been scorned by the lady he loves?

8D18. What two points in this chapter are illustrated in the following incident, printed in the *New York Times* for December 5, 1926:

Madrid, Dec. 4. A.P. — Along the northern coast of Spain an elderly itinerant bagpipe player, blind and lonely, is searching for his lost wife. Playing his mournful notes in the streets of the towns and villages, he hopes to catch her ear with a tune he knows once was her favorite.

8D19. The illness and death of Rudolph Valentino, the motion picture hero, was a front page newspaper story all over the world; the death on the same day of ex-President Eliot of Harvard University was given only a fraction as much attention. Explain this on the basis of theories in this chapter.

8D20. A nine-year-old girl was going to be away over night. Before leaving she begged her younger sister to put her doll Betty to bed so that the doll should not have to stay up all night. What elements in this incident do you find corroborated in the following copyright wireless dispatch to the *New York Times:*

London, Jan. 8 — The abolition of wireless uncles and aunts who have been lulling thousands of children to sleep nightly with bedtime stories is bringing many protests to the British Broadcasting Corporation.

Bedtime stories still are told, but by Miss —— and Mister —— instead of Aunt Sophie and Uncle Billy. Most of the protests say the children are crying for their wireless uncles and aunts.

8D21. Eugene Debs, several times Socialist candidate for president of the United States, after he had been sentenced to Atlanta penitentiary for a speech opposing war, said to the court:

> Your Honor, years ago I recognized my kinship with all living beings and I made up my mind that I was not one bit better than the meanest of the earth. I said then, I say now, that while there is a lower class, I am in it; while there is a criminal element, I am of it; while there is a soul in prison, I am not free." [1]

How would you determine whether this was an instance of genuine expansion of personality or not?

8D22. Sometimes, after an abdominal operation, "adhesions" form — tissues grow together which have no business to do so, with resulting pain and strain. What developments in the expansion of personality might be spoken of in this sense as "social adhesions"?

8D23. Discuss, in the light of the present chapter, the following clipping from the *Minneapolis Star* for July 13, 1926:

> Steps were taken to-day to restrict employment on public works to Minneapolis residents exclusively, even in cases where the work is being done for the city by private enterprise.
>
> The city council efficiency and economy committee requested the city attorney to prepare an ordinance prohibiting the employment of non-residents of the city on public works. The committee also decided to call on the school board to use its influence with the latter to take similar steps.

What similarity has this incident to the actions of nations in the erection of tariff walls?

8D24. Cite instances in which the personal loyalties of a narrowly expanded personality have dominated over the impersonal loyalties of a broader expansion. Discuss in this connection the following statement of Miss Follett:

> I utterly disavow narrower and wider loyalties. I am going to be loyal both to my family and to my country; both to my trade union and to any other group to which I may be sent as representative.[2]

8D25. In terms of the present chapter, what would be the meaning of the command: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"?

8D26. Criticize the following definition: "Love is the desire to share purposes with people."

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 15, '26, p. 203.

[2] *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924, p. 240.

8D27. What points in our present chapter are especially illustrated by the following quotation from Miss Wald's *House on Henry Street*, p. 276:

> Two men had a few rows of books for sale which advertised them as "Dealers in Radical Literature." One partner proclaimed himself a State Socialist, and the other Philosophical Anarchist. He and his partner, in all seriousness, proposed, with our coöperation, to reform society.

8D28. Whiting Williams quotes a train robber as boasting: "I ain't no petty larceny thief. I'm the real goods!" Why should the robber thus make himself out to be worse than he really was?

8D29. Why do ex-service men like to relate their experiences? Comment in this connection on the following quotation from *The Wisdom of Laziness* by Fred C. Kelly:

> Even though his time is extremely valuable, the man who knows, and knows that he knows, will talk and pass on this knowledge just as long as the caller will listen.

8D30. Is it possible to test whether certain people are part of one's expanded personality by whether one seeks their approval and shrinks from their disapproval? Cite instances pro and con, if you can, and draw conclusions.

8D31. How does the moving picture audience react when the hero saves his guilty brother from serving a term in prison? Why?

8D32. If you were anxious to attract a crowd to a meeting, which would you rather have as a drawing card, Charlie Chaplin in person, or the most eminent authority in the world on how to increase average wages? Why?

8D33. Frederick L. Collins, in an article in the *Woman's Home Companion* for December, 1926, said:

> I made my way up the hill, into the Church of the Nativity, and presently found myself standing with bared head in the grotto under the church, before the silver star which marks the spot where Jesus Christ was born. I saw devout women of all nationalities kneeling on the floor and kissing the star. Native men, carrying new-born babies, holding them close to the earth so that they too might kiss the sacred spot, laying them prayerfully in the manger where Jesus lay in his swaddling clothes.

This incident illustrates a point not worked out in the text. Can you develop this point?

8D34. The owner of one of the largest chains of newspapers in the United States owns millions of acres of land in Mexico. In what ways, if at all, would you expect this to influence the policy of these papers on Mexican issues, and why?

8D35. A survey of race relations on the Pacific Coast was being projected, and a luncheon was held to explain the plan. J. Merle Davis, in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 201, tells this incident connected with the luncheon:

"Too many preachers in this crowd for me," said a leader of federated labor, as he left the organizing luncheon of the survey in San Francisco. "It's loaded with religion and capital. Who's going to pay for it, anyway? Capital. The capitalists will pay for it and church will run it and either way labor will get flim-flammed. You have to count me out." However, the president of the Oregon State Federation of Labor and the secretary-treasurer of the Trades and Labor Federation of British Columbia both joined the local executive committee of the survey.

What points are illustrated by this incident?

8D36. What ideas can you cite that are parts of the anti-personalities of groups of people? What ideas do *you* regard with antipathy?

8D37. In what instances that you know of have people developed an antipathy toward a given house, town, park, or other location? Under what circumstances did this occur?

8D38. In the next chapter, on "Culture," it is shown that culture complexes enter into the expanded personality. In what culture complexes do we find anti-personality elements — antipathies and antagonisms — built into the social structure?

8D39. Goodrich repeatedly experienced thwarting in connection with his interest in curing rubber. Why did this experience not link up rubber and thwarting so as to make the whole subject repulsive to him early in the game?

8D40. Lillian Wald says that Jewish women who had been victims of oppression and persecution in Russia, nevertheless were homesick for that country. How would you account for this fact?

8D41. In the chapter on "Linked Up Experience" it was related that Peter, aged three, who was afraid of white rats, watched a rat playing near some beads which belonged to Peter, and said "My beads!" in a complaining voice whenever the rat touched them. How

does this incident relate to the chapter on expanded personality? What new elements does it involve?

8D42. What is "tact"?

8D43. How much do expanded personalities overlap? What, exactly, do you mean by such overlapping? What significance has it?

8D44. Redefine success in terms of this chapter.

8D45. What relation to the question of the existence of an instinct of gregariousness has the fact that some species of animals go in herds while others do not? What bearing has it on the importance of such an instinct, if it exists, in relation to social motivation?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

8F1. Visit an old people's home, a poor farm, or some other institution where the aged and infirm are cared for. Talk individually in a friendly way with several of the inmates. Get them to tell you their stories, and try to discover what it is that they most miss from their old lives.

8K2. Make a study of the Harding cabinet and its activities as involving expanded personality. Find as many specific illustrations as you can of points in our present chapter. Draw conclusions. (Four to fifteen hours)

8K3. Make an analysis, in terms of expanded and anti-personalities, of the dismissal of Dr. Henry Suzzallo, President of State University of Washington. Good brief summaries will be found in the *Literary Digest* for October 30, 1926, pp. 11–12, *Time* for October 18, 1926, pp. 23–33, and the *Survey*, for November 15, 1926, pp. 201–2. (Two hours)

8K4. In the *Literary Digest* for June 26, 1926, on p. 32, is printed a poem by Peggy Pond Church, called "Admonition." Study this poem and the introductory paragraph which precedes it, and write out your analysis of the social psychology which underlies it. (One hour)

8K5. Study some force of people who have been working together for several months, such as the people who have been studying and reciting together in the same course, the staff in an office or shop, the editorial staff on a publication, the waiters and "help" in a large restaurant or boarding house, the cast in a play, the members of a choir or the like. What friendly and unfriendly relations have developed? What, as far as you can tell, have been the roots of these?

8K6. Write a sociological analysis of the case of Judge McCamant,

as reported in the *Literary Digest* for April 3, 1926, pp. 14–15, and the *New Republic* for March 17, 1926, pp. 96–8. (One hour)

8K7. Make a special study of the methods whereby a fraternity, a sorority, a lodge, a church, or some similar organization gets into touch with prospective new members. How are candidates selected? How are friendly contacts formed? Write out a critical account of the technique used.

8K8. Study what has happened in a freshman class just admitted to a high school or a college, or among persons who have just become members of a traveling party, or among a group of people recently brought together in a boarding house or dormitory. How are friendly bonds established? How do enmities arise?

8K9. Study the interplay of personalities in the story of Absalom, 2 Samuel 13:1 to 19:30, and in the story of the Prodigal Son, Luke 15:11–32. (Two hours)

8K10. Study the words of several national anthems, of "Alma Mater" songs, and the like. What traces do you find in them of the expanded personality idea? (Two to four hours)

8K11. Write a paper on "Gifts as a Basis of Alliance," giving references to your source materials. (Two to five hours)

8L12. Write a paper listing and discussing the characteristics which make a gift successful or unsuccessful. (One hour)

8L13. Write an account from your own observations of the treatment given to a new boy or girl on the first day he or she enters a playground, or of the treatment given to a new family moving into a strange neighborhood, or a new employee coming into a strange shop or office. Give the details as fully as you can. (One or two hours)

8L14. Make a list of things, people, places, and ideas which you dislike or fear. What were the origins of these antagonisms? Write out your conclusions as to the extent of your own anti-personality and its significance in your life. Do not mention the names of other people in the paper which you hand in on this topic. (Two hours)

8L15. Take an inventory of your own expanded personality, or of that of some person whom you know very intimately. To determine what is included and what not, apply all of the tests suggested in the text. What differences do you note in the intensity with which different people and things belong to yourself? What fluctuations occur from day to day? What other conclusions can you draw? (Two to four hours)

8L16. Reread our present chapter, making note of the use of the word "loyalty." Then write a brief paper on "Loyalty as Related to Expansion of Personality." Use your own ideas and your own illustrations as far as possible. (Two to four hours)

8L17. Make a list of the friendships known to you personally. How did these friendships start? How many of them are between people who had no common activities or purposes until *after* they had become fast friends? What is your theory of the origin of friendship? (Three hours)

8L18. Is it possible to draw up any rules which would be helpful in trying to make friends? If you do think it possible, suggest rules to be included in such a list, and defend them. If you do not believe the task feasible, tell why, in detail. (Two hours)

8L19. Give details of instances when you have gotten into trouble by attacking some one's expanded personality or by siding with his or her anti-personality. (Two hours)

8W20. Read the account of the Conditioned Reflex in Thomas Vernier Moore's *Dynamic Psychology*. Compare with the discussion of linkage in our text.

8W21. Read Park and Burgess, pp. 282–287, on "Social Contacts." Discuss the expansion of the personality through secondary, as contrasted with primary, contacts. (One hour)

8W22. Read Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 111–28, on "Personality." Discuss in relation to the present chapter. (One hour)

8W23. Compare with each other and with the text Ross' concept of Socialization as developed in *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 279–91, and Park and Burgess' concept of Assimilation as developed in their *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (1924), pp. 734–75. How necessary are these concepts in addition to those of contagion of behavior and expansion of personality? (Three hours)

8W24. Read the selection from Grosse on "The Dance in the Beginnings of Art," as given in Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 577–93. What relation has this selection to the chapter on "The Motive of Life Is to Function"? Why is it referred to here instead of at the close of that chapter? What parallels do you find with the behavior of chimpanzees? (One hour)

8W25. Read the selection from Ratzel on "Clothing and Ornament," in Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 549–58. Note in outline form the points relating to expansion of personality. (One hour)

8W26. Make a list of all the social groups to which you belong. Classify these according to the scheme given in Park and Burgess, p. 50. Discuss the satisfactoriness of this classification. (Two hours)

8W27. Write a paper on Giddings' use of the concept "Consciousness of Kind," discussing it particularly in relation to this chapter. (Three to ten hours)

8W28. Look up in MacDougal's *Social Psychology* his discussion of the instincts related to this chapter. In what respects are his views consistent and what respects inconsistent with the data presented here? (Four to ten hours)

8W29. Read "The In-Group and the Out-Group," in Park and Burgess, 293–4. What has this conception to do with the expansion of personality? What changes with respect to in-groups and out-groups have taken place with the development of civilization? (Half an hour)

8W30. William Kilpatrick, in his *Foundations of Method*, makes the following statement:

> Ordinary school education makes much of the knowledge and the skills — which can be tested — but leaves the preferences to take shape as they will. The newer educational psychology, however, pays heed to the way in which preferences (attitudes, habits, interest) come about as by-products that have great personal and social importance.

Study, in Kilpatrick's book, the laws which he lays down which have applicability to the problem of how the expanded personality grows. (Three to ten hours)

8X31. Without letting the subjects of your experiment know what you are about, secure casual opportunities to converse with five different people at separate times. If possible, include one parent, one child, and one specialist, either professional or amateur. Get each of these people to talking about his major interest. Without seeming prying, see how fully you can get them to elaborate this enthusiasm of theirs. After each of the five conversations note down the methods you used, the reactions of the person talked to and, as far as you can observe it, the effect upon him of the conversation. (Three hours)

8W32. Jean Bodin, in the sixteenth century, said that common economic, religious, and other interests form the basis of social organization, and that society is developed by experiences of the pleasure and utility of association. Read some good summary of Bodin's

sociology, such as that in Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*, pp. 166–74, noting all points bearing on expansion of personality. (One hour)

8W33. Montesquieu, in 1748, asserted that the development of law is due to man's innate tendency toward association, not, as other thinkers of his day had argued, to the adoption of a " social contract." Prepare a constructive and destructive criticism of Montesquieu's position on this subject. (Time credit to be arranged)

8W34. Trace the " Biological Analogy " (or " Organic Analogy ") in the writings of Plato and of Comte. Look up its subsequent development as reported by Bogardus' *History of Social Thought*, pp. 265–76. What relations has this analogy to the concept of the expanded personality? (Three hours)

CHAPTER IX

CULTURE: THE SOCIAL INHERITANCE OF PERSONALITY

Contagious Personality Expansion. We have considered separately the facts of the contagiousness of action patterns and of the expansion of personality. Let us put the two together.

The primitive savage in exploring his environment finds and eats a certain kind of food — let us say grains of maize. Because resulting functioning is satisfactory, he tends to repeat it. The processes of eating maize come to be adopted as parts of the individual's personality. His associates, through contagious behavior, begin to use maize. Their children absorb the action-pattern and become maize-eaters. The eating of maize has ceased to be merely a personality habit and has become a culture factor, handed on from generation to generation, and from group to group.

But this use of maize involves not merely habits on the part of the people who use it. They develop certain forms of stone mortars and pestles for grinding the grain and certain forms of baskets or pottery for storing it. These become parts of the culture complex. They invent various ways of cooking it, and these enter into the traditional action patterns. They learn that the maize grows best when planted in hills certain distances apart, and when the weeds are hoed at intervals; these practices become part of the complex and the planting and hoeing tools are adopted into it. They find that squashes can be grown between the hills of corn, and this becomes part of the system. Moreover, the grains selected for planting are the large and sound ones. As the tribes migrate, or the maize culture pattern spreads from south to north, or from highlands to lowlands, or from wetter to drier climates, the strains that survive in the new environment are the ones best suited to the new conditions, so that gradually various subdivisions of the maize area develop their own varieties of the grain.

A Culture Complex. Maize came thus not only to be linked up with the personalities of individual Indians, but comes also to be part

of the social structure. It was built into the sub-social environment, for the varieties of grain were adapted to the soils and climates. It was built into the nervous structure of the Indians, for they had developed skills in planting, cultivating, harvesting, storing, grinding, and cooking it. It was built into the tools and equipment of the Indians, for it had its own special implements. It had been built into the value patterns of the tribes, for they learned to like the taste of maize products and to depend upon it. It had been built into their idea systems, for they had special ceremonies and legends and religious beliefs associated with it, and had developed a special vocabulary to discuss it. In a word, there had grown up a maize culture complex. We may define a culture complex as consisting of a group of closely related behavior patterns which have become built into the habits, the attitudes, the skills, the equipment, the vocabulary, and the social organizations of a people.

Likes and Dislikes in Food Are Cultural Rather than Instinctive. The personality of an individual consists quite largely of the culture complexes which he has absorbed. In the matter of food complexes people differ as much as in color of eyes. During the World War the French people could not get used to eating corn, even under severe pressure of lack of other grains. Germans — and people of other nationalities — acquired a liking for beer; a definite beer-complex grew up in the United States, which it has seemed quite difficult to eliminate. Yet when the question at one time arose in Rome whether it was permissible to take beer on fast days, the cardinals who tasted it not only found its drinking permissible but proclaimed that it was such a penance to drink it that it was a highly proper Lenten exercise. Many Americans would object to the snail soup which is relished in Italy, or the angleworms which people at Marseilles find so appetizing. The Eskimos greatly dislike sugar, and it takes a long time for them to get used to it. Social workers have made serious blunders by providing Italian families with the beans, flour, and bacon which would be a boon to an American family, when the Italians had never learned to eat these and would trade them for a fraction of their value for macaroni and cheese.

Even animals share these irrational culture-complexes with respect to food. Eskimo dogs brought up on seal meat would have no other meat, even though they might be suffering from extreme hunger. White rats in a laboratory refuse food for days or eat very little of a new

mixture fully as adequate as the one to which they have been accustomed.[1]

Standards of Modesty Are Cultural. Food complexes relate to the sub-social environment; so also do culture-complexes having to do with clothing, housing, private property, and the like. The costumes of peoples are built into their social structure — not as firmly as food complexes, but still in a very fundamental way. The clothing of an un-Europeanized Chinese constitutes as great a difference between his personality and that of an American as does his food or even the shape and color of his face. We are likely to think of the costumes of our own day and our own people as being the only ones that are decent and sensible. We are apt to look down on the savage woman who, without shame, goes naked except for a little apron about her loins. For essentially the same reason an Eskimo on his first visit to New York was shocked at the fact that the women there have naked necks.[2]

At the English courts skirts must touch the ankle and sleeves the elbow. At the court of the Sultan of Jokjakarta, in Java, the lords-in-waiting must be décolleté to the chest and their ladies to the waist. At home they may wear the tightly buttoned silk bodices of their race, but they must discard them before entering the presence of their ruler. Only skirts and sword belts are allowed within the palace walls.

A Druse girl may show one eye to the world with the utmost decorum, but to unveil two eyes would be the limit of bad taste.

A harem woman at home will uncover everything but her hair. All day and all night she wears a close-fitting muslin cap, and this accompanies her even into the bath.

A Japanese woman will wear a quantity of thick-wadded kimonos one over the other and walk in them for miles on a hot day. I used to urge a Japanese maid called Toku to remove at least one as we toiled over mountains under mid-day suns. "It would not be proper for a lady," she reproved me. Eventually we came to Icao, where there are hot medicinal springs. Turning a corner, suddenly we were confronted by three persons, boiled scarlet by the baths, walking bare and unashamed down the village street. In another moment we saw more equally red Japanese, lying Adam-and-Eve-like in pools of hot water. "Is that proper for ladies?" we asked Toku. "Of course!" she said, surprised. "It is a place of baths."[3]

[1] References to food habits in the above paragraph include a number of items taken from "Nutrition," by Victor E. Leime, *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 22 (1926), pp. 21–24.

[2] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 21, '26, p. 45.

[3] Rosita Forbes. *Collier's*, Sept. 18, '26.

The great dependence of clothing complexes upon climate, upon the animals whose products may be used for clothing, and upon contagion of action patterns, is illustrated by the two great groups of ancient types of costume. The cave man wore the furry skins of animals in the shapes in which they were taken from their original owners. After tens of thousands of years of such clothing, our ancestors very gradually began to learn to cut the skins and sew them into coats and pants. Tailored fur clothing thus became a culture complex which spread widely over northern Europe, Asia, and the Americas. But in ancient Egypt and in ancient Mexico and Yucatan the art of weaving cloth was invented and developed. Cloth clothing, however, was not tailored for long centuries after it was invented. It was worn in the form of ponchos or blankets or togas, with very little cutting or shaping. Only gradually did tailoring and weaving come together to produce the modern sort of garment.

The Culture Complex of Private Property. Private property has already been spoken of as a development of the expanding personality in its relations to the things it uses. But private property is more than an individual habit; it is a social institution. It gets its physical tools in the shape of locks, bars, walls, surveying instruments, courthouses, and the like. It has its place in the skills of the judge, the lawyer, the policeman, the watchman. It builds up such attitudes as the hatred of theft and the esteem given the man who has made a fortune. It has its own special vocabulary in the law books and the texts on economics.

The Family as a Culture Complex. Social relationships, as well as sub-social, develop into culture complexes. An outstanding instance is the relationship between husband and wife. Like food and costume, the institution of the family may take a great variety of different forms. In some peoples one man may marry only one woman; among other peoples one man may marry several women; elsewhere one woman may marry several men. The wife may customarily be captured, purchased, wooed, or secured through a marriage agent. The wife may come to live with the husband's family or the husband with the wife's family. All of these customs — and a host of other differences — have been not only believed in and practiced among some people or other, but have been regarded by that people as the only moral and proper way to conduct the social relationships of the family.

The family, like other culture complexes, builds itself into the sub-social environment. It has its symbols, such as the engagement and

wedding rings. At certain periods among certain peoples it has its exchange of gifts and property. It has its chief equipment in the home and furniture, embodying in its arrangements for sleeping, eating, preparing food and clothing, and the like, the characteristics of the family institution. The harem housing arrangements of the Turk embodied, for instance, the polygamy and the subjection of women which were outstanding features of the old Turkish family life. The modern American flat embodies the features of monogamy, of feminine equality, of the transfer of one-time family industries to the factory, and of transfer of activities of the children to the school, the social center, and the general community.

The family complex, too, has its special attitudes built up around it. The attitude toward divorce in Reno, Nevada, as compared with the attitude in South Carolina, for instance, or the attitude toward the employment of women in industries in the old South as compared with the new North, show this aspect of the institution. There are the skills of cooking, sewing, housekeeping, and child-rearing which are built into this complex. There are the special vocabulary and the special sets of ideas. The institution of the family, in a word, is a typical culture complex.

Religious and Political Institutions. Religious institutions are another instance. As to its embodiment in structures and equipment there are the temples and church buildings, the sacred vessels, the holy statues and pictures, the baptismal fonts, and the communion cups. As to habits and skills there are the arts connected in many religions with sacrifice; there are the arts related to sacred music; there are the ritual processions, dances, ceremonies, and prayers. Religion has such symbols as the Christian cross and the Jewish six-pointed star. The religious attitude, of course, is faith. The vocabulary of religion is immense, and theologies embody the sets of ideas related to the complex.

Like other culture complexes, religions carry with them the sense of exclusive rightness. Most of the multitudinous religious faiths have lived on the assumption that theirs was the one true creed, theirs the only way of salvation.

Political institutions are the result of building into the social structure relationships of domination and subordination, of leadership and fellowship, and sometimes of exploitation. Political institutions have their parliament buildings; they have their special skills embodied in

officials and statesmen; they have their traditions and their idea systems in constitutions and laws; and they have their special social attitudes.

The great symbols, in political institutions, are the flags. An incident in Germany illustrates their importance in the personalities of patriots:

An issue of Democracy against Monarchism in Germany is seen by the Berlin correspondents of American newspapers in the recent fall of the Luther Cabinet, through a vote of "no confidence" in the Reichstag, following the government decree providing for the joint hoisting on foreign Embassies and Consulates of the merchant flag carrying the old German imperial colors of black, white, and red alongside the black, red, and gold of the young Republic.

The flag issue in Germany is one of sentiment on both sides. When Germany was united under Prussian leadership in 1871 the new Empire added a red stripe to the Prussian black and white, and made the new three-colored ensign the imperial flag. Ever since the black, white, and red have been associated in the minds of millions of Germans with German victory and German military, colonial, industrial, and commercial might.

The founders of the Republic made its colors the black, red, and gold, and this was the flag selected by aspiring young Germany in and before the revolutionary days of '48. But even they shrank from entirely abolishing the colors which the development of German shipping had made familiar on the Seven Seas, and they allowed the black, white, and red to remain as Germany's merchant-marine flag with the colors of the Republic carried in a small field.

In the intensification of party feeling as the Republic grew, the Socialists rallied round the black, red, and gold as their particular emblem. A militant Socialist body, known as the Reichsbanner, or organization of the Flag of the Republic, was formed to make propaganda for the radical Republican cause. Hence in the minds of millions of Germans, disposed to accept the Republic as an accomplished fact, the black, red, and gold became more the flag of the radical party they hated than of a country they loved. To take account of that feeling, Chancellor Luther proposed, and President von Hindenburg assented, that the merchant-marine flag, showing both the old and the new colors, should be flown side by side with the new banner of the Republic on all Embassies and Consulates.[1]

Intellectual Culture Complexes. Not only our relations to the sub-social environment and to each other, but also our forms of mental

[1] *Literary Digest*, May 29, '26, pp. 11–12.

functioning, become built in as culture complexes. Astronomy is as much a culture complex as is maize. It has its equipment and structures — its telescopes, its observatories, and its less familiar instruments. It has its special skills in the astronomers who know how to use these tools. It has its attitudes of scientific curiosity toward the stars. It has its special vocabulary and its body of literature.

Of course, there are not as many astronomies as there are religions. Differences are minor. Scientists agree as to methods to be used in checking out any disagreements which arise. In the course of time agreements are reached.

Schools of philosophy are culture complexes. Indeed, any science, or any set of closely related ideas which have become organized as an action pattern, transmitted contagiously, and built into the structure of instruments, college buildings, laboratories, libraries, and museums, into the skills of technicians, teachers, and investigators, into the attitudes of educated people, and into the vocabularies and literature of our language, is as much a culture complex as is the chipping of stone tools, or the system of railroads.

Our mental functioning involves a continual process of accommodation with mental culture complexes. William James puts it this way:

> Our minds thus grow in spots, and like grease-spots, the spots spread. But we let them spread as little as possible; we keep unaltered as much of our old knowledge, as many of our old prejudices and beliefs, as we can. We patch and tinker more than we renew. The novelty soaks in; it stains the ancient mass; but it is also tinged by what absorbs it. Our past apperceives and coöperates; and in the new equilibrium in which each step forward in the process of learning terminates, it happens relatively seldom that the new fact is added *raw*. More usually it is embedded cooked, as one might say, or stewed down in the sauce of the old.
>
> New truths are thus resultants of new experiences and of old truths combined modifying one another. . . .
>
> My thesis is now this, that *our fundamental ways of thinking about things are discoveries of exceedingly remote ancestors, which have been able to preserve themselves throughout the experience of all subsequent time.* They form one great stage of equilibrium in the human mind's development, the stage of *common sense.* Other stages have grafted themselves upon this stage, but have never succeeded in displacing it.[1]

[1] *Pragmatism*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1921, pp. 168–70.

Antagonistic Culture Complexes. Just as the personality may develop antipathies and enmities as well as loyalties, so social groups may build into their cultures hatreds which become social complexes. An instance is the reaction of the Seminole Indians to an act of treachery a century ago:

General Jackson made a prisoner of the mighty Osceola in 1837 when the Seminole leader entered his camp under a flag of truce. The distrust of the white man which that act brought about has endured to the present day, and it is highly probable that there would have been no tender of peace had not the mantle of chieftainship fallen to Tony Tommy. Unlike his predecessors, who have shunned all communication with the whites, Chief Tony Tommy is familiar with the streets of Florida's cities. When he was married last June, the ceremony took place near Miami, and it is even reported that a mechanical piano was set going at the festivities — an unheard-of use of civilization's appliances among the tribe.

Less is known of the Seminoles, probably, than of any other tribe of aborigines. Involved in no less than three wars against the troops of the United States, they put up a gallant defense, and, when at last conquered, a large part of the tribe flatly refused to be banished to other regions. Taking their few goods with them, they moved into the wilderness of the Everglades, and they have remained there ever since — owning no allegiance to the Government and steadily refusing any financial or other aid from it.

The Seminoles are not a vanishing race. In 1859 it was estimated that there were 112 Seminole Indians in Florida. By 1880 the number had increased to 208, and this year it is figured their roster has risen to 454. The vices and diseases of civilization have not as yet come to them, inasmuch as the Seminoles have resolutely refused to traffic with the white man. Hidden deep in the fastnesses of their swamps, they exhibit a marked coldness toward strangers, and only once in a long while does a visitor penetrate to their camps and return with information.

It is a strange story — stranger still because of the law-abiding and peaceful nature of the tribe. Explorers have, in past times, commented on the tranquil life of this band. The Seminole Indian has a reputation for truth-telling. Stealing, also, is not one of his vices. When he goes forth to hunt, the Seminole brave leaves his wigwam of palmetto leaf open to whoever may come. His goods, his weapons remain unprotected during his absence.

Once, it is told, the Government appropriated the sum of $6,000 annually to build homes, a school, and a saw-mill for the last remnant of the tribe. The venture was a complete failure. The Seminoles would neither send their children to the school, nor work in the saw-mill. They preferred to

follow in the path of their ancestors, supporting their households by shooting game and raising corn and cane in their fields amid the swamps.

Three bitter wars were required before the Seminole Nation was finally subdued in 1842, and the treaty of peace was signed on the present site of Ocala.

At the close of the Seven Years' War, it was the intention of the Government to remove the Seminole nation to the Indian Territory. This plan, however, failed to appeal to a large number of the tribe, who simply withdrew into the fastnesses of the Everglades. They believed themselves descended from the Aztecs and refused to regard themselves as conquered.[1]

Not only savages make social institutions of their hatreds. After Germany had taken Alsace-Lorraine from France, the resentment of the defeated nation became embodied in school textbooks, in statues, in fortifications and military arrangements, and finally in the Treaty of Versailles.

Less tragic, and yet sinister in its own way, is the institutionalized antipathy for manual labor which develops in countries having slaves or degraded workers. Degradation and labor become linked up in the public mind. Hence the élite take pains to avoid any "menial" work. In China this complex embodied itself in the custom of wearing such excessively long fingernails in the wealthy classes as to prove that work was impossible for them.

Culture Complexes Function Expandingly. Culture complexes act almost as if they were themselves independent personalities. In particular they, like personalities, appear to try to function on an expanding scale. When a man falls in love his devotion to his sweetheart is an emotional complex. This complex tends to spread and to absorb the other interests in the man's life. He works harder — in order to save more money for his future home with HER. He likes the heroine in the movie because the heroine looks like HER. The birds are singing in praise of HER and the moonlight floods the place where SHE is sleeping. Culture complexes show this same tendency to try to swallow up their surroundings. The radio complex tends to reach out and absorb the functions of political meetings, of church services, of concerts, of telegraphs, of newspapers, of lost and found bureaus, of artillery, and what not. Only by a process of being thwarted in its over-reaching enthusiasm is it confined within limits. In the same way the priesthood in ancient Egypt, not content with

[1] Abridged from article by Steuart M. Emery, *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 5, '26.

controlling the temple services, reached out and got control of the wealth of the country by playing on men's superstitions, and finally captured for itself the political power of the empire.

Culture May Overrule Basic Cravings. Not only are culture complexes present in the individual personality, but they are powerful enough quite frequently to upset the supposedly basic forms of bodily functioning. For instance, in a certain savage tribe it was taboo, or forbidden, to eat any food which a chief had touched. It happened that a young warrior found some food, and not knowing that it belonged to the chief, ate it. When it had been devoured he was told of the offense, and promptly vomited the food. The mere idea that he had broken a taboo was sufficient to interfere even with his involuntary digestive functioning.

But civilized people also let culture complexes interfere with normal functioning relative to food. A group of women who were making a demonstration in favor of woman suffrage were arrested. As a protest against being put in jail, these women refused for days to eat. The suffrage complex upset the normal activities of the food organs. This sort of interference by culture complexes with gastronomic functioning occurs in many situations. Members of certain religions refuse to eat pork; members of other religions refuse to eat meat on certain days. During the World War good patriots willingly restricted their own use of sugar, of white flour, and of other necessities.

Culture complexes interfere with other types of behavior besides eating. Mating is a very fundamental form of functioning, yet our cultural traditions prevent brothers from marrying their sisters, interfere with mating outside of marriage, and control sex behavior in many other ways. Even the most savage tribes have rigid traditional ideas which govern sex functioning.

Culture complexes upset those forms of functioning which have to do with comfort and safety. Martyrs have gone to their death by burning at the stake rather than say the few words which would deny the faith for which they died. The host of ascetics who have crawled on hands and knees over rocky roads to holy places, who have worn hair shirts, slept on beds studded with nails, beaten themselves with scourges, and cut themselves with knives, were expressing culture complexes which had taken possession of them and which drove them to fly from comfort and safety. Men who fought duels for the sake of honor, and volunteers who enlisted because of a belief in the cause for

which their countries were at war, were expressing the will of culture complexes dominating their purposes.

Jane Addams speaks of

> . . . that gallant company of men and women among whom my acquaintance is so large, who are fairly indifferent to starvation itself because of their preoccupation with higher ends. Among them are visionaries and enthusiasts, unsuccessful artists, writers, and reformers.[1]

Culture and Personality. Culture includes not merely nation-wide customs but also the behavior patterns shared by much smaller groups. Indeed, we may define culture as including all action patterns which are acquired by the contagion of behavior rather than by biological inheritance. It covers those forms of behavior which are controlled by social situations rather than merely by nervous structures.

When we say that the motive of life is to function it must be remembered that it is the expanded personality that is to function. And when we say the expanded personality, it must be remembered that not merely the individual, his property, and his friendships are involved, but also the individual as part of the culture complexes which make up so large a portion of his individuality. The functioning individual is likely to be made up not only of eyes, brain, stomach, legs, and the like, but also of such elements as religious beliefs, the radio complex, American traditions, a taste for sporty ties, and a liking for Limburger cheese.

Consciousness of Kind. A by-product of cultural expansion of personality is the tendency of people, under certain circumstances, to associate and to recognize kinship with other people who bear certain badges which they have come to accept as meaning "people of my kind." Quite often the badge is language. A carpenter vainly sought work on a job near his home, and finally got employment in a distant part of the city. At the same time a group of carpenters from that part were making the long trip back and forth to the job where he had been refused. This man noticed that the gang near his home was made up entirely of Italian carpenters, who talked Italian among themselves and received their orders in Italian. He concluded:

> The reason the carpenters took to travelling this way was the foreman on the job, who felt lonesome without the people of his own race around him.

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 175.

The men also liked the boss of their own race better than a stranger and they didn't mind the travelling in order to be associated with their own.

In another instance this same man was refused work in a gang in which Yiddish was being spoken, and in still another case he was not allowed to be promoted into a joiner's gang, although an incompetent was given the place. He comments:

The head foreman was a Swede and the men working there were Swedes. They talked Swedish among themselves and received their orders in their mother tongue when there were no other races nearby. And the only tool I ever saw in the hands of that young man was a hammer. He used to play and not work with it.[1]

Occupations may serve as a basis for consciousness of kind. In England a certain boy claimed to be the lost heir to a rich estate. The state's attorney grilled the lad with a view to proving that he was not the heir he pretended to be, but merely a butcher's boy. The case attracted wide attention in the press, and finally the national association of butchers raised a defense fund in the lad's behalf.

Giddings has made the concept " consciousness of kind " central in his sociological system. It may be questioned, however, whether this is the best term to cover the tendency involved in these instances. The difficulty is illustrated by the reactions of the pre-school children. In the earliest days of their contacts with each other they failed at first to develop any genuinely social relationships with one another, in spite of the fact that they were of the same ages, spoke the same language, and in every way were as much alike as could be expected of any group of people. Strikingly enough, however, whenever a strange adult came into the group they responded at once, talked to the adult, sought the adult's attention, and exhibited marked " consciousness of kind " with these grown strangers, so much less like them than their little associates whom they shunned or treated like inanimate objects. The reason is quite clearly that the badge of belonging to the expanded personality of the child was being like the father or the mother. The children were accustomed to social reactions toward their parents much more than toward children like themselves.

The significance of this reaction to badges, and the classification of people in the expanded or the anti-personality according to such traits

[1] Andrew Pranspill, *Survey*, Dec. 15, '22, p. 376.

as skin color or language, will appear in our later discussion of race conflict and adjustment.

Sciences Related to Social Behavior. Sociology is the science of social relations. It has to do with the processes by which human purposes are adjusted to each other. The relations between human purposes and the sub-social environment are taken up by such sciences as geography and economics. Relations between the organism and the sub-social environment are studied by medical sciences. The functioning of the mental processes is the subject of psychology. The adjustment between purposes within a given individual is the subject matter of psychiatry. Anthropology studies cultural functioning. But the relationships between the personalities of different individuals and of different groups is the subject matter of sociology. We shall find that such purposes may thwart each other, may avoid each other, may go through a process of accommodation, or may merge with each other. What conditions lead to each of these processes is one of the central questions which we shall try to answer.

Summary

A. The contagiousness of expansions of personality and of antagonisms, antipathies, and enmities, produces culture complexes.

B. Culture complexes are built into the social and sub-social structure.

1. They become integrated with the sub-social environment:
   - *a*. In relation to such factors as climate, soils, topography, resources, and the like;
   - *b*. In the form of tools;
   - *c*. In buildings and structures.
2. They get built into the nervous structures of the people:
   - *a*. In terms of attitudes, values, likes, and dislikes;
   - *b*. In skills, habits, and customs.
3. They become built into the idea systems and traditions:
   - *a*. In the form of technical words and phrases;
   - *b*. In special symbols;
   - *c*. In literature, text-books, and educational courses;
   - *d*. In legends, beliefs, and ceremonies.
4. They are built into the social structure in the form of organizations.

C. Motives derived through culture complexes are often more powerful than motives derived directly from innate bodily structure.

5. Likes and dislikes in food are cultural rather than instinctive.

6. Standards of modesty and other sex customs and taboos are cultural in origin.

7. Behavior called for by the culture complex is usually carried out even in defiance of hunger, safety, and love.

D. Until people have studied other cultures sympathetically, they tend to think that their own culture complexes are the only right, moral, or decent ones in the world.

E. Culture complexes have a life of their own.

8. They tend to function on an expanding scale.

F. Expanded personalities, and anti-personalities, are made up chiefly of cultural elements, acquired by social inheritance.

9. Recognition of people as being "our kind" depends upon their having certain badges which we have come to associate with the individuals with whom we function successfully.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

9D1. In what way does the following appeal play upon culturally acquired elements in the people appealed to? Notice also the other methods used to excite sympathy:

From the wreckage of an old stable three little children stare out at the investigator. Their small bodies are partly covered with rags, their bare feet are in the mud. The eldest, eight years, calls aloud and from inside the ruin comes a woman, also partially clad in rags. She is young, but looks old. Her face is haggard with pain and despair. It is mother. Father will soon return from his vain search for work and food — it is always so — and will lie for a while on the mud floor of the stable, while mother and the three little ones will huddle together on the "bed," a heap of straw and parts of grain sacks. There is nothing else in this "home" but a crude little stove with two or three black pots, all empty. Starvation has been waiting; it will not much longer wait.

Five millions are like this! Five million men, women, and children in Russia, Poland, Bessarabia, Lithuania, and near-by countries are facing the long winter that is already upon them, destitute, starving, with no adequate relief in sight.

"Whoso hath this world's goods and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him" — ah, but this does not

mean *you*. Your heart is warm with compassion and your hand will be open wide with help *now* for these millions of hungry and afflicted people of Eastern Europe, whose homes are gone, whose livelihood has been taken away, and whose paths of life are filled with terror.

And as you hear their cry and respond with generous gifts; the ancient blessings in the words of Isaiah, are renewed for you:

"If thou draw out thy soul to the hungry, and satisfy the afflicted soul; then shall the Lord guide thee continually, and satisfy thy soul in drought, and make fat thy bones; and thou shalt be like a watered garden, and like a spring of water, whose waters fail not." [1]

9D2. Compare the importance of culture complexes in the functioning of chimpanzees, of pre-school children, and of human adults. What bearings have your conclusions on the usefulness of the data from Köhler and from Verry as materials for this book?

9D3. Name ten culture complexes not mentioned in this chapter or in the other appended questions.

9D4. What evidence is given in the following incident as to the significance of cultural functioning?

A missionary in West Bengal, India, was told by villagers that a certain path was haunted by demons, who had been seen to enter a hole. The missionary persuaded them to start digging at this hole.

After some time two wolves darted out of the hole. Then a she-wolf came to the entrance, snarled, growled, and refused to move. They were obliged to shoot the poor brute. Digging on, they came to the den, and found there two wolf cubs and two girls, one aged 2, the other about 8. The girls were very fierce. They darted away on all fours, going faster than any one there could run, and uttering guttural barkings. They took refuge in a bush, and were eventually caught.

It is not an uncommon thing in that locality for children to be exposed as infants, especially if they are girls, and not wanted. It is probable that the mother wolf had found one such baby and taken it home, carrying it by its clothes. Six years after, the she-wolf must have found another baby, and, having found pleasure in having a cub that remained small and did not leave the den, adopted it too.

Subsequently, Mr. Singh took the children to his orphanage in Midnapur, where his wife did her best to nurse them to life. The younger, however, developed dysentery and died. The elder shed a few tears, the only sign of emotion she ever made. The elder child grew up.

For a long time she would not keep clothes on. They stitched some strong cloth tightly round her body which she could not tear off, and in course of

[1] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 4, '26, p. 12.

time she submitted to clothes. For a long time she ate with her mouth down to the dish, but eventually they taught her to use her hands. She takes no interest in other children, or in toys or games. She has no fears usual with children, and prefers the dark to the light. She was not afraid of fire until she felt it burn her, and since then she has given it a wide berth. When the two children were alive they slept huddled one on top of the other, like puppies.

She never barks now, or utters noises, except the words she has learnt. She is very gentle with animals, and will follow them about. When a pariah dog came in and all the other children ran away, she made friends with it.[1]

9D5. "Human nature is a superstructure reared on the foundations of original nature." What are the limitations of this metaphor? Suggest one which will more truly represent the facts. (Park and Burgess)

9D6. Describe the essential differences between the diets of two nations, tribes, or peoples not mentioned in this connection in the text.

9D7. How would you feel if you were to find yourself suddenly walking barefooted but otherwise fully clothed on a crowded city street in summer? Why?

9D8. What difference is there in the attitude of men toward the bare knees revealed by the rolled stockings of a girl in street clothing and the bare knees of a girl in a bathing suit? Why?

9D9. Should men students always wear coats in classes? Why or why not? Why is there any difference of opinion on the subject?

9D10. What evidence can you give as to the relative ease with which culture complexes related to food and to clothing are changed?

9D11. Hastings H. Hart relates an incident from his experience as a U. S. Indian Agent. He observed an Indian woman wailing as for the dead because her son had cut off his long hair and had "gone to work like a woman." Why this behavior?

9D12. What examples can you cite of American taboos?

9D13. Discuss, in the light of this chapter, each of the following citations from Miss Wald's *House on Henry Street:*

Though passionately devoted to his family, the husband refused advantageous employment because it necessitated work on the Sabbath. This would have been to him a desecration of something more vital than life itself. (p. 20)

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 26, '26. Reprinted from the *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay, Nov. 20, '26.

The inmates of the girl's reformatory disapprove of women voting as "Unladylike," and it may surprise those who do not know the thought of these poor women to learn that they cling to orthodox ideals. (p. 268)

Acquiescence in Russia's demands for his extradition would imperil thousands who, like him, had sought a refuge here, and would take heart out of the people who still clung to the party of protest throughout Russia. A great mass-meeting held in Cooper Union bore testimony to the tenacity with which high-minded Americans clung to the cherished traditions of their country. (p. 236)

9D14. How have the following ideas modified human functioning: the idea that women are inferior to men; the idea that work is necessarily disagreeable; the idea that Friday is unlucky? What other ideas can you think of that have had a powerful influence on human functioning? Why is this question put here instead of in the chapters on mental functioning?

9D15. Discuss the significance of the following excerpt:

The Massas have a hideous custom of mutilating the lips of their women by piercing holes in them and inserting wooden disks. These disks are gradually made larger and larger until the lips are stretched to incredible proportions, sometimes as big as breakfast plates. A woman who is not thus mutilated is not considered a desirable person for a wife. When one of these poor creatures eats she resembles a pelican. At each bite she must lift her upper lip with one hand and slip the food into her mouth with the other. The victims of this bizarre custom are often rendered practically speechless. So difficult is it for them to pronounce a word that their own people can seldom understand them.[1]

9D16. The institution of private property, like other institutions, takes various forms among various peoples and in various epochs. What illustrations can you give of this fact?

9D17. Try to account for the conduct of the man discussed in this clipping from the *New York Times* for January 2, 1927:

John E. Bergstrom, who describes himself as "the first atheist missionary," sailed yesterday on the Cunard liner Samaria as a representative of the American Society for the Advancement of Atheism. He is on his way to England. From there he will go to Sweden, where he will make a survey to determine whether that country is a logical center for the atheistic movement abroad.

[1] Georges-Marie Haardt, *National Geographic*, June, '26.

Before sailing he launched an attack on Christianity, which he said had held the world rigid for much too long. He predicted that the time would come when civilized men and women would repudiate it as an empty device.

9D18. Discuss, in the light of cultural functioning, the following excerpts from an article by Agnes Repplier in *The Atlantic Monthly* for May, 1926:

An editorial in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, August, 1923, stated: "There is only one first-class civilization in the world to-day. It is right here in the United States and the Dominion of Canada. Europe's is hardly second-class, and Asia's is about fourth- to sixth-class." I borrowed this quotation for a lecture I was giving in New York. My audience applauded the sentiment enthusiastically. It was evident that to them it was a modest statement of an incontrovertible fact. They seemed to believe that we were, like the Jews, a chosen people, that our mission was the "uplift" of the human race, and that it behooved those who were to be uplifted to recognize their inferior attitude.

Is this an unusual frame of mind among educated Americans? Where can we find a better spokesman for the race than Mr. Walter Hines Page, who did superlatively well a hard and heart-rending job? Yet this able and representative American could see no good in people who did not speak English or French. "Except the British and the French," he wrote to his son, Arthur Page, in December, 1917, "there's no nation in Europe worth a tinker's damn when you come to the real scratch. The whole continent is rotten, or tyrannical, or yellow dog. I wouldn't give Long Island for the whole of continental Europe."

It was a curious estimate of values. No one can truly say that Switzerland, Denmark, and Holland are rotten, or tyrannical, or yellow dog. Indeed Mr. Page admitted that the Danes were a free people, and that Switzerland was a true republic, but too small to count — a typically American point of view. We interpret life in terms of size and numbers rather than in terms of intellect, beauty, and goodness.

That Mr. Page clearly foresaw the wealth and strength that would accrue to the United States from the World War proves the keenness of his vision. In 1914 he wrote to President Wilson: "From an economic point of view, we *are* the world; and from a political point of view also." And finally, in a letter to Mr. Frank Doubleday, 1916, comes a magnificent affirmation of our august preëminence; "God has yet made nothing or nobody equal to the American people; and I don't think He ever will or can."

9D19. How would you tell whether a social institution is alive or dead?

9D20. Do you know of any instance where a member of a team could not play but saw the team in action, or where an active member of some other organization has had to watch that organization go into action without him? If so, describe the feelings of the member thus left out, and discuss their significance.

9D21. In what specific ways do the following culture complexes show the tendency to try to assimilate their surroundings: Euro-American civilization; Christianity; Bolshevism? What other instances can you cite?

9D22. Discuss the significance of the following in relation to cultural functioning:

The swallow-tailed court crier announces:

"The Honorable, the Supreme Court of the United States."

In they come, the nine justices, clad in their rustling silk robes. Foremost walks the presiding justice and behind him, in order of length of service, follow the eight associate justices. The sonorous voice of the crier is again lifted:

"Oyez, oyez, oyez! All persons having business with the Supreme Court of the United States are admonished to draw near and give their attention, for the court is now sitting."

A brief pause. Then: "God save the United States and this Honorable Court."

Before the judges is the long bench on which are laid the records, briefs, and papers of the first case to be considered. All such must be printed. In front of the platform, on a crimson carpet, stand the desks of the Attorney General, the Solicitor General, and counsel, and of the reporters. If you look closely you will see a row of crossed quill pens on each. These survive along with the snuffbox in the Senate.

Though their present quarters are constricted the justices have never encouraged the idea of change. For here they are among the sacred traditions of the great speakers who have made history in this room — Clay, Webster, John Randolph of Roanoke, too many to enumerate.

Scarcely less imposing than the justices themselves are the colored attendants, who jealously hold their office until death, when it passes, not through rule but through custom, to their next of kin.[1]

9D23. What instances can you cite, without disclosing identities, of people who have a pet reform which to them seems adequate for all the world's ills? What point in this chapter do such people illustrate?

[1] Abridged from Mary Mayo Crenshaw, *Mentor*, July, '26.

9D24. Discuss the truth or falsity of this statement of Renan's:

"To have done great things together and to wish to do great things together again, that is the essential condition of being a people."

9D25. Park says: "Social institutions are not founded in similarities any more than they are founded in differences, but in relations, and in the mutual interdependence of the parts." How does this relate to Giddings' insistence upon the importance of "consciousness of kind"?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

9F1. Visit some foreign colony in a fairly large city. If possible spend at least a week-end in the neighborhood. Get into contact with living conditions, with working conditions, with the religious institutions, with recreational activities, with festivals and art in the colony. Summarize in writing the aspects of the group life which bring in culture elements different from those of the ordinary American community. Summarize also those elements which the colony has clearly absorbed from its American surroundings.

9K2. What light on cultural functioning do you get from "Stepchildren of the Russian Revolution," in the *American Review of Reviews* for May, 1926, or in *Asia* for April, 1926? (One hour)

9K3. What points about cultural functioning are illustrated in the article on "Fear in a Small Town" in *Harper's* for August, 1926.

9K4. Read Goddard's *The Kallikak Family*. How successful has Goddard been in showing that the evil taints in this family were inherited biologically rather than culturally? If the Kallikak family is not available, substitute *The Jukes-Edwards Family* by Dugdale, or *The Tribe of Ishmael*, by M'Culloch.

9K5. What light is thrown on the importance of cultural functioning by the accounts of wild men in Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 239–243? By the case of Helen Keller, pp. 243–5?

9K6. Read the selections from "The Diary of a Young Girl" in Park and Burgess, pp. 305–311. What culture patterns were being absorbed by the writer of the diary? From what sources?

9K7. Analyze along the lines suggested in this chapter three of the following culture complexes: steam transportation; public schools; aviation; the law; shoe-making; the Y. M. C. A.; vaudeville or movie theaters; art museums; libraries; chain stores; fire departments; cafeterias; golf; baseball; tennis. (Two hours)

9K8. Study the evolution of the British Empire as a culture complex. (Time credit to be arranged)

9K9. If you can get a chance to talk with some native of China, Japan, or India, try to get a frank statement from him as to his first reactions to American culture complexes, such as our customs relating to food, clothing, housing, religion, manufacturing, and the like. (Three hours)

9W10. From the principles thus far developed, try to account for the various types of social groups discussed in Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 202–7. (One hour)

9W11. Read the discussion of "The Instinctive Basis of Assimilation" quoted from Trotter in Park and Burgess, pp. 742–745. What does he mean by "gregariousness"? What types of behavior which we have discussed does he include under his conception of "herd instinct"? How helpful do you find it to think of these forms of behavior as instinctive? How does that point of view differ from the method of approach used in our text? (One hour)

9W12. Read pp. 100–11 in Park and Burgess (1924), on "Folkways," "Custom," etc., and compare with the treatment in the present chapter. (One hour)

9W13. To what extent is the statement on "Personality of Individuals and of Peoples," in Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 126–8, concerned with cultural functioning? (Half an hour).

9W14. How adequately does "Cultural Functioning" cover the phenomena dealt with by Dewey in Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 184–7? (Half an hour)

9W15. Read the selection on Taboo in Park and Burgess, pp. 812–816. What has taboo to do with linked-up experiences? What with contagious behavior? What with cultural functioning? (One hour)

9W16. Write a brief summary of the following sections of Sumner's *Folkways* (1907): "Fundamental Notions," pp. 2–38; "Societal Selection," pp. 173–260; "Social Codes," pp. 417–78. (Five to eight hours)

9W17. Read the chapter on "The Mores Can Make Anything Right" in Sumner's *Folkways* (1907), pp. 521–532. What additional illustrations, or what applications, can you make? (Two hours)

9W18. Read the section on "Culture and Environment" in Goldenweiser's *Early Civilization* (1921), pp. 292–301. What connection has this with the present chapter? (One hour)

9W19. Cooley maintains that the individual mind is not a separate growth, but an integral development of the general mind, which disseminates social traditions, social standards, social values, and social attitudes. Pick out from his treatment of this theme the elements which are pertinent to the problem of the social inheritance of personality. (Three hours)

9W20. At the end of the present chapter a brief analysis is presented of the functions of the various sciences dealing with social behavior. Compare with this the "hierarchy" of sciences worked out by Auguste Comte, and the treatment of the same subject by Lester F. Ward. (Two hours)

CHAPTER X

DYNAMICS OF PERSONALITY

Emotional Energy. Nothing is of more vital importance in the study of social motivation than the question as to what factors determine the kind and the amount of emotional energy generated in social relations. It has already been shown that the speed and the firmness with which two experiences are linked together depends upon the intensity of the emotions involved, and that whether the new experience enters the expanded personality or the anti-personality depends upon the quality of these emotions. The whole architecture of the personality depends, therefore, upon emotional dynamics, and the growth and character of the personality can be controlled only if the emotional processes are understood.

Emotion, moreover, is valued for its own sake. Both the intensity and the quality of one's functioning are valued in emotional terms. Our cravings for adventure, excitement, love, are cravings for life itself. If we can learn how to control the intensity and the quality of emotional experience we shall have learned a central secret of living.

Emotion Depends on Disturbance of the Expanded Personality. Two analogies from physics may help to make clear the basis of the generation of emotional energy. The first is the analogy of a dynamo. Every dynamo has as its foundation a large magnet. Between the north and south poles of this magnet flow lines of force. If a coiled-up wire is revolved between these poles in such a way as to cut these lines of force, an electric current is generated in the coil. It is by this process that the great bulk of the electric current used in modern homes and industries is generated.

A personality may be thought of as an organism connected with various objects, people, ideas, habits, and the like, by lines of force — by attachments and aversions. Whenever a situation arises which cuts across these attachments and aversions, or produces a rearrangement of them, emotional energy is generated. Whenever a situation arises

in which the personality is set to functioning, or has some part of it taken away, or takes in something new, or succeeds, or is threatened, or damaged, or praised, or blamed, emotional energy is generated.

The second analogy has to do with the release of tension. If the waters of a mountain stream are held back behind a dam and released only through a flume which leads to a water turbine, energy is generated by the fall of the water. Similarly, energy is released, or generated, through the tension between the positive and negative plates of a battery. Now the personality is likely to have tensions in it — repressed wishes, unfulfilled hopes, thirsts for revenge, longings for rest. Whenever these tensions are released, emotional energy is generated.

Stimuli Disturb the Personality. Any situation, object, or idea which stirs up the personality, which forces or persuades it to change or to function, is called a stimulus. A stimulus is anything to which the personality reacts or adjusts itself. Naturally, stimuli tend to be the new things which come into experience — the old familiar things are apt already to have been fully adjusted to. What may be quite unstimulating to some people because of its familiarity may be very stimulating to one to whom it is novel. Josephine DeMott Robinson gives an instance from her girlhood experience in a circus:

> I enjoyed myself and hurt myself by glimpses of the strange place known to circus people as the Outside World, a place where roofs over your head all year round were commonplaces of existence, where little girls kept their clothes in dressers and not trunks, where *may* and not *must* ruled their young lives. To me as a child, it was fraught with great mystery and fairy charm that life under the Big Top did not possess. It had a fascination alien to our world. The very way in which things were done was wonderful. The little girls of my acquaintance who belonged in this Outside World always seemed to live in a delightful state of uncertainty. My life was made up of such *definite* things: study, practice, new spangles, travel at stated intervals to stated places.[1]

In the following incident the foretaste of victory was the stimulus which released energy held in tension through the long experience of defeat:

> A quick-witted and determined young Columbia opportunist appropriately named Furey took advantage of a curious and unexpected situation at the Polo Grounds yesterday, snatched a loose ball out of the air, and with a wild and furious dash across the goal line gave the Morningside Heights team

[1] *Literary Digest*, Nov. 13, '26, p. 53.

an inspiration which brought its first victory over the Ithacans in twenty-one years.

Rosenberg, scrappy little substitute quarterback from Cornell, was starting to throw a forward pass early in the third period. He drew back a few steps, waiting for his receivers to work themselves loose. The Columbia line bore down upon him and just as he was about to flip the ball came the impact. The ball popped weakly up in the air, where Furey grabbed it and ran nearly half the length of the field for a touchdown.

That break wrought such a change in the fortunes of both teams that Cornell was all but routed before the final whistle blew. Columbia began to play suddenly inspired football to defeat a hitherto unbeaten Cornell team by 17 to 9 — to gain its first triumph of real importance since football was reëstablished on the Heights in 1915.

It was easy to see that the victory tasted sweet to Columbia. More than half of the 40,000 gathered to see the annual combat of these two old rivals were Columbia adherents and, from the moment Furey, with a single exploit, turned impending defeat into victory, they were on their feet yelling and cheering and exhorting their eleven to "Beat Cornell."

And when the game was over, they swarmed on to the field for an excited and hilarious outburst of pent-up enthusiasms. It was as though Columbia had suddenly won the war. This victory was terribly important, much more so than any other.[1]

Promising *Versus* Menacing Stimuli. Stimuli are of two basic types — promising and menacing. Promising stimuli are those which the personality regards as favorable to itself — as offering an opportunity for functioning, as increasing its own importance, as allowing it to expand. Menacing stimuli are those which are regarded as threatening, injuring, or thwarting the expanded personality. To each of these fundamental classes of stimuli there are various sorts of reaction, which will now be discussed in more detail.

Stimuli Which Energize for Creative Activity. When stimuli are regarded by the personality in such a way that the energy which they generate is directed into creative or expansive functioning, we call the accompanying emotions interest, zeal, enthusiasm, loyalty, and the like. When one small boy says to another small boy on a hot day, "Come on! Let's go swimming!" the stimulus and the reactions are of this type. The way in which a difficult job may act as this sort of a stimulus is suggested by Berton Braley's poem in honor of the men who dug the Panama Canal:

[1] Peter Vischer, *New York World*, Oct. 31, '26.

AT YOUR SERVICE (The Panama Gang)[1]

Here we are, gentlemen; here's the whole gang of us,
Pretty near through with the job we are on;
Size up our work — it will give you the hang of us —
South to Balboa and north to Colon.
Yes, the Canal is our letter of reference;
Look at Culebra and glance at Gatun;
What can we do for you — got any preference —
Wireless to Saturn or bridge to the moon?

Don't send us back to a life that is flat again,
We who have shattered a continent's spine;
Office work — Lord, but we couldn't do that again.
Haven't you something that's more in our line?
Got any river they say isn't crossable?
Got any mountains that can't be cut through?
We specialize in the wholly impossible,
Doing things "nobody ever could do."

Take a good look at the whole husky gang of us,
Engineers, doctors and steam shovel men;
Taken together you'll find quite a few of us
Soon to be ready for trouble again.
Bronzed by the tropical sun that is blistery,
Chockful of energy, vigor and tang,
Trained by a task that's the biggest in history;
Who has a job for this Panama Gang?

Mere Ideas May Release Energy. In the chapter on "Mental Functioning" it was pointed out that we need purpose as an excuse for functioning. The stimulating power of an objective is suggested by the influence of the purpose of finding specimens of certain sorts of trees, upon David Douglas, after whom the Douglas fir is named:

Douglas' finding of the sugar pine reads like a true pioneer's tale. He had first seen a few seeds of this tree in an Indian's pouch near Oregon City. Scientist that he was, they instantly attracted his attention. The Indian told him that they came from a tall tree that grew far to the south. As is shown by many references in his journal, Douglas did not rest until he had seen this forest monarch. . . .

[1] From *Songs of the Workaday World*, by Berton Braley, George H. Doran Company, 1915.

He spent three years in the Pacific Northwest, with the company's expeditions, with Indian guides, and alone, in this wilderness. He endured the severest kind of hardship, going hungry and sleeping cold and wet night after night in order that by depriving himself of cover he might carry paper for pressing his specimens and keeping his notes. On many of his trips he had a bearskin and a single blanket for a bed, and finally, in the heavy rains, used his precious bearskin to wrap and protect his specimens. He had fever often when alone out in the trackless Oregon woods, and bled himself to relieve his temperature. He risked his life again and again, by flood and cliff, and with unfriendly Indians.[1]

An even better instance is the obsession of Charles Goodyear by the purpose to cure rubber:

Goodyear was entirely self-taught. From his earliest boyhood rubber fascinated him. No dealer in rubber goods dared to carry a large stock on hand. The rubber was sure to decompose, particularly in warm weather. At first Goodyear attacked the problem almost blindly. He worked by sheer inspiration, relying more on accident than scientific research.

He made several hundred pairs of uncured rubber boots. The hot summer sun wilted them as if they had been made of candle grease. Leaving his wife behind to earn her own living, he went to New York and with the aid of some chemicals given him by a kind-hearted druggist again applied himself to his task. He and his family were continually in want, often he was thrust into prison for debt, but eventually he succeeded in producing rubber with the addition of magnesia and lime-water which, outwardly, was so good that in 1835 he received prizes at the exhibitions. Unfortunately, at the slightest touch of acid or vinegar the attractive surface of his rubber would disappear and reveal a doughy mass beneath.

By a lucky accident in his experiments he found that nitric acid would cure rubber. He founded a firm to utilize this process, but the firm failed in the panic of 1836, and he and his family reached the verge of starvation. Small loans from a creditor and from his brother saved him and he returned to his pots and chemicals. For a time he prospered with his nitric acid method. He purchased the rights to a process in which rubber and sulphur were exposed to the sun. The government gave him an order for rubber mail-bags, but when Goodyear returned from a brief vacation he found the bags in a vile-smelling rotten mass. Life-preservers and other rubber goods "solarized" by the sulphur process were returned with bitter complaints by purchasers. Once again Goodyear became a familiar figure in the pawnshops. And yet he could not forget the problem of curing rubber. "I

[1] Jno. D. Guthrie, *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 23 (1926), pp. 82–3.

had hardly time enough to realize the extent of my embarrassment," he has written, "before I became intently engaged with another experiment, my mind buoyant with new hopes and expectations."

Again it was a lucky chance that led Goodyear to the true secret of successfully vulcanizing rubber. By accident he burned a piece of the sulphurized rubber and found that just the right degree of heat would cure it. Now began a series of experiments to develop a commercially successful process. Two winters of abject poverty passed. No one believed in him. The winter of 1839–40 found the Goodyear family without food or fuel. A friend mercifully saved them from starvation. "I felt in duty bound to beg in earnest, if need be, sooner than that the discovery should be lost to the world and to myself," Goodyear has written of this period. "I collected and sold at auction the school books of my children, which brought me the trifling sum of five dollars; small as this amount was it enabled me to proceed."

In the midst of his researches he was carried off to jail because he could not pay a debt. In a few months he was out again and, suddenly, found himself on the highroad to success. He paid off $35,000 that he owed. The world was ready to acclaim him.[1]

Love, Lust, and Curiosity. Because of their special intensity, the emotions which accompany functioning involving reproduction have been given special names. These emotions, however, follow the same laws of dynamics as do other creative reactions to stimuli. A young man finds that a certain young woman stimulates in him the purpose to found a home. This stimulation produces various sorts of creative activity — saving money, getting and furnishing a home, talking together, thinking together, dancing together, embracing, begetting and rearing children. The emotions which accompany the developing stages of this functioning are called romantic love. If, however, the young man and woman act on each other as stimuli merely to physical sex functioning, the emotion involved is called lust.

Some stimuli provoke merely explorative and manipulative functioning by the personality. The accompanying emotion is called curiosity.

The Escape of Pleasant Emotional Energy. In the above types of reactions to stimuli the emotional energy generated is definitely applied — it is put to work. It is like electric current used in running a motor, or steam applied to running an engine. But electricity some-

[1] Abridged from Waldemar B. Kaempffert's *Popular History of American Invention*, C. Scribner's Sons, 1924, Vol. I, pp. 164–9.

times escapes in mere sparks and fireworks; steam sometimes merely blows off into the air. So too with emotional energy. Quite often it escapes merely in facial contortions, gestures, giggles, or gusts of laughter.

If the stimulus is regarded as very favorable to the personality but not as calling for any direct activity, the reaction is gratification, elation, or triumph. The person "lets off steam" by walking up and down, rubbing his hands, smiling, chuckling, talking excitedly, or if a child, jumping up and down, running about, shouting, and the like.

If the stimulus is regarded as quite trivial in its significance, and still either slightly favorable to the personality or at least not damaging, the emotional energy generated is likely to escape in the form of laughter — convulsive movements of the diaphragm, with short, rapid expulsions of air through the mouth, contortions of the face, and if the energy generated is quite powerful, contortions and writhings of the rest of the body.

Absurd Jokes. Jokes, farce, low comedy, and the like, depend for their laughter-producing effects upon generating emotional energy of fairly trivial significance but of fairly high potential. The generation of physical or chemical energy depends often upon the existence of marked contrast — between the height of water behind the dam and that below the dam, or between the temperature in the boiler and in the condenser, or between the pressure in the cylinder and outside, or in the electrical potential at the positive and at the negative electrode. In a way analogous to these phenomena the discharges of emotional energy which we call laughter are caused in many instances by a sharp contrast — by incongruity, by absurdity, by sudden unexpectedness. Some jokes of this type, taken from collections made by the *Literary Digest*, are the following:

Hates to be Disturbed. — "And is your dog a good watch dog at night?" "I should think so. At the least noise, you have only to wake him up and he barks." — *Pêle Mêle* (*Paris*)

A Flier in Meteorology. — Hardware Clerk (to lucky stockbroker) — "I suppose you've pulled off any amount of good things lately?"

The Stockbroker — "I picked up a good thing recently. It stood at 44 when I discovered it, and last week it touched 78."

"Good heavens! What was it?"

"A thermometer." — *Good Hardware*

Drawing the Long Bow. — Man (to wife who has had twins) — "Will you ever get over the habit of exaggerating?" — *Chanticleer*

Wise Virgin. — Hostess — "What's the idea of bringing two boy friends with you?"

Guest — "Oh, I always carry a spare." — *Life*

A man always chases a woman until she catches him. — *El Paso Times*

One pedestrian is killed in the United States every eight hours, a statistician says. That pedestrian must get awfully tired of it. — *El Paso Times*

Jazzing the Decalog. — "My dear young lady," said the clergyman, in grieved tones as he listened to an extremely modern young woman tear off some of the very latest jazz on the piano, "have you ever heard of the Ten Commandments?"

"Whistle a few bars," said the young lady, "and I think I can follow you." — *Christian Evangelist*

Shocking Jokes. Another source of the surplus emotional energy which escapes in laughter is a slight shock. This shock may be obtained as an attack on the anti-personality of the reader, or a trivial attack on any one if the attack makes the reader feel superior to the personality attacked. When the villain is tripped up or is humiliated in the movie, the audience laughs. A custard pie, thrown in the face of a character not accepted by the spectator as a symbol of himself, may produce a roar of escaping nervous energy from the audience. The necessary shock may be produced by a playful attack on some social institution, such as marriage, mothers-in-law, professors, or the like. Usually in jokes this element is combined with other elements. Some instances of the unexpected combined with trivial attack or shock are as follows:

Boston's Traffic Jam. — Motor Cop (to professor of mathematics) — "So you saw the accident, sir. What was the number of the car that knocked this man down?"

Professor — "I'm afraid I've forgotten it. But I remember noticing that if it were multiplied by fifty, the cube root of the product would be equal to the sum of the digits reversed." — *Boston Transcript*

Gentle Hint. — A pedestrian, bumped by a taxi, found himself lying in the street directly in the path of a steam-roller.

"That reminds me," he cried, "I was to bring home some pancake flour!" — *The Open Road*

Passing the Buck. — Employee — "Sir, can you let me off to-morrow afternoon to go Christmas shopping with my wife?"

Employer — "Certainly not! We are too busy!"

Employee (much relieved) — "Thank you, sir, you are very kind!" *The Passing Show* (*London*)

"Matrimony is a serious word," says a domestic science lecturer. Wrong. Matrimony is a sentence. — *New York American*

More'n Likely. — A sentence using the word moron:

"Papa said sister couldn't go out till she put moron." — *Rice Owl*

True Hospitality. — A spinster encountered some boys in the old swimming-hole, minus everything but nature's garb, and was horrified.

"Isn't it against the law to bathe without suits on, little boys?"

"Yes'm," announced freckled Johnny, "but Jimmy's father is a policeman, so you can come on in." — *Pittsburgh Chronicle Telegraph*

Life of the Party. — "I'm surprised at Lady Haughteigh showing Lord Lofteigh how to do the Charleston at a function of this kind."

"It's not that. That silly ass waiter's tipped an ice down her back." — *Passing Show*

Prefers the Simple Life. — Mike — "I got one of those suits with two pairs of pants."

Gus — "How do you like it?"

Mike — "Not so well. It's too hot wearing two pairs of pants." — *Chicago Tribune*

A Different Dame. — Frosh — "What a fine statue that is! It's alabaster, isn't it?

Soph — "No, that's Aphrodite." — *Colgate Banter*

"You can take your finger off that leak in the pipe now, Father."

"Thank heavens! Is the plumber here at last?"

"No — the house is on fire!" — *The Humorist* (*London*)

A cynic says that double jeopardy, which we hear so much of nowadays, is when your doctor calls in a consulting physician. — *Detroit News*

Scientist says the bee language is a kind of dance performed with their feet. As we recall, the only bees that have ever tried to communicate with us have sat out the dances. — *Arkansas Gazette*

Congressmen are representatives of the people, but you don't always know which people. — *Beaumont Enterprise-Journal*

"I believe it is a fact that singing is extremely beneficial in certain cases of deafness." — *Letter in Daily Paper*. And vice versa. — *Punch*

The needed shock effect may even be obtained by a trivial attack against the reader himself:

One reason it's safer to breathe through your nose is because that makes you keep your mouth shut. — *El Paso Times*

Don't become discouraged if you have a cold in the head. Even that's something. — *El Paso Times*

Clever Jokes. A third fundamental method of generating the emotional pressure required to produce an explosion of laughter is to give the reader the joy of successful mental functioning, by allowing him to solve a little problem and "get the joke" for himself. For example:

Geace and Pood Will. —

COOLIDGE, IN YULE BREETING
TO WORLD, GARES PLAN FOR
10 NEW CRUISERS

— *Head-lines in the San Francisco Chronicle.*

Think how the King of Italy would be flattered if somebody should shoot at him. — *Hartford Times*

The easiest way to get back on your feet is to get rid of your car. — *El Paso Times*

Toot-Toot. — Here is a contributed tongue-twister which we have never heard before:

If a Hottentot tot taught a Hottentot tot to talk e'er the tot could totter, ought the Hottentot tot be taught to say aught, or naught, or what ought to be taught her?

If to hoot and to toot a Hottentot tot be taught by a Hottentot tutor, should the tutor get hot if the Hottentot tot hoot and toot at the Hottentot tutor? — *The Outlook*

Or, the energy may be generated by the reader's appreciation of, and vicarious sharing in, the mental cleverness of the joker:

Remember This One. — "I suppose you will want me to give up my job, Henry, when we are married."

"How much do you earn at it?"

"Sixty a week."

"That isn't a job. That's a career. I wouldn't want to interfere with your career, girlie." — *Louisville Courier*

The banks seem to see nothing but the onus in bonus. — *El Paso Times*

In a bungalowette with a dinette and a kitchenette, one needn't expect anything more than a housekeeperette. — *Arkansas Gazette*

Clever Shockers. Really good jokes quite often or even usually employ more than one of the above three elements of surprise, shock, and cleverness. The following include both shock and cleverness:

Sorry She Spoke. — Mrs. Nipper — "I'm so sorry I couldn't come to your party."

Mrs. Cutting — "Oh, weren't you there?" — *Allston Recorder*

Edison says that as between the radio and the phonograph for music, the phonograph will win in the end. But then Edison didn't invent the radio. — *Wichita Eagle*

A Fair Warning. — Sponger — "Blank just refused to loan me $10 to help me out of a hole. I didn't think there were such mean men in the world."

Smart — "Oh, there are, my dear fellow, I assure you. I'm another." — *Boston Transcript*

Tit for Tat. — Mother — "Polite people don't yawn, dear."

Little Daughter — "But, Mother, polite people don't notice." — *Boston Transcript*

No Questions Asked. — LOST — On Tuesday night, a chicken dinner somewhere between Christenson Street and the Rubber City bowling alleys. Please return to Henry Lerch. — *Connecticut paper*

The Whole Hog (So to Speak). — "Statistics show," declared the bespectacled lecturer, "that the modern, common-sense style of woman's dress has reduced accidents on the street-cars by 50 per cent."

"Why not do away with accidents altogether?" piped a masculine voice from the rear of the hall. — *Life*

By taxing the unmarried men, Mussolini apparently wants to foster the fighting spirit. — *Wall Street Journal*

Lost Masterpiece. — First Joke Writer — "What's wrong? You look sad."

Second Joke Writer — "I just wrote a good mother-in-law joke."

"Didn't the editor like it?"

"I don't know. My mother-in-law saw it first." — *College Humor*

One Shining Exception. — Biologists assert there never was a perfect man on earth, overlooking your wife's first husband sleeping out in the cemetery. — *Florida Times-Union*

Hitting the High Spots. — Mme. Rebecca —— returned last Friday after speding an indeschibable time in New York City. — *South Carolina paper*

Angry Emotional Energy. All of the above instances have had to do with emotional energy generated by stimuli regarded as promising. But menacing stimuli generate their own varieties of emotion. When

a stimulus thwarts our purposes, or inflicts damage, or threatens injury, the energy generated goes under such names as rage, fear, grief, and courage.

Thwarting Stimuli Are Particularly Likely to Generate Rage. Thwarting means the defeat of a purpose — interfering with it, holding it back, damming it up, destroying its constructive power, making it destructive. The bitterest experiences of life come from thwarting. Misery and suffering arise when the personality is prevented from carrying out its purposes, from functioning normally, from engaging in the activities on which the heart is set.

An instance in which the purpose of a chimpanzee found itself blocked by the sub-social environment, and the effect of this blocking on the ape are set forth by Köhler. Sultan had been left alone in a yard in which a banana was hung up out of his reach. Boxes had been left close at hand, which if piled properly, would make it possible for him to reach his objective — the banana.

> At first he took no notice of the boxes, but tried to knock down the objective, first with a short stick and then with one of more appropriate length. The heavy sticks wobbled helplessly in his grasp; he became angry, kicked and drummed against the wall and hurled the sticks from him. Then he sat down on a table, in the neighborhood of the boxes, with an air of fatigue; when he had recovered a little, he gazed about him and scratched his head. . . . One corner of a box happened to land on a thick beam which lay on the ground a little to one side. Sultan gazed upwards, but the distance was too great even then, and he fell upon the box in a fit of anger. Presently he took notice of the second box and fetched it, but, instead of placing it on top of the first, as might seem obvious, began to gesticulate with it in a strange, confused, and apparently inexplicable manner; he put it beside the first, then in the air diagonally above, and so forth. This state of unordered confusion was followed by the customary paroxysm of anger; he seized the intractable box and rushed up and down the room, bumping the box behind him and dashing it with his whole strength against the wall. When his rage had spent itself, he gave a calm, quiet look at the scene before him and made a long step in advance by *lifting* the first box, which was still directly beneath the objective, and placing it upright on end.[1]

The important point to notice is what happens when a purpose is dammed up, or thwarted. Purposes release nervous energy. When the purposes are interfered with, this energy collects under higher and

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, pp. 47–8. See also pp. 44 and 45.

higher pressure until some sort of explosion occurs. Anger and rage are merely the explosive escape of the pent-up power. Sometimes such outbursts accomplish the purpose, as for instance, when one gets angry at a door which refuses to open, and throws himself at it so violently that it gives way. More often, however, the rage is simply destructive and accomplishes no good except to give relief to the overcharged nervous system.

Assaults on Personality. Thwarting is only one type of attack on personality. Rage may be the reaction to threats or damage against one's picture of oneself, against one's comfort, one's property, or any other phase of the personality. For example:

"MAN KILLED BARBER WHEN CALLED NEGRO." Under this heading, a New York newspaper recently reported how a Porto Rican, refused a shave in a Bowery barber shop because mistaken for a Negro, shot one of the barbers dead, was captured after a chase, and jailed after indictment for murder in the first degree. The Porto Rican told the police that the same morning he had been refused a shave in two other shops on the same ground, and that, when refused for the third time rather roughly, he lost his head and shot — to scare the barber, not to kill him. [1]

George T. Sullivan, 54 years old, a prisoner in the workhouse on Harts Island, alleged to have assaulted another prisoner with an iron pipe, was arrested yesterday afternoon by order of Assistant District Attorney William Kier of the Bronx, who explained that the assaulted prisoner, Nicholas Codispodi, 21 years old, was in a serious condition suffering from concussion of the brain.

Codispodi and two fellow prisoners went on a "noise rampage" in the workhouse dormitory Friday night, according to officials, and Sullivan, who was trying to sleep, became angry and attacked them with an iron pipe, striking Codispodi on the head.[2]

These two instances involve criminal assaults resulting from generation of energy by stimuli regarded as damaging the personalities and purposes of the individuals who made the assaults. The menacing stimulus in each case was a definite person or persons and the destructive energy was directed against these persons. But the source of damage may not be as definite as this and yet may inflict such serious injury to a personality that rage may be directed vaguely against the social system in general. Whiting Williams observed that it was the

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 157. [2] *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 19, '26.

men who were unable to get steady employment who became the violent radicals. He calls attention also to a post-war study of 500 radicals in Cleveland which showed the bitterness resulting when European artisans — such as violin makers — found themselves forced by language difficulties or other conditions to become nothing better than laborers.[1]

Here is a more subtle instance of emotional energy directed against a menacing stimulus.

The Federated Women's Clubs of the Southwestern States selected Santa Fe, N. M., as the spot where they might study and play — a "spiritual capital" to which they might add their own ideals of living and thinking. But a sudden beleaguered opposition developed among the residents of the town. Witter Bynner says:

> Here are persons, who, having learned the distinction between real and artificial values, are battling for the real. Here are persons who have found desert and sun, with only a few houses rising out of the earth-element and not disturbing it; here are persons who have found the sort of democracy forgotten in the rest of America, an almost total absence of caste, a relation of man to the sky rather than to the social register; here are persons who have found space more important than time, ease more important than vexation, the body more important than clothes, and evenness more important than events; here are persons aware of the simple reconciliation of God and Lucifer in a heaven not too remote; and here are persons who, knowing all these benefits, know also the fragility of such benefits in the presence of modern America.[2]

The reaction of the Santa Fe citizens to what they regarded as an assault on their expanded personalities — on their cultural selves — was collective resistance and resentment.

In the following instance, cited by Jane Addams, the attack on the personality consisted in the attempt to separate an old woman from a chest of drawers which for her was symbolic of her old expanded self:

> Some frightened women had bidden me come quickly to the house of an old German woman, whom two men from the county poor agent's office were trying to remove to the County Infirmary. The poor old creature had thrown herself bodily upon a small and battered chest of drawers and clung there, clutching it so firmly that it would have been impossible to remove her

[1] *What's On the Worker's Mind*, p. 46; *Mainsprings of Men*, p. 125.
[2] *N. Y. Times*, Dec. 19, '26.

without also taking the piece of furniture. She did not weep nor moan nor indeed make any human sound, but between her broken gasps for breath she squealed shrilly like a frightened animal caught in a trap. To take away from an old woman whose life has been spent in household cares all the foolish little belongings to which her affections cling and to which her very fingers have become accustomed, is to take away her last incentive to activity, almost to life itself.[1]

Fear and Grief. The emotions of this desolated old lady are not easily named or defined. It is clear that tremendous emotion was generated by the attempt to separate her from this part of her expanded self. But this energy was not directed against the stimuli. She did not attack or even rage at them. She simply resisted in inarticulate panic this cutting apart of her self. The words which come to mind to describe her emotions are " fear " and " grief."

Fear is the word used to describe the emotion which is felt when the energy generated by a stimulus is directed toward flight from that stimulus. Aversion and repugnance are cousins of fear. All of them involve the reaction of avoidance rather than the reaction of attack.

Grief is the emotion when the damaged personality feels that either attack or flight are hopelessly out of the question. A woman's baby has died. She feels that part of herself is torn from her. She is in an agony of torturing emotion. Yet she does not blame any one. She feels that forces beyond human control have caused her loss. There is no escape — when the baby was desperately ill she felt fear — she turned her energies toward escape. But now that is past. Her emotion can find no outlet but tears, wringing of the hands, pacing of the floor, and moaning sounds. We call this helpless, defeated, unresentful but crushed, reaction " grief."

Trivial Emotion Directed Destructively. Just as emotional reactions to stimuli which expand the personality may be elation when the stimulus is regarded as vitally important, and merely laughter when the stimulus is trivial, so stimuli which injure the personality may evoke grief if they are momentous and merely sardonic laughter if they are more trivial. Sometimes, also, the reaction to trivially menacing stimuli has a mild element of attack in it. The jokes cited earlier in the chapter may be characterized, in general, as good-humored humor. The intention is to generate a pleasant little eruption of emotional energy just for its own sake. The stimuli

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 155–6.

involved are regarded in general as promising, not menacing. The attack on the professor, the mother-in-law, the shopping wife, modesty, the church, and the other butts of the jokes, is playful rather than hateful. But these slight explosions of emotional energy may be provoked by stimuli regarded as menacing, and the emotion generated may be directed psychologically against the individual who excited it. In this case the humor takes the form of jeers, jibes, satire, sarcasm.

Courage. Rage, fear, grief, and sarcasm do not exhaust the possible reactions toward menacing stimuli. Instead of attempting to smash the menace, or to run away from it, or lying down under it, one may face it and attempt to deal with it intelligently. This reaction involves the emotion which we call courage. The stimulus may be exactly the same, and the energy generated may be fundamentally identical with that which finds outlet in anger, terror, or despair; the essential difference in the brave reaction is that the energy is turned toward constructive grappling with the stimulus instead of blind destruction, evasion, or acquiescence.

What Determines the Intensity of Emotions? The above analysis indicates how the emotional energy generated by the stimuli which disturb the personality gets differentiated into enthusiasm, elation, mirth, rage, fear, grief, contempt, and courage. The factors which determine these differences between emotions are whether the stimuli are regarded as promising or menacing, whether the energy gets into applied action or merely escapes, and if applied action results, what *kind* of action occurs.

The intensity of the emotion generated depends, however, on other factors. These intensity factors may be classified under four heads: the latent energy of the organism, the fitness of the stimulus, the readiness of the personality, and the persistence of the stimulus.

Latent energy is at its height in healthy youth. The well-fed, well-rested child has overflowing vitality ready to be tapped by any stimulus that comes along. Even without any obvious stimulus, the child wiggles and chatters. At the other extreme is the worn-out invalid, exhausted and listless, hardly able to respond effectively to any stimulus whatever.

By fitness of the stimulus is meant the qualities which make it able to generate emotion in the typical personality. How appetizing is the food? How attractive is the girl? How interesting is the story?

How horrible is the murder? How exciting is the adventure? How beautiful is the scenery? How terrifying is the monster?

Readiness of the personality means its capacity to be disturbed by the stimulus. A calculus problem may be excitingly fascinating to a mathematics professor, but the ordinary personality has no readiness whatever for it. The British army at one time used a form of cartridge of which the end had to be bitten off by the soldier before loading. Terrific indignation was roused among some Mohammedan troops when they found that these cartridges, which they were expected to put into their mouths, had been dipped in lard. Lard comes from pigs, and the Mohammedan religion regards pigs as terribly defiling. Christian British soldiers, however, generated no emotional energy about these cartridges because their cultural personalities had no such readiness to react to the pig stimulus.

All of the likes and dislikes which the personality has acquired, all of its positive and negative linkages, all of its cultural values and aversions, all of its habits — everything, in a word, which has helped to determine the quality of the personality — enter into its readiness to react to various stimuli. The immediate condition of the self, moreover — whether it is hungry or thirsty, whether it is lonely or craving peace, whether it is optimistic or pessimistic — helps to determine its readiness to generate emotional energy when appropriate stimuli present themselves.

The fourth factor which determines the intensity of emotional energy is the persistency with which a stimulus acts on the personality. The chimpanzee who flew into a rage because of his inability to reach the banana had had the fruit dangling before his eyes during his long and persistent efforts to reach it. The Porto Rican who murdered the barber for refusing to shave him had twice previously been refused a shave on the ground that he was a negro. The following instance well illustrates the effect of the continued operation of a menacing stimulus:

A young college graduate had spent seven years as a pioneer farmer up next to the big woods in northern Canada. He told of the rough pioneer conditions; the heavy investment in cattle after the war; the winter when the feed gave out and cattle were rushed to the market and the prices fell, and when, as a climax, the spring was a month late in coming. It was day after day of prolonged agony. If all the cattle had died on one day it would have been easier, but each day you arose in hope and went to bed at night disap-

pointed; the cattle would stand about the barn all humped up with cold and bellow at you every time you opened the door of your house. One man had ordered a car load of hay to save his herd. Day after day he went to town, but it did not come. One day he came home and in desperation shot his whole herd. The next day the hay came, and then came the sheriff who arrested the farmer for willful destruction of property.[1]

Resistance Increases Energy. Resistance is anything which, by preventing immediate functioning in response to a stimulus, keeps the stimulus acting on the personality, thus producing an accumulation of energy. The resistance in a water power project is the dam which holds the water back and thus allows an accumulation of reserve power.

If in a story of adventure the hero immediately disposed of every difficulty which arose, the tale would be tame. Resistance must be introduced. The menace must hang more and more threatening, in spite of the superhuman efforts of the hero. At length, just when the threat seems overwhelming, he must somehow win through and achieve the longed-for goal. Then the story becomes truly exciting.

A young man and young woman are stimuli to each other toward physiological mating. If this impulse were carried out at the first urge, the craving would be dissipated, and relatively little emotion would develop. But resistances intervene. Modesty, chastity, morality, public opinion prevent immediate mating. Perhaps the bride's father objects to the match. Money must be saved for furniture. The young man must win an increase in salary so as to be able to support the couple. All of these things mean delay. And during the delay the two keep stimulating each other and generating accumulating emotional energy in one another. The result is intense romantic love. One reason why the course of true love never ran smooth is that if it ran too smooth true love would never develop: resistance is an essential factor in reaching the heights of passion.

Somewhat as the dam, in holding back the stream, sends the waters feeling their way back up the valleys, to spread lakes where once were forests, so resistance to functioning sends the dammed-up energy flooding back into new portions of the personality. Mere physical sex relations involve only a small part of the body, but romantic love lights up every phase of life. It makes work more interesting because faithful toil will bring promotion and hasten marriage. It makes

[1] A. E. Holt, *Am. Jour. of Sociology*, Sept. 1926, p. 232.

intellectual functioning keenly fascinating if the lover is involved. It illuminates the details of home making. It sheds sparkle through all of life.

Apart from its effect in accumulating emotional energy and thus increasing the intensity of life, resistance is valued as a measure of achievement. To climb a high, dangerous mountain gives much more glory than to climb an easy little hill. To land a powerful " sporty " fish is much more to brag about than to catch a string of dull stupid ones. Energetic personalities pride themselves upon the overcoming of difficulties.

Indeed, it may well be said that no functioning can occur at all except in terms of overcoming resistance. Imagine exercising your body if no resistance whatever were encountered! What an absolutely flat, tasteless thing social life would be if one's every wish were instantly fulfilled without the slightest resistance! In physics, work done is measured in terms of resistance overcome. Similarly the functioning of a personality may well be measured in difficulties met and solved.

It is an illusion, then, that normal people want to escape from resistance to their functioning. What they really want to escape from is thwarting. Absence of resistance means zero in emotional energy generated. Absolute resistance means rage, grief, despair, misery. *The ideal degree of resistance is reached at exactly that point where the ultimate sense of achievement reaches its maximum.*

Plasticity of Purpose. If we define purpose as " personality projected into the future," then it can be shown that the character of one's purposes determines whether one is happy or not. One goes through a series of situations which generate emotional energy. What is to be the character of this emotion — happy or unhappy? enthusiastic or angry? elated or fearful? The answer depends upon the character of one's purposes, and purposes are plastic.

The plasticity of purpose is well illustrated by certain events in the life of Mussolini:

In 1912 a prominent socialist called at the royal palace in order to express his sympathy with the King, who had been shot by an anarchist. It was Ivanoe Bonomi, later a premier of Italy, who made this call. He was immediately expelled from the socialist party. The mover of the motion for his expulsion was Mussolini.

Thirteen years ago Mussolini, as arch revolutionary, thus drove a milder rebel out of the socialist ranks. To-day Mussolini fights the ideals of democracy which Ivanoe Bonomi still upholds. Six years ago Mussolini and his few adherents were pledged to a republic, the disendowment of the Church, proportional representation, and a single chamber government. To-day Mussolini is the avowed pillar of the monarchy. Instead of disendowing the Church, he has made the teaching of religion compulsory in the schools and given the Church the control of it. In place of proportional representation he abolished majority rule and has swept away local self-government. . . .

Perhaps it is absurd to seek a single clue which might explain why men so various as Lloyd George, Mussolini, and Briand abandoned their earlier espousals and have become bulwarks of the scheme of things they challenged. Yet may it not be that the revolt of their adolescence — at least of some of them — was a result of their unsatisfied emotions, of resentments, and the desire for some kind of adventure? A violent and uncompromising attitude is frequently adopted by those who are ill-grounded in their beliefs. In their early days, Tory baiting, capitalist baiting, the general strike, and the like gave to the restless youth of Western Europe the greatest thrill. Later on, other fields presented more excitement, and in each new field of action they took along with them their violent dispositions.[1]

These radicals were personalities who generated high degrees of emotional energy. This energy sought outlet in radical activities. Later it found outlet in more conservative channels. This was accepted by them as a satisfactory solution. For the motive of life is to function, and purposes are plastic. The same thing happens in more trivial connections. Fred C. Kelly, in *The Wisdom of Laziness*, gives the following instance:

One of my neighbors punished his small son for a minor offense. He tells me that he didn't realize until the next day why he spanked the boy. It wasn't so much on account of what the boy had done, as because he was angry at a man in the office. He had unconsciously substituted the boy for the office associate as an object of his spleen.

Sublimation and Perversion. When energy generated by a stimulus is diverted into a different but allied channel where it produces constructive results, the process is called sublimation. Dante fell hopelessly in love with Beatrice, and finding the fulfillment of his love thwarted, wrote his immortal " Divine Comedy " as a sublimation of

[1] S. Zimand, *Survey*, Vol. 55 (1926), pp. 422–3.

his dammed up emotional energy. But thwarted energy may find destructive outlets in perversions. Many a disappointed lover has taken to drinking, gambling, and vice in an effort to find an outlet for thwarted emotion.

Sportsmanship. The thing that determines whether an invitation to make a speech will generate terror or enthusiasm in the person invited is not so much the nature of the stimulus as the attitude of the personality toward the stimulus. The thing that determines whether searching criticisms from one's teacher or one's boss generates zeal or anger depends as much on the attitude of the person criticized as on the way in which the criticism is given.

The fact that the kind of emotions generated by a stimulus is to a great extent within the control of the personality itself is recognized in our traditions of sportsmanship. The good sport doesn't sulk when the coach calls him down — he works harder than ever. The good sport doesn't make a baby of himself when he gets a bloody nose in a scrimmage — he laughs it off. The good sport doesn't whine if it is up to him to buy the ice creams for the crowd with his last dollar — he does it with a quick generosity that doubles the pleasure of the others.

But sportsmanship doesn't stop merely at the trivial things of life. A young couple, recently married, had decided to devote their lives to social service. They had worked out splendid plans. They were going forward in the high courage of fellowship and of their devotion to each other. Suddenly the young man died. But the bride did not turn bitter. She did not gnash her teeth at the universe. She said: "What we two set out to do together, that I shall try to do alone. I shall give my life to doing his share and mine also." And she did it. Her unconquerable courage has set her nearly at the head of the social workers of one of our greatest cities.

Compare with the courage of this social worker the reactions of Turgenev to the death of his mother:

> The death of his mother in 1850 and the publication of the "Sketches" in book form in 1852 made a definite turning point in Turgenev's life. He was free, he was well-to-do, he was acclaimed. He was 35 — and he believed himself to be a man finished, done for, upon the downward slopes of life. Throughout the balance of his life this constant haunting fear of senility, decay, and death sounds like a fate note in this unusually gifted tragi-comedy of a life. He had still nearly thirty years to live, still to do his work as one of the greatest novelists of his own or any generation, much

happiness yet in store in contemplation of the success and competence of the one woman he truly loved, yet, like Prospero's, or Shakespeare's at Stratford, his every third thought was of his grave.[1]

In his novel *Fortitude* Hugh Walpole tells the story of a young writer who rises to the peak of success and then meets with a crushing series of disasters. The hero has acquired a reputation as a novelist, but his latest book is a failure. His only child, in whom he had wrapped up his life, dies through the neglect of its mother. His wife leaves him to become the mistress of his dearest friend. In this overwhelming crash of the structure through which he had been functioning so joyfully the thing which makes it possible for him to take life up again instead of sinking down into perversion and degradation is the saying of an old seaman who had been his friend in boyhood: "It isn't life that matters; it's the courage that you bring to it."

Faith. So much for sportsmanship — for the code which makes a man keep a stiff upper lip and play the game — the code which makes it possible for him to turn tears into laughter, to substitute achievement for rage, to win success and happiness out of the same set of stimuli which, to a poor sport, would have brought defeat and misery.

But there is another attitude which accomplishes these results — an attitude based on a deeper conviction than that which is the foundation of sportsmanship. It is the attitude of faith. It is based on the conviction that somehow love is at the heart of things, that somehow good may be built up out of even the situations that seem most hopelessly evil, that in the world there is at work a Power which will use those who give themselves wholly to it, and will guide their lives so that they shall serve, far beyond their own dreams, the highest ends of the universe.

Those who have found such faith have nothing left to fear. They have no desperations, no final thwartings. Sufferings — yes — hardships, and toil and privations. But these come as part of a splendid service; these are but stimuli which help to generate the high elation of achievement, the resistances which build up ultimate joy.

To some men will come faith; to others will come the code of good sportsmanship. But whether through one or the other, the rational personality will recognize that even though it cannot change the stimuli which come into its life, it can, by courage, by patience, by

[1] Henry James Forman, *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Nov. 14, '26, p. 5.

insight, by persistence, build up, out of any stimuli which come to it, constructive and joyful emotional energy.

Summary

A. Emotional energy is generated when, and only when, a disturbance occurs in the expanded personality.

1. A stimulus is any object, situation, or idea which produces, or sets going in the personality, a change, functioning, or other disturbance.

B. The character of the change which occurs in the personality, and the quality of the accompanying emotion, depend upon the way in which the stimulus is regarded by the one affected.

2. Promising stimuli — those which are regarded as favorable, as enhancing or expanding the personality — are likely to produce the following types of functioning and of accompanying emotion:

a. Interest, zeal, enthusiasm, loyalty, and the like are the reactions when the energy generated by the stimulus is directed toward functioning accepted by the personality as part of its purpose.

b. This active, positive type of emotion takes various subforms according to the sort of functioning involved, such as curiosity, love, and lust.

c. Gratification, elation, or triumph is the reaction when the stimulus is regarded as producing important enhancements of the personality but not as requiring any immediate effort.

d. Glee, hilarity, amusement, mirth, laughter, and the like are the escaping surplus of emotional energy when the stimuli are regarded as enhancing the personality in some trivial way, or at least as not seriously damaging it, and as not requiring any immediate effort by the personality. This energy is generated by incongruity, absurdity, or surprise; by shock; and by clever mental functioning.

3. Menacing, or damaging, stimuli — those which are regarded as threatening, thwarting, or injuring the personality — are likely to produce the following types of functioning and of accompanying emotion.

a. Rage, anger, wrath, antagonism, and enmity are the reactions when the emotional energy generated is directed against

the menacing stimulus; these emotions accompany either an actual or an imaginary attack against the menace.

b. Fear, aversion, or repugnance are the reactions when the emotional energy is directed toward flight, escape, or avoidance of the menacing stimulus.

c. Grief is the reaction when emotional energy is not directed against the damaging stimulus or toward avoidance, but finds expression simply in weeping, gestures, or inner conflict.

d. Jeers, jibes, satire, and sarcasm are directions of emotional energy against the trivial stimuli which generated them.

e. Courage is the emotion accompanying intelligent grappling with a menacing stimulus.

C. The intensity of the emotion generated depends upon four factors.

4. The amount of latent energy in the organism, as determined by age, health, fatigue, ennui, nutrition, and the like limits the amount of emotional energy which can be released.

5. The fitness of the stimulus to produce functioning or change in any personality conditions the amount of emotion generated.

6. The readiness of the particular personality to respond to the particular stimulus is another factor.

7. The persistence with which the stimulus acts on the personality is the fourth factor.

a. Resistance encountered in reacting to a stimulus tends to keep the energy accumulating.

b. Resistance overcome is also valued as a measure of success in functioning.

c. The ideal degree of resistance is that which produces the maximum sense of achievement.

D. Happiness or misery depends upon the attitude of the personality toward the stimuli which impinge on it.

8. Purposes are plastic.

a. Sublimation and perversion are modifications of purpose to allow the outflow of emotional energy.

9. The rational personality, by courage, patience, insight, and persistence, can build up, out of any stimuli which come to it, constructive and joyful emotional energy. Alternative attitudes leading to this result are good sportsmanship and faith.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

10D1. What different kinds of stimulus was the World War? What sorts of emotions did it generate? When, how, and in whom?

10D2. How do the dynamics of personality operate in determining news value?

10D3. When a young man tries to raise a mustache, what is the attitude of his friends? Why?

10D4. Under what conditions does the attempt of amateur actors to portray emotional scenes produce ridicule? Why?

10D5. What is the difference between romantic and conjugal love? Why?

10D6. When you say that a thing is "shocking" what do you mean?

10D7. What psychological factors are involved in swearing?

10D8. What points in the following excerpt relate to this chapter? What points relate to previous chapters, and in what way?

> One afternoon in June, some 12 years ago, I was passing under the Admiralty Arch in London when, suddenly, I saw a woman turning out of a little side road. She was obviously a woman of grace and refinement, beautifully gowned, save for the outrageous fact that the sleeves of her dress were completely transparent from the wrists to the shoulders.
>
> Well, it was a shock, but I pulled myself together, and was walking on without, I hope, any undue exhibition of emotion when I noticed that several of the passers-by were not acting with a like restraint. First one here and one there quite frankly stopped to look at her. Then they began to follow her. Then the small crowd, with its inevitable snowball tendencies, began to draw a large crowd. The girl quickened her pace, but so did the crowd; then some small boys began to jeer, some youths began to jostle her, and it was easy to see what would happen. Before I knew what I was doing, I enlisted the services of a policeman and between us we got the half fainting girl into a taxi. By the time I had deposited her at Queen Anne's Mansions, where she was staying with her father and mother, she had tearfully explained that they had just arrived from New York, that every woman in New York was wearing that kind of dress, that she never could have dreamed that such a thing would happen, and that she would never get over it.[1]

10D9. Not long ago the writer was driving down a steep hill at the bottom of which was a high bank of earth, hiding a cross road. As I came near to the crossing I blew my horn, and, hearing no reply, coasted

[1] Condensed from Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy, *Forum*, June, '26.

into the intersection. Another car, hidden by the hill on my right, burst out at the same moment that I did, and we avoided colliding only by swerving sharply away from each other. Our cars came to a standstill six or eight feet apart, and the chauffeur of the other car at once burst out in angry abuse. Have you ever had a similar experience? Why the outburst of anger?

10D10. In our chapter on linked up experience it was related that a baby who had shortly before been frightened was given his blocks and at once began to play with them far more energetically than before the fright, raising then high above his head and slamming them down with a great deal of force. How would you explain such behavior?

10D11. Charles Merz published an article in the *New Republic* for December 30, 1925, on " What Makes a First-Page Story? " which has been summarized as follows:

> The first-page story is the story of a personal fight between well-identified antagonists which involves the element of suspense. This explains why the press appears willfully destructive, why it fails in the creation of intelligent public opinion, and why the newspaper's dominating interest seems to be in sex and crime.

To what point in our present chapter does this article relate? How?

10D12. Why does a good speaker quite often start his address by a few jokes? Why does the clever maker of a program try to get a provocative or amusing speaker to open the meeting? Professor Niles Carpenter uses " thought provokers " in his sociology classes — challenging statements intended to rouse conflicts of opinion. Why does he do this? What further instances along this line can you cite? What generalization can you formulate on the point?

10D13. To what extent do you agree with this statement by Reinhold Niebuhr, in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1926?

> Whatever we may be able to do in the future to make wealth serve the interests of the spiritual life, it must be confessed that the past does not encourage the hope that the finest virtues can be maintained except where there are large classes who are challenged to heroism by life's handicaps, but are not tempted to despair by insurmountable difficulties.

10D14. Why do country clubs make a special point of putting unnecessary difficulties in the way of their members who are trying to get the golf ball over the course? What other illustrations of the same tendency can you suggest?

10D15. What was the painful part of the punishment of Sisyphus? Of Tantalus? What is the difference between "tantalize" and "thwart"?

10D16. What happens when one person persistently contradicts another? Why?

10D17. Give an instance where a person has made up his or her mind to do something good and generous, and has been thwarted. What has happened in this case?

10D18. What is the basis of the lure of the mystery story?

10D19. In what sense might it be said that scientific curiosity is due to thwarting?

10D20. "Hope deferred maketh the heart sick." Why?

10D21. A woman who had no servants was giving a dinner party. In the rush of the last preparations she asked her husband, who is a college professor, to mash the potatoes. He picked up the covered kettle from the stove, took it to the sink, and poured off the liquid. Just as the last drop flowed down the drain his wife snatched off the kettle cover and disclosed to him the bones and vegetables from which she had been brewing the chicken soup. He had poured off the wrong kettle. Was this situation funny or not? Why?

10D22. If a man and woman are thrown into close daily contact in their work what different attitudes are likely to develop between them? How would you account for this?

10D23. In the English elections just after the armistice Ramsay MacDonald, leader of the Labor Party, tried to point out that the policy of crushing Germany and attempting to put the whole cost of the war on her would damage England by hurting her trade. His argument was logical, and subsequent events have proved their correctness. In this campaign, however, while he was trying to present this viewpoint, a heckler shouted: "Are you going to hang the Kaiser and make Germany pay the whole cost of the war? Yes or no!" The crowd took up the yell "Yes or no! Yes or no!" and kept it up until MacDonald was forced to take his seat. How would you account for this incident?

10D24. What explanation would you give for the behavior of the miners in the following incident, said (by Diana Bourbon in the *New York Times* for September 12, 1926) to have been related as having happened in a British mine?

There was a serious roof fall in a certain mine, so the old story ran. Entire passages were cut off; but as the vein beyond the fall was not particularly good and as no one had been working there at the time no effort was made to clear the passage. A couple of days later a miner passing near-by heard a cat meowing. He called some comrades. Though their regular shift was over, the men immediately set to work to dig the cat out. They worked two or three hours without any hope of payment. The cat was rescued and carried in triumph to the pit head and down to the local "pub," where a saucer of milk was provided, while the tired gang of miners sat round and looked on. Suddenly one of them, watching the animal daintily lapping, exclaimed:

"You ——! You've given us a hell of a lot of trouble!" Picking up a huge stone, he threw it at the cat, killing it instantly.

10D25. What is meant when it is said that a person is "lazy"? What causes underlie laziness?

10D26. The discussion in this chapter has had to do with different ways in which personalities can react to stimuli. Suppose that the problem were presented as to the type of stimulus which a personality might find it wise to be toward others. What points should be made in this connection?

10D27. There has been a great deal of argument lately about whether civilization has made any real progress. In order to decide the question it is necessary to draw up standards as to what is meant by progress. One way of drawing up such standards would be to base them on the question of the extent to which modern civilization, as compared with primitive life, or with ancient civilizations, gives opportunity for the expression of instincts. Another way would be to ask what is the relative efficiency of modern life in giving scope to the individual to function fully — to achieve his purposes and possibilities. Compare the relative merits of these two foundations for criteria of progress.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

10K1. Study some classical Greek tragedy with a view to the analysis of its utilization of the dynamics of personality. Write out your interpretation. (Time credit to be arranged)

10K2. Make a collection of jokes each of which has actually made you laugh. Classify these according to the scheme proposed in this chapter. What further refinements in the classification can you suggest? (Three hours)

10K3. Study the life of Robert Louis Stevenson with a view to selecting the phases of it which illustrate the dynamics of personality. (Four hours)

10K4. Forty leading women of the town of Tourciennes were taken as hostages to a German prison camp during the World War. How they turned this menacing stimulus into a promising one is told by Dorothy Canfield (Fisher) in "What Goes Up," in the *Woman's Home Companion*, abstracted in the *Reader's Digest* for April, 1927, pp. 753–4. Discuss the significance of the episode. (One hour)

10K5. Harold Begbie has published two volumes of case studies of conversions: *Twice-Born Men;* and *More Twice-Born Men.* Analyze his material from the standpoint of the dynamics of personality. (Time credit to be arranged)

10K6. In *The House on Henry Street* Miss Wald cites the following:

> After the tragedy (the Triangle Factory fire in which a large number of operatives were burned to death) at a meeting . . . called by horrified men and women of the city, this young capmaker stood at the edge of the great opera house stage and in a voice hardly raised, though it reached every person in that vast audience, arraigned society for regarding human life so cheaply. No one could have been insensitive to her cry for justice, her auguish over the youth so ruthlessly destroyed.

What temporary, and what permanent effects did this tragedy have on factory fire hazards? Why? (Time credit to be arranged)

10K7. Make a study of the behavior of people involved in great disasters, as reported in accounts of earthquakes, floods, conflagrations, tornadoes and the like. Classify the types of reaction in relation to the principles developed in the present chapter. (Time credit to be arranged)

10K8. Using the method of impartial collection, classification, and analysis of instances, make a study of the factor of emotional tension as an element in the dynamics of personality. (Time credit to be arranged)

10K9. The *N. Y. Times Book Review* for January 2, 1927, p. 1, summarizes certain phases of the life of Bismarck which are highly pertinent to the dynamics of personality. Write out your analysis of these points. (One hour. The assignment may be made longer if other references on Bismarck are consulted)

10K10. Williams says (*Mainsprings of Men*, p. 273): "Lincoln avoided what might have been disastrous collisions by using a good story to bring the emotional temperature of his Cabinet down to

normal." Study the life of Lincoln with a view to discovering just how he did make use of the dynamics of personality. (Five hours)

10K11. Make a careful study of the utilization to the principle of sportsmanship in primitive and modern initiation ceremonies. (Time credit to be arranged)

10L12. Write out a detailed account of instances in your own experience in which a purpose has taken possession of a person and driven him or her. (One to two hours)

10L13. Write out in as full detail as you can illustrative cases in which either good sportsmanship or faith has enabled its possessor to transform stimuli from destructive to constructive, from menaces to promises. (Two hours)

10L14. If shock speeds up the learning process, is it possible for the intensely ambitious student to learn to utilize pain and suffering to make his own progress far more rapid than it otherwise could be? If you think so, write out your conception of just how this might be achieved.

10X15. Attend two consecutive moving picture performances with a friend, each of you taking a notebook. If several pairs go to the same performance they should scatter themselves so that no two pairs are near each other. During the first performance one of the pair should watch the audience and one should watch the film. The moment the observer of the audience sees the first definite and general reaction to the film in the audience (such as a laugh, gasps, sniffling, wiping eyes, whispering or the like) he should whisper the number " one " to his partner as a signal. Both should then write the number 1 in their books. The observer of the audience should make a memorandum at that point of the reaction of the audience, while the observer of the film should write a memorandum of the event which caused the reaction. The next reaction should be numbered 2, and so on. After completing the first performance the observer who watched the audience should watch the film and the observer of the film the audience, making notes as before. After the play they should write up the results together. The write-ups should answer particularly the question: What light do these observations cast upon the problems of contagious behavior, of vicarious functioning, of imaginary functioning, and of the dynamics of personality? (Four hours)

10W16. It may well be said that the expanded personality and the anti-personality are both composed of emotional complexes. Study Tansley's treatment of emotional complexes in his *New Psychology*,

and write out your interpretation of the relationship between them and the personality as conceived in our text. (Four hours)

10W17. Read Thorndike's "Inventory of Original Tendencies" as summarized in Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 73–5. Compare with the summary of motivation given thus far in this text. Which is most satisfactory as a basis for the study of social relations? Why? Discuss.

10W18. What agreements with, and what divergencies from, the present chapter do you find in the discussion of "Psychic Energy" by Tansley in his *New Psychology* (1922), pp. 70–97? (Two hours)

10W19. Study carefully Thomas' "Four Wishes" as summarized in Park and Burgess, pp. 488–90. Discuss whether it is true that wishes in one of Thomas' four classes cannot be substituted for wishes in another class. Then go over the elements of motivation discussed in our text thus far, and try to classify them under the four heads suggested by Thomas. Write out your comments. (Three hours. This assignment may be extended by reading Znaniecki's revision of the four wishes in his *Laws of Social Psychology*.)

10W20. Compare the analysis of social motivation developed in our text with Ross' chapters on "The Original Social Forces" and "Derivative Social Forces," in his *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 37–51. Consult also in this connection Blackmar and Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology* (1915), pp. 284–8. Comment critically. (Two hours)

10W21. The *Reader's Digest* for April, 1927, pp. 719–20, summarizes from the *Nation* an article by Stuart Chase in which he has worked out inductively, by taking note of his own experiences, a classification of 11 states of being in which he feels that he is really alive, and five states in which he feels that he merely exists. Present a critical summary of his conclusions. (One hour)

10W22. Read the outstanding authorities and write a paper on "The Psychology of Laughter." (Time credit to be arranged)

10W23. Read Ross on "Commercialization," *Outlines*, pp. 319–326. What is inherently wrong about commercialization? Suppose that instead of money-getting, the desire for political power should become the dominant motive in certain activities — how would the situation differ essentially from one in which commercial motives dominate activities? (Two hours)

10W24. Comment on the attitudes toward menacing stimuli presented in Kipling's poem "If" and in Henley's "Invictus." What other poems might be classed with these? (One hour)

CHAPTER XI

SOCIAL CONFLICT

Expanding Personalities Collide. Social conflict is the natural result of the tendency of personalities to function on an expanding scale. Our world is strictly limited in size, with the most desirable areas of its surface still more limited. Within these areas we have millions of personalities trying to expand, trying to attach to themselves the objects through which they function. Inevitably, of course, two or more of these expanding personalities want to function through the same object. Inevitably they develop desires to use these objects in ways that cannot be made to fit together. When this happens, purposes get thwarted. Antagonistic emotion is generated. Conflict arises. Particularly is this the case when, as so often happens, one personality tries to assimilate to its purposes not merely lifeless objects but also other personalities. Resistance, rage, reprisals, and destruction follow. The central problem of sociology arises in acute form: how are purposes to be fitted together so that they shall stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other instead of thwarting and defeating each other?

Quarreling over the Sub-Social Environment. The pre-school children, as usual, afford a very simple instance of the fundamental type of conflict over equipment. Sam had brought to school a toy engine which he was allowing the other children to use under his supervision:

> When David got the engine he refused to give it up or run it as Sam directed. Ignoring Sam entirely, he began to push the toy briskly across the room. After repeating his orders several times, Sam grabbed the engine away from David saying, "It's mine." David came crying to the teacher, saying, "He won't let me have it." [1]

Still more primitive — and still highly typical — is the conflict between apes over a pile of boxes which one of the little chimpanzees

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* p. 62.

had been building in order to reach a banana which the experimenter had hung up out of reach:

> One of the animals has just completed his building; then suddenly another, the redoubtable Grande for instance, approaches, with unmistakable intent to use the first animal's efforts for her own advantage. A pitched battle seems inadvisable, but the smaller animal does not at once take to flight, leaving the field clear. Instead, he sits on the edge of the topmost box and slides off it in such a way that the whole structure overbalances and collapses. This proceeding differs totally from that usually adopted in descending and must be intentional; flight follows and rage on the part of the outwitted aggressor.[1]

Essentially the same social process has been at work in the controversy between Mexico and the United States. Some American capitalists secured the right to dig oil wells in Mexico. They brought in machinery, made large investments, and began to get large returns. The government in Mexico then underwent a radical change. A group interested in the rights of labor and of the common people came into power. Old clauses in the constitution were revived and enforced, providing that mineral resources below the surface of the soil belonged to the people. The United States and Mexico entered into a long diplomatic controversy. Threats of invasion were muttered. Marines were actually landed in Nicaragua on the plea that a revolution there was being backed by Mexico. The menace of war loomed close.

Of course this conflict is a very complicated one. Among other things it involves a struggle between two different conceptions of property — the Spanish, which has maintained that all property is held at the will and pleasure of the government, and the Anglo-Saxon, which has developed the conception of much greater independence of individual property rights. Yet, in spite of these complications, the essential difficulty between the two nations was the same as that between the children and between the apes; it was a conflict over the possession and the right to function through a part of the sub-social environment.

Quarreling over Social Relations. In much the same way, conflict may arise over the use of the social environment. There may be conflicting attempts to use people as well as to use things. Jealousy

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 178.

of dogs toward other animals petted by their masters is notorious, and of course humans show similar tendencies. Here is a chimpanzee instance:

If one is specially friendly to, and plays more with, any one of the animals the others not seldom become jealous. For instance, when Tercera saw anything like this, she would begin to walk about restlessly, looking at me, and after piteous and reproachful sounds, she would approach me and nudge me again and again, so as to turn my attention away from the other animal to her, or else, pouting all the time, would try to push the other animal away and take its place.[1]

The pre-school children offered an instance of conflict over a less permanent relationship between individuals:

Sam and Helen went to the slide: Helen was at the top of the slope and Sam said, "I'll catch you." He dragged himself up by his hands, caught her feet, and the two slid down, Sam after a fashion pulling Helen down. "Now, you do it to me," Sam said. Helen tried, but had to be shown several times. Finally the system worked to Sam's satisfaction and the two took turn about in the two positions. . . . Agnes, who had been wandering about, started to climb up the slide. "Don't," screeched Helen. "Don't; make her quit." "Don't," Sam said also, but Agnes paid no attention. She grasped Helen's feet, to pull her down. "I want Sam to," said Helen. "She wants me to," said Sam, and took Agnes by the back of her dress, and all three came down the slide protesting. Agnes ran around, climbed the slide, and called, "Pull me down, Sam." Sam said, "All right," and pulled her down. Then Helen called, "Pull *me* down, Sam." "*I'm* going to," Agnes said, and started to do so. "She wants me to," Sam screamed, but Helen said, "No, I want her." Neither child would give up the game and this bickering continued. . . . Sam, Agnes, Helen, and sometimes Margaret played the new slide game every day for several weeks, but always with continual squabbling as to whose turn it was.[2]

Quarreling over Political Relations. Magnify this squabble, add a few complications, and you have the situation in the government of an eastern city.

Union City, N. J., stepped off in the new year with a limping form of government. At the last election in November Charles A. Mohn, Republican candidate for Mayor, defeated John F. Boylan, the Democratic incumbent, by 57 votes out of 18,000 polled. Edward Meyer, another Republican, was elected President of the City Council. He and Mayor Mohn, holding

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 307. [2] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 78–9.

the executive offices in the council, had the support of two Republican councilmen against seven Democratic members.

In his New Year's message yesterday the Mayor inserted a list of thirty-five appointments for city jobs. The Democratic majority refused on this account to file the message and in retaliation drew up a set of resolutions naming other appointees. These were rejected by the Mayor and President of the council, leaving this city of 65,000 inhabitants with two sets of municipal officers, none of whom can take office until the courts, perhaps, untangle the situation.[1]

Strangely enough, even social scientists are apt to get into conflicts about their desire to dominate a situation.[2]

Complex Group Personalities Conflict. A conflict between the need of subway workers for increased wages, and the interest of the public in low subway fares lay back of a strike in the summer of 1926. Robert W. Bruère described the situation as follows:

A significant fact in connection with this strike is that everybody, including the management, is agreed that the men are not receiving adequate wages for the work they do. In striking they contended that a contract that denied them a fair living was not binding. They are on call seven days a week, they share responsibility for the safe transportation of millions of people, their wages are less than bricklayers' wages. The public has it within its power to make their wages adequate by authorizing an increase in fare on the subways which the city owns. But in New York, the "five cent fare" has become a sacred slogan. There is a strong case for the social wisdom of its maintenance. The point is, however, that the public appears quite willing to disregard a just demand so long as it gets what it wants.[3]

Paternalism. The instances of social conflict discussed thus far are of types which arise from collision between the functioning of different personalities or groups of personalities. The purposes of the conflicting groups interfere with each other merely because they try to use the same parts of the environment in different ways. The things over which the conflict arises may be parts of the sub-social or the social environment. The conflict may be over the use of such things as land, tools, money, time, power, or people. It may be between children for use of a toy or between nations for control of oil wells; it may be between lovers for the favor of a woman or between con-

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Jan. 2, '27.
[2] *E.g.* see *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 181–2.
[3] *Survey*, Aug. 15, '26, p. 534.

querers for the domination of an empire. Such conflicts might be solved if it were possible to provide each of the conflicting purposes with equipment of its own through which it could function. But not all types of social conflict could be treated in this simple way. In certain types the manipulation of one personality by another comes into conflict with the desire for freedom on the part of the manipulated personality. Conflicts of this sort include three divergent types: paternalism, domination, and cruelty.

Paternalism occurs when the more powerful person or group decides what is best for the weaker party, and then, for the victim's "own good," attempts to carry out that purpose without his consent. When employers, without understanding the actual and potential purposes of their employees, attempt to put over what the employer thinks is good for the employee, that is paternalism. When a social worker, without understanding the actual and potential purposes of the people among whom he works, tries to carry out his own ideas of what is good for them, that is paternalism. Paternalism must be distinguished from creative leadership. The true leader understands what the purposes of his followers are, or what purposes may be created in them. He gives opportunity to these purposes to express and realize themselves. That is not exploitation, it is the stimulation and release of purposes, not its thwarting.

Domination and Cruelty. Paternalism arises out of expansion of personality to include other personalities without putting the self in the place of these others sufficiently vividly to understand their purposes and possibilities. The same process underlies domination and cruelty, except that in paternalism the despotism is really benevolent — it wishes well for its victim — while in domination the aggressor simply wishes to function by manipulating and controlling others, without reference to their purposes and possibilities; in cruelty, moreover, the aggressor gets his satisfaction essentially in the thwarting and torturing of others — he attains his purpose only to the degree that his victim suffers. Social programs for dealing with conflict must take into account all of these different types.

Contagious Conflict. In dealing with social conflict a vital fact to remember is that, like other forms of functioning, conflict is contagious:

> If an isolated chimpanzee is forcibly *attacked* before the eyes of the others, great excitement goes through the group. . . . The moment your hand falls on him, the whole group sets up a howl, as if with one voice. The

excitement thus expressed has usually nothing of fear in it, and the group does not run away. On the contrary, if they are separated by the railings, they try to get to the place of punishment. Even the lightest form of punishment . . . often stirred single members of the group to much more decisive action. It was, in particular, little weak Konsul, who would run up excitedly, and, in the way little chimpanzees have of expressing their wishes, with a pleading countenance, stretch out his arm to the punisher, if the ape was still being punished, try to hold one's arm tight, and, finally, with exasperated gestures, start hitting out at the big man.[1]

This last illustration has an interesting parallel in the experience of certain parents. A mother and father engaged at times in undignified and hilarious scuffles in the presence of one or another of their children at the ages of about two years. On these occasions the child, apparently mistaking outbursts of mirth for cries of distress, burst into loud wailings and interfered in behalf of the parent who at the moment seemed to be having the worst of it, pulling at the aggressor, and beating with its fists. Other parents have testified to similar behavior on the part of their young children.

When the apes have grown much older and their awe of us big humans has diminished, and especially after they have arrived at sex maturity, I find the drive of the group to repulse an assault on one of its members grown inordinately stronger. . . . At times the most insignificant episode between man and ape, which arouses a cry of anger against the enemy and springing against him, is sufficient for a wave of fury to go through the group; from all sides they hurry to a joint attack. . . . The whole group will get into a state of blind fury, even when the majority of its members have seen nothing of what caused the first cry, and have no notion of what it is all about. The only thing necessary to the uproar is that the scream shall be uttered in that characteristic manner that whips up all the others.[2]

Miss Mary Parker has reported directly to me a similar instance among young children:

Among the "nursery" children at the Children's Island Sanitarium near Marblehead, Mass., there are some fifteen individuals between the ages of three and five. One day one of the children had picked up, during her playing, something she found in the yard. It was immediately popular among the other children. The volunteer on duty, however, took it away from the finder, who began to cry and flew into a rage. Then other children began to

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 297. [2] *Ibid.* p. 298–9.

cry with her and also became excited to such a pitch of emotion and temper that they joined the first child in her impassioned attack upon the volunteer.

Among adult humans the same sort of thing may occur. The writer was once on duty in a dance hall in which liquor was sold. About one o'clock in the morning, when most of the crowd were half-tipsy, two men in the center of the hall started a fight. Bystanders tried to separate the pair, and bystanders of those bystanders at once took a hand. Within two minutes the room was a seething mass of struggling people. I ordered the band to play " Home, Sweet Home," and the crowd promptly, though grumblingly, dispersed, an hour and a half before the regular closing hour.

Instigated Group Conflict. Sometimes among the apes leadership was attempted for the purpose of stirring up contagious conflict:

> Certain chimpanzees, when they are in a bad mood, will fly into a rage over a trifle, and behave viciously in order to incite the herd. . . . In a passion with which the innocent observer has had nothing to do, Sultan will attack him with fury. He hops, choking with his glottal cramps, and screaming, up to an older animal that has often helped him, whines, springs shrieking back at the human, and so on, in a manner that is an expression of challenge, if appearance expresses anything.[1]

Sometimes the contagion of conflict allied one chimpanzee with the human being against the other apes:

> Several times when I scolded an animal Sultan would leap angrily at him; if he could not reach him while we were having our "tiff," he sometimes attacked him even afterwards. To be sure, it must remain undecided whether preference for me was the reason of this behavior or an ugly and widespread desire on the part of those who happened not to have been involved, to rush angrily at the offenders who had been found out.[2]

An instance from the adult human world in which contagious and instigated conflict were in operation is cited by Jane Addams. A newspaper in one of our large cities held a long-time lease on certain lands belonging to the schools. The value of these lands had increased greatly after the lease was granted. The mayor of the city had inaugurated a policy looking toward municipal ownership of the street cars and also had appointed a school board which started a lawsuit for the purpose of forcing the newspaper to pay more adequately for

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 297. [2] *Ibid.* p. 303.

the rental of school ground occupied by the newspaper building. The paper then attacked the mayor's policy relative to the street car situation as being both foolish and dangerous. After this conflict had developed, a university professor consented to speak at a meeting arranged in the school board rooms. Next morning, to his surprise and indignation, he saw that this paper had twisted his non-partisan and careful address into the most arrant uplift nonsense and had so connected it with a fake newspaper report of a trial marriage address supposed to have been delivered, not by himself, but by a colleague, that a leading clergyman of the city, having read the newspaper account, felt impelled to preach a sermon, calling upon all decent people to rally against the doctrines which were being taught to the children by an immoral school board. When the editor and the reporter responsible for the story were questioned, their excuse was that any man who ever momentarily allied himself with a " radical " administration, must expect to be ridiculed.

In the above instance the newspaper, supposedly, was exploiting the city for financial profit. The school board got into conflict with the paper by attempting to thwart this purpose. The newspaper then extended its antagonism to the mayor who had appointed the board and to the traction policy advocated by the mayor. Its animosity included, moreover, such innocent bystanders as the professor who spoke in the board rooms. The clergyman was antagonized by the false report of the professor's speech and by his sermon attempted to create conflict between public opinion and the school board which had invited the professor. Thus conflicts may expand and spread.

But group conflict need not always be based on socially destructive motives. Lillian Wald tells of having heard a rumor that Charles E. Hughes, then a candidate for reëlection as Governor of New York State, was to be knifed by his party. She says:

> I telephoned two or three of our young men. . . . In an incredibly short time a small group of Democrats, Republicans, and Socialists gathered in the sitting-room of the Henry Street house, and within twenty-four hours an Independent League was formed to bring the Governor's candidacy before the neighborhood. Financial and moral support came from other friends, and before the end of the week he addressed in Clinton Hall an enthusiastic mass-meeting organized by this league without help from the members of his own political organization.[1]

[1] *House on Henry Street.*

Conflict as a Builder of Loyalty. It is notorious that conflict with a third party consolidates the groups attacked or attacking. Bismarck is said to have precipitated the Franco-Prussian War partly in order to weld together the German Empire. In the World War the Allies were forced into a degree of international coöperation which had never previously been attained. An instance nearer home, cited by John R. Commons, is the case of the brewery workers' unions and their employers who were changed from open enmity to a considerable degree of coöperation by the prohibition attack upon their industry.[1]

The *Boston Globe*, in the fall of 1926, observed that attacks on the interests of the farmers were increasing agricultural class-consciousness:

> From Maine to Texas, from Florida to Oregon, the farmers are moving toward concerted action to push their own economic interest. The class consciousness touched awake by daylight saving in New England, by new industrialism and bumper crops in the South, by debts, depression, and surpluses in the West, is clarifying.

Just as conflicts between groups may consolidate the groups, so the meeting of a great social crisis may consolidate the individual. Miss Wald says:

> Perhaps it was an advantage that we were so early exposed to the extraordinary sufferings and the variety of pain and poverty in that winter of 1893–94, memorable because of extreme economic depression. The impact of strain, physical and emotional, left neither place nor time for self-analysis and consequent self-consciousness, so prone to hinder and dwarf wholesome instincts, and so likely to have proved an impediment to the simple relationship which we established with our neighbors.[2]

In something this same way, a tornado disaster worked as a temporary social consolidator in a certain town:

> Right after the storm we were just a lot of people who'd been hurt, helping each other. Those who had houses left just opened the doors, and the others went in. There wasn't any owning things. Whatever the tornado left, belonged to those that needed it. Then nothing seemed important but people; friends and enemies were alike — no one saw any difference. For a long time it was like that. The change came so gradually I couldn't say when it was. But as soon as the hurt and the suffering were taken care of, as we stopped worrying about our neighbors, we began think-

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 252. [2] *House on Henry Street*, p. 17.

ing about ourselves. The more we thought about ourselves the harder life seemed for us and the more we worried about the future. Thinking hard about ourselves made it seem to each of us that his loss was the worst of all. We got suspicious and hating. A lot of money had been sent in for the storm sufferers and every one wanted to grab all he could. No one seemed satisfied. And envy! I never knew so much envy.[1]

This consolidating value appears to have been temporary in the case of the World War, and in the tornado town. At best it serves to intensify the conflict.

Group conflict arises, then, from the development of a group anti-personality. But it also involves an expansion of personality in terms of alliance and loyalty between the members within the menaced groups.

The Evils of Social Conflict. Social conflict arises out of the thwarting or damaging of one personality or group by another. As we have seen, thwarting or damage to a personality tends to generate antagonistic emotional energy, and this energy tends to be turned toward attacking and if possible removing or destroying the source of the thwarting or injury.

Not only does social conflict bring destruction in its train, but this destruction sets up a vicious circle of reprisals. An attack generates antagonistic emotion; this emotion is directed toward an attack on the menacing personalities; this attack in turn generates further antagonistic emotions which lead to further attacks. It is this vicious circle of reciprocal destruction which makes feuds so terrible. An instance is the history of Herrin, Illinois, summarized briefly as follows in the *New York Times* for November 7, 1926:

"Bloody Williamson County," in Southern Illinois, the scene in 1922 of the Herrin coal mine massacre and later of a desperate feud between the Ku Klux Klan and its enemies, blames bootlegging for the recent series of unpunished gang murders which have added another dark chapter to its history and caused many to shun this part of the State. . . . The Williamson County feuds go far back into the history of the State and a book, "Bloody Vendetta," was written in 1876, describing the lawless conditions up to that time. In more recent years the county, and particularly the little city of Herrin, has been the scene of recurrent disorders and gang murders. The Ku Klux Klan for three years, from 1923 to April, 1926, sought to control the county government and became embroiled with the bootleg rings. More

[1] Helen M. Boardman, *Survey*, Jan. 15, '26, p. 485.

recently, with the overthrow of the Klan's power, there has been a battle royal between the bootleg factions, generally described as the Birger and Selton gangs, to gain dominance.

There have been perhaps thirty or more killings since the Herrin mine incident in 1922, which are believed to be attributable to these feuds, and the killers have never been caught. As recently as Oct. 26 the bodies of two gangsters were found near Herrin. While the Klan was in power the bootleg gangs held together against a common enemy. For about six months they have been divided.

Since that time there have been at least six, possibly eight, feud killings in the opposing camps. The Birger gang, now about twenty in number, has headquarters at a large log cabin structure known as "The Hut," ten miles east of Herrin on the way to Harrisburg. In Saline County this gang has an armored truck which carries machine guns. The gangsters are armed with revolvers and rifles, and some of them, it is said, wear bullet-proof vests.

The Shelton gang, until recently, made headquarters in a small road house about three miles from Herrin. This resort has been shot up, supposedly by the Birger gangsters, and is now vacant. All of the front windows were shot out and the house riddled with bullets from a machine gun. The Shelton gang is said to have gone temporarily to East St. Louis, Ill., in St. Clair County, about ninety-five miles from Herrin. There have been no killings since Oct. 26. Some profess to believe that this gang has left the county definitely, but there is no certainty of that.

In a tour of the county, the *New York Times* correspondent found that a considerable number of its population and most visitors are still experiencing a bad case of nerves, although none but gangsters or feudists have been killed or assaulted in Williamson County for many months. Even at the time of the primary election riots in the Masonic Temple in Herrin on April 13, when six were killed and the militia was called out, the victims were gangsters or members of the Ku Klux Klan who had been named as watchers.

Combat Psychology. Not only does social conflict bring destruction which in turn reinforces the conflict, but it produces a psychological attitude which makes constructive coöperation exceedingly difficult. We shall see later that the prime prerequisite for social coöperation is a clear and dispassionate understanding of each other's purposes and possibilities. But conflict builds up antagonisms and antipathies. Antagonists put each other in their anti-personalities. Now a characteristic of the anti-personality is that one believes ill of it, that one is unwilling to trust it, or to consider it with fairness and impartiality. Hence it is exceedingly difficult, once a conflict has gotten started, to heal up the breach. After the World War was over, France was unwill-

ing to believe that Germany would disarm in good faith; Germany was unwilling to believe any good assurances from France. The development of the spirit of Locarno was a tremendous achievement in the face of persistent combat psychology.

Any one who has tried to reconcile a husband and wife who have become embittered has encountered this same difficulty. Neither is willing to believe in the good intentions of the other. Only by supreme skill can they be persuaded to adopt the degree of faith in each other which is essential to a successful effort at rebuilding family love. In dealing with industrial disputes, or race conflicts, or any other type of social conflict, this same difficulty is sure to develop.

Creative Conflict. Yet, when all has been said, the fact cannot be ignored that conflict has its creative side. The motive of life is to function. Conflict is a form of functioning — a keen, stimulating, thrilling sort of functioning. We cannot function adequately without the stimuli which release emotional energy. An attack on the personality is a highly effective stimulus. Hugh A. Studdert Kennedy quotes as follows a distinguished British surgeon:

> After all, the greatest of human miseries, the most deadly of diseases, is one we cannot touch with a knife or save men from by drugs. I mean — boredom. There is more real wretchedness, more torment driving men to folly, due to boredom than to anything else. Men and women will do almost anything to escape; they will drink, drug themselves, prostitute their bodies, and sell their souls; they will take up mad causes, organize absurd crusades, fling themselves into lost hopes and crazy ventures; they will torment themselves and torture other people to escape the misery of being bored. Any one who discovered a cure for that would put an end to more misery and tragedy than all of us doctors put together.[1]

Playful Conflict. One of the ways of getting some of the emotional release of conflict without the damage is to play that one is fighting. Puppies do it spontaneously. Köhler observed it among chimpanzees.

> Grande, whose incalculable temperament was always highly excited by any new-comer into her surroundings, frequently advanced towards me like a sabre-swinging ruffian, with bristling hair, blazing eyes, waving arms, and a stick which greatly enhanced the effect of this display; but I could only have supposed that she actually meant to attack me, if, and while, I was still ignorant of the chimpanzees' habits. The sight of any stranger would excite her to the point of such a demonstration, but it seemed to be only a "bogy-

[1] "The Tonic of Disaster," *Century*, Aug. '26.

man" show. For it never occurs to her to make the game into real warfare. If she is quietly ignored, she gives a dab at one with her empty hand, and gallops off; the battle game is over. It is the same between ape and ape. If one of them takes a stick and approaches another in a bellicose manner, or hits or thrusts at him with it, *that is certainly mere play.* If the other animal should also take a stick — as happens sometimes but not often — and threaten, or thrust with it, that is also definitely play. But if misunderstanding arise and the game become serious, the sticks are flung to the winds, and the apes fall on one another with hands, feet, and teeth. It is quite easy to distinguish playful contests from real ones by the pace of the proceedings all through. The brandishing of sticks is clumsy and comparatively slow, but if a chimpanzee "means business," his rush is lightning-swift and leaves no time for stick-wagging.[1]

The pre-school children showed a similar tendency toward playful conflict:

Just before time to lie down, Bert gave Mildred a playful push to which she responded by embracing him and they tussled for some time. They seemed to have no object except to push one another around.[2]

Previously, in a series of games which he worked out with a wagon, Bert twice called especially on Mildred for assistance, and she herself at times offered coöperation. The above scuffling, therefore, is related to special friendliness. Students will have no difficulty in furnishing such instances from their own experience.

Vicarious Conflict. Besides playful conflict another way of getting the thrill of a fight without suffering the consequences is to watch somebody else in a conflict. Major Gen. J. G. Harbord, President of the Radio Corporation of America, in summarizing his broadcasting experience, says that the radio audiences do not like to be "preached at," but that in spite of this aversion a debate between two nationally known ministers over a religious controversy was a big radio event.[3]

The same thing applies to other types of publicity:

Newspapers and novels have proved conclusively that nothing interests more people and fascinates them more utterly than a murder, especially a particularly horrible and brutal murder. If it is also cloaked in mystery and uncertainty, so much the better. But to touch the highest point of fascination it must be a callous, savage, shocking crime.[4]

[1] *Mentality of Apes*, p. 86.
[2] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* p. 66.
[3] *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Nov. 14, '26, p. 5.
[4] *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Dec. 12, '26, p. 10.

Kennedy quotes the following account of the San Francisco earthquake as evidence of the satisfaction which people get in vicarious participation in the calamities of others:

Every city and town and hamlet in the land gave unstintingly. As the destruction of San Francisco surpassed comparison, so the relief, springing spontaneously, almost without appeal, from every corner of the land, far exceeded everything of similar sort in history. Before night Secretary Taft had started army tents and supplies on their way to San Francisco. Congress put aside its legislative work and hastened to make the necessary appropriation.

Commonwealths, municipalities, individuals — every one — forgot the things customary in a dominant wish to give. The railroads carried all supplies free, and gave the right of way over all regular traffic to the relief trains. . . . The world had known nothing of sorrow so vast in all its history, and the heartstrings of the nation vibrated to it.[1]

The delight in battle which readers of newspapers show has some very practical bearings upon problems of social betterment. An editorial in the *Survey* gives an instance:

Only a few years ago the men's clothing industry in New York was the scene of innumerable picturesque strikes such as that which through the newspaper headlines has been focusing public interest on Passaic. There were huge picket lines, there were injunctions, there were exciting encounters between the police and the strikers. There were times when in New York, Chicago, and Rochester large sections of the community were lined up behind the workers or the hard-pressed employers. There were charges of exploitation and sweating on the one hand, of radicalism and anarchy on the other. Camera men and reporters were on the job. For industrial warfare is news.

On the evening of April 27, some six hundred members of the Clothing Manufacturers Exchange and of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America joined in a banquet to celebrate the second anniversary of the establishment of what is known as the Impartial Machinery for the adjustment of disputes in the market. The impartial chairman, Jacob Billikopf, reported that in these two years some 3,700 cases had been submitted to him. Of this high number all but a tiny fraction had been adjusted by the parties through mediation and without a decision from him. He had been called upon to decide but sixty-seven cases; but even with respect to these the decision had, except in a few instances, been drafted by the representatives of the two sides so that he had done nothing more than affix his signature to the concurrent judgment. To those who are familiar with the

[1] *Century*, Aug. '26.

intricate problems of the clothing industry and the emotional intensity of its predominantly Jewish and Italian citizenship, this was a remarkable and thrilling record of constructive achievement. Both workers and employers at the banquet stressed the fact that under the system of orderly government which they have established, continuous insistence upon special "rights" had yielded to a sense of responsibility toward the industry, not only as the source of their livelihood but also as the instrument of their service to the community.

But this was not news. There were no press photographers present, no camera men. The *New York World* carried a perfunctory notice under the heading Clothing Makers Enjoy Big Dinner, without any reference to the trenchant and eloquent interpretations of the occasion made by such men as Judge Julian W. Mack, C. D. Jaffee, president of the New York Clothing Exchange, Sidney Hillman, president of the clothing workers' union. One searched in vain for a line in the *New York Times* of the following morning.

Have thirty-seven hundred disputes settled peacefully, constructively, intelligently, no news value? A single dispute so stupidly mishandled that it results in a strike or a lockout, with all the melodramatic accompaniments of jungle warfare — to that the press gives endless, first-page headlines.[1]

Direct Delight in Battle. The thrill of conflict is not confined, however, to playful conflict, or to vicarious struggle. The release of emotional energy and the intense functioning of reacting to an attack on one's own personality makes this form of action a delight to energetic people. Hugh Kennedy, in the article already quoted on "The Tonic of Disaster" speaks as follows of the reactions of the participants in catastrophes:

Did any one ever see a picture of refugees camping out after some great fire or flood or earthquake where every last refugee was not smiling? . . . In the "stricken" city of San Francisco, what was the tone and the temper? There was suffering and misery enough, but that was only among the few. The vast majority of San Franciscans got the kick of their lives out of it; and to-day, in retrospect after 20 years, they are still getting kicks out of it.

It is a notorious fact that so great was the stimulus afforded by the earthquake and the fire, so widespread the interest, so complete the mental readjustment demanded and enforced, that the hospitals were emptied, people who had been ailing for years forgot their ailments, and for months the doctors had little or nothing to do. So desperate indeed was the position that many doctors were on the point of leaving the city when the timely advent of the bubonic plague early in the following year saved the situation.

[1] *Survey*, May 15, '26, p. 237.

Well, at this point I shall perhaps be reminded of the war. I shall be asked if the war, the greatest of all calamities, really brought happiness to the vast majority of the human race. With no little diffidence and profound respect, I would answer, yes. . . . Countless millions of people look back upon the years of the war as a time wherein they found themselves, as a time wherein they could wake in the morning with the consciousness of having a man's or a woman's work to do, as a time wherein they forgot themselves and their littleness and found their real self and its greatness.

It seems to be true that, if we call an end to hypocrisy, we shall have to admit that there is a tremendous tonic effect in disaster, in every kind of disaster, from a dog-fight to a deluge; that we are cheered by it, and, to put the matter classically, thoroughly "pepped up" by it.[1]

In much the same spirit, Jane Addams comments on the thwarting of vital cravings which results when parents attempt to eliminate struggle from the lives of young women.[2]

Whiting Williams found that the danger in coal mining is one of the reasons why miners look down on the average unskilled factory hand. He actually enjoys and brags about the unavoidable risks.[3]

The greatest of the poets have celebrated the same keen zest reflected in the above instances. It was the joy of struggle that moved Tennyson to put into the mouth of Ulysses the boast that he had drunk delight of battle with his peers far on the ringing plains of windy Troy. So Browning in "Prospice" says, "I would hate that death bandaged my eyes and forebore, and bade me creep past; I was ever a fighter, so — one fight more, the best and the last."

Painful Conflict as Reorganizer and Revivifier. The instances of creative conflict, given above, develop the fact that conflict is itself an intense and hence often a keenly enjoyed form of functioning. But this is not the only reason for valuing it. Even when its immediate effects are exceedingly bitter and painful its ultimate results may be recognized as splendidly creative because it may force a reorganization of the personality; it may compel new developments and thus release potential capacities for expanding functioning which had lain dormant and perhaps unsuspected.

A young woman teacher was engaged to be married. Shortly before the date set for the wedding, she discovered that she was a leper. By good fortune she found her way into a leper colony conducted by a

[1] *Century*, Aug. '26. [2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 72–3 and 118.
[3] *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 37–8.

great-spirited man. She was bitter against the universe. She felt that a heartless fate had ruined her life. The leader of the colony talked with her and finally persuaded her that she had a mission to perform in acting as teacher to her fellows in the colony. She became absorbed in the work. Gradually she found her life translated into a new and splendid significance by her service. She came at last to the leader of the colony and told him that being stricken with leprosy had been the most fortunate event of her life, because it had taught her the meaning of existence.

In a lesser way the mental shock resulting from seeing a bull fight had a transforming effect on the early life of Jane Addams.[1]

An attack on the expanded personality of a Chicago landlord brought about a creative reorganization of his social functioning:

> One of the Hull-House residents in a public address upon housing reform used as an example of indifferent landlordism a large block in the neighborhood occupied by small tenements and stables unconnected with a street sewer, as was much similar property in the vicinity. In the lecture the resident spared neither a description of the property nor the name of the owner. The young man who owned the property was justly indignant at this public method of attack and promptly came to investigate the condition of the property. Together we made a careful tour of the houses and stables and in the face of the conditions that we found there, I could not but agree with him that supplying South Italian peasants with sanitary appliances seemed a difficult undertaking. Nevertheless he was unwilling that the block should remain in its deplorable state, and finally cut through the dilemma with the rash proposition that he would give a free lease of the entire tract to Hull House. . . . Even when we decided that the houses were so bad that we could not undertake the task of improving them, he was game and stuck to his proposition that we should have a free lease. We finally submitted a plan that the houses should be torn down and the entire tract turned into a playground. . . . During fifteen years this public-spirited owner of the property paid all the taxes, and when the block was finally sold, he made possible the playground equipment of a near-by school yard. On the other hand, the dispossessed tenants, a group of whom had to be evicted by legal process before the houses could be torn down, have never ceased to mourn their former estates.[2]

Morris Llewellyn Cooke, consulting engineer in management, says that scientific management may be the better for a kicker in every department. The old-fashioned employer discharges the "trouble

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 85–6. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 289–90.

maker"; the scientific manager figuratively gets down on his knees to the man who is willing to criticize and seeks to get the full benefit of the creative stimulus which comes from an aggressive attack on the methods of the plant.

Conclusion. If the central problem of sociology is how purposes are to be fitted together so that they shall *stimulate*, reinforce, and develop each other instead of thwarting and defeating each other, then the destructive phases of conflict must be eliminated without losing the creative phases. The spirit in which this achievement may be made is suggested in these words of Miss Follett's:

> Difference is always a challenge. We should never avoid it. . . . We should not seek to reduce conflict, for to reduce conflict is to reduce life. . . . All the errors of this way of thinking come from one: the ignoring of the creative possibilities of conflict. . . . We should see life as manifold differings inevitably confronting each other, and we should understand that there is no peace for us except *within* this process. . . . Our "opponents" are our co-creators, for they have something to give which we have not. The basis of all coöperative activity is integrated diversity.[1]

Summary

A. Social conflict is the natural result of the tendency of personalities to function on an expanding scale.

1. Desire by different personalities to function through the sub-social environment in mutually exclusive ways leads to conflict.
2. The same result develops from rivalry in the desire to function through other people.
3. Expanded group purposes are likely to collide.
4. Such conflicts might be solved if it were possible to provide each of the conflicting purposes with sub-social or social equipment of its own through which it could function.

B. The desire of one personality to manipulate another may come into conflict with the victim's desire for freedom.

5. Paternalism occurs when the more powerful person or group decides what is best for the weaker party and attempts to force that purpose on to the victim "for his own good."
6. In domination the aggressor simply wishes to function by manipulating others, without reference to their purposes and possibilities.

[1] *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924, pp. 162, 262, and 174.

7. Cruelty attains its purpose only to the degree that the victim suffers.

C. Conflict is contagious.

8. Group conflict arises from the development of a group anti-personality.

9. It consolidates group loyalties because it involves an expansion of personality in terms of alliance and loyalty between members of menaced groups.

D. Social conflict is destructive.

10. Antagonistic emotion tries to thwart or destroy the menacing stimulus.

11. Each antagonistic reaction to an attack generates new antagonism, so that conflict tends to reinforce itself.

12. Combat psychology makes it exceedingly difficult to get either side to take a fair-minded attitude toward the other.

E. Conflict has creative aspects.

13. Conflict may be a keen, stimulating, thrilling sort of functioning.

14. Playful combat gets part of the emotional release without the damage of real fighting.

15. Being a spectator of a fight produces intense vicarious functioning.

16. Actual direct participation in a conflict is keenly tonic to certain aggressive types of personality.

17. Even when excruciatingly painful at the time, conflict may force a reorganization of the personality which may release splendid new ways of functioning.

FOR CLASS DISCUSSION

11D1. Why did the half-drunk crowd in the dance hall leave so promptly when " Home, Sweet Home " was played?

11D2. What illustrations can you give from your own experience of: *a.* Conflicts over equipment? *b.* Conflicts over relationships to people? *c.* Conflicts between two people both of whom were trying to domineer?

11D3. What other social relationships, beside those cited, lend themselves to paternalism? Can you give instances?

11D4. Tell why you agree or disagree with the following statement by Ludwig Gumplowicz in *Der Rassenkampf*, pp. 158–61 (quoted by Park and Burgess, p. 347):

Every stronger ethnic or social group strives to subjugate and make serviceable to its purposes every weaker element which exists or may come within the field of its influence. This thesis of the relation of heterogeneous ethnic and social elements to each other, with all the consequences proceeding from it, contains within it the key to the solution of the entire riddle of the natural process of human history.

11D5. When a bully is trying to tease some one, what effect has it if the victim can ignore the bully? Why?

11D6. Discuss one or more of the following as instances of contagious conflict: The World War; The American Revolution; The General Strike in England in May, 1926; The conflict between the Jewish and Christian religions in the first century A.D.

11D7. What social problems grow out of contagious conflict?

11D8. What effects does increasing ease of communication have upon social conflict?

11D9. Describe as fully as you can some experience of yours in which you came as near as at any time in your life to being involved in mob conflict. What points related to this chapter does your experience illustrate?

11D10. Sometimes a man or woman may be seen walking up and down in front of a restaurant, a factory, or some other establishment, carrying a sign stating: "Blank's Place Unfair to Organized Labor." What relation does such behavior have to our present chapter?

11D11. Discuss the following excerpt from an article by Ken Nakazawa in the *Forum* for April, 1926:

In the last 2000 years China has been governed by many dynasties succeeding one another, not through inheritance, but by the right of conquest, and whenever a new dynasty came into power certain subjects of the former dynasty have shown their courage and loyalty by turning themselves into bandits and defying the new Government. These subjects have performed many remarkable feats, and the memory of their heroic deeds is treasured and glorified in the literature of the country.

11D12. Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the following statements in an interview with Owen D. Young by Chester T. Crowell in the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 24, 1926:

War has its germ no less than disease. For example, we know one great truth about war that supplies us with a point of beginning for profitable investigation. It is briefly, that the original irritation begins in a small

area and spreads over a very large one. For instance, there may be a dispute about a boundary line between two countries. As time goes on the irritation spreads and new centers of infection appear. Emotional forces come into action, and the area of the dispute becomes so wide that it enters into virtually every phase of the relations between the two countries. They no longer remember where the row started, but each is certain it hates the other. They are then ready for war.

Such experience ought to guide us toward preventive measures against war. How? By employing facts as a prophylactic. Not only are they effective in safeguarding the public from inflammation but I believe they would also prevent men in responsible positions from making inaccurate declarations.

11D13. Park and Burgess refer to " the dependence of the solidarity of the in-group upon its relations with the out-groups." What does this mean?

11D14. What instances can you give where the solidarity of a group increased when the group was attacked?

11D15. What new aspect of contagious conflict is brought out in the following incidents, cited as parallel, by Jane Addams, at the 1926 National Conference of Social Work:

The situation in which we find ourselves is not a new one. A bill to abolish slavery was introduced in England in 1781. In the same year, natives of the island of Haiti, adopting the slogan of the French revolution, objected to their slavery and gained their freedom. Those in favor of the bill to free slaves in England were charged with being in sympathy with the French revolution and were called revolutionists. The bill was not passed until 1807, when the hysteria subsided. . . .

A member of Congress asked me who wrote the proposed child labor amendment to the Federal Constitution and where it was written. I told him it was framed by Dean Lewis of the University of Pennsylvania and that I was not sure when it was written. "I have been informed through a reliable source," he replied, "that this bill was written by Lenin in Moscow."

11D16. What are the essential causes for gambling?

11D17. What instances have you observed of playful conflict between animals, or between children?

11D18. Can you recall your feelings on some occasion when you felt that you were in serious danger, and then came through in a quite uneventful way? How do you account for these reactions?

11D19. What passages from literature can you quote exalting the joy of conflict?

11D20. Tell of some instance in which you have " drunk delight of battle," or of some case in which you have observed some one else enjoying that form of intoxication.

11D21. Are debates destructive or creative conflict? When and why?

11D22. What are the functions of " the opposition " in government? How much better would it be if the opposition could be eliminated?

11D23. Why are different lawyers appointed to prosecute and to defend a prisoner? Why not let one fair-minded person find out all the facts?

11D24. How does a good coach talk to his team just before a game? Why?

11D25. When, if ever, is teasing a good thing, and why? Can you remember times when you have enjoyed being teased? How do such instances fit in with the text?

11D26. Discuss the wisdom or unwisdom of the action of the Hull-House resident who attacked the landlord.

11D27. What is the best attitude to take toward antagonistic criticism? Why? Would you prefer only sympathetic critics? Why or why not?

11D28. What specific sorts of progress were stimulated by the World War? In what respects was the Civil War a creative conflict?

11D29. Is Mencken's *American Mercury* a wholesome influence? Leon Whipple, in the *Survey* for January 1, 1927, pp. 427 ff., presents the following comments on this publication:

The *New York Evening Post* calls Mencken a "badly needed astringent," while Simeon Strunsky decorously adds: "The editor looms up as the castigator of flatulence and superficiality in American life and letters." But one need never speak for Mr. Mencken. He is vocal *per se:*

"My aim is to combat by ridicule and invective American piety, stupidity, and tin-pot morality; progressives, professional moralists, patriots, Methodists, osteopaths, Christian Scientists, Socialists, single-taxers — in brief the whole doctrine of democracy."

And he has drawn to himself a group of satellites who are vigorously expounding the Mencken doctrine in every field of our life.

The revolutionary significance of the *Mercury* is that it sustains a fierce attack on the American idea — in government, in manners and morals — and finds an increasing audience for this. The question remains: Can you build an institution on iconoclasm?

11D30. "The central problem of sociology is: how are purposes to be fitted together so that they shall stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other, instead of thwarting and defeating each other." How does this apply to social relations between husband and wife; between teacher and student; between policeman and motorist; between negroes and whites? Just what does the statement mean in each of these relationships?

11D31. What difficulties do you see in the way of getting creative conflicts without social thwarting and destructive antagonism? What suggestions have you to offer toward avoiding these difficulties?

11D32. How could advantage be taken of the stimulus of creative conflict to improve the efficiency of school work? Of factory production? Of church activity? What dangers are there in substituting the desire to beat for the desire to do well as a motive?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

11K1. Attend a hearing in a police court. Make notes of the stories of the cases involving conflict, and try to discover the sources of the clashes. (Time credit to be arranged)

11K2. Make an interpretative study of the ways in which the French Revolution and the Russian Revolution have tried to spread abroad to other peoples their revolutionary ideas and institutions. (Time credit to be arranged)

11K3. In Chicago in 1926 gangs interested in bootlegging got into a feud in which repeated killings were made with machine guns. Read the account in the *Literary Digest* for October 30, 1926, pp. 36–46, and write an analysis of the elements in the conflict. (Two hours)

11K4. Make a study of the conflicts between the various branches of the feminist movement, and bring out their underlying causes. (Time credit arranged)

11K5. Review *The Origin of the Next War* by John Bakeless, analyzing the possible causes of conflict as he presents them. (Five hours)

11K6. Study the account of "Tolstoy's 'Duel'" as presented by Herman G. Schaffauer in the *New York Times Magazine* for January 2, 1927, p. 14. What other instances of quarrels between famous people can you suggest for comparison? What tentative conclusions can you draw as to the causes of such conflicts? (One to four hours)

11K7. In the fall of 1926 a controversy arose in Detroit over whether labor leaders should be permitted to speak in the Y.M.C.A. and in certain churches. Study the accounts of this conflict in periodicals published at that time, and present your conclusions as to the causes of the antagonism developed. (Three hours)

11K8. Write as detailed an account as you can of some neighborhood controversy, some church split, some quarrel which spread among a group of friends, or some other instance of contagious conflict known to you personally. Disguise names and facts as far as necessary to prevent recognition by others who may see your paper, but do not change the essence of the events discussed. (Three to ten hours)

11K9. Read the material on the struggle for existence in Park and Burgess, pp. 513–22. What aspects of conflict does this material illustrate and develop? (One hour)

11K10. Ask some parent, school principal, judge, or lawyer whom you know to give you instances of the most frequent types of social conflict with which he has to deal. Classify the result. (Two to four hours)

11K11. Read, and comment on Homer Croy's " The Black Curse of the Osages " in *Liberty* for March 14, 1926. (One hour)

11K12. Review Rufus Jones' *The Church's Debt to Heretics*. (Three hours)

11K13. Make a study of the conflict between Harvard and Princeton, starting with the material presented in the *Literary Digest* for November 27, 1926, pp. 53 ff. (Two to five hours)

11K14. Read the accounts of the personalities of Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York and Senator " Jim " Reed of Missouri, in the *New York Times Magazine* for November 14, 1926, p. 5, and August 8, 1926, p. 6, and in the *Literary Digest* for September 25, 1926, pp. 36 ff. What light do the characteristics of these men cast on social conflict? (Two hours)

11L15. Write out in detail the history of some quarrel which you observed closely, but in which you were not a direct participant. (One or two hours)

11L16. Give a brief account of a series of instances where you have observed thwarting of purposes. Tell just what happened in each case. (One to two hours)

11W17. Thomas Hobbes, in his *Leviathan* says:

So that in the Nature of Man we fund three principall causes of quarrell. First, Competition; secondly, Diffidence; thirdly, Glory. The first maketh men invade for Gain; the second for Safety; the third for Reputation.

Make a study of the position of Hobbes on this subject, in comparison with that taken by the text. (Three hours)

11W18. Discuss Miss M. P. Follett's attitude toward conflict, as presented in her *Creative Experience*. (Three hours)

11W19. Read the discussion of "Estrangement" in Ross' *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 292–8. How does this idea differ from that of conflict? How important is it to have estrangement treated separately? (One hour)

11W20. Compare Ross' treatment of "Domination" in his *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 95–105, with that in our text. (One hour)

11W21. Read the chapter on "Opposition — the Good Side" in Ross' *Outlines*, pp. 132–137. What has it to do with our present chapter? What elements from his should be taken account of in ours? (One hour)

11W22. Read and report on William James' "Moral Equivalent of War." It can be found in his *Memories and Studies* (1912), pp. 267–96, or in *McClure's Magazine* for August, 1910, or in the *Popular Science Monthly* for October, 1910. (Two hours)

11W23. What relations has Darwin's conception of the struggle for existence to the general problem of social conflict? (Three hours)

11W24. Discuss Walter Bagehot's treatment of social conflict and social coöperation. A good summary will be found in Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*, pp. 279–84. (One hour)

11W25. Write a paper on "Sumner's Conception of In-Groups and Out-Groups, as developed in his *Folk-Ways*." (Four to eight hours)

11W26. Study Bogardus' chapter on "Conflict Theories in Sociology" in his *History of Social Thought*, pp. 338–51. Prepare, suitably for insertion in that volume, a summary of the theory of conflict presented in our text. (Two hours)

CHAPTER XII

SETTLING CONFLICT BY COERCION

When two sets of purposes have come into collision the impulse of the stronger is likely to be to override the weaker, or, if the two purposes are fairly evenly matched, the tendency is to fight it out to see which can force itself over, defeating the other. The problem of the present chapter is to determine when, if ever, force is justified as a means of settling a dispute.

Varieties of Coercion. The settlement of conflict by force may take various forms. The use of coercion may mean that a person is bodily overpowered and thus made to do what his oppressor wishes. When a bandit kidnaps a traveler, or when a parent pushes a shrieking child into a closet and locks it in, crude force is used. Much more usual is the use of coercion by means of threats. The robber says: "Your money or your life!" "Open the safe or I'll blow out your brains!" The bully says: "Steal the apple for me or I'll twist your arm!" The parent sometimes says: "Do that arithmetic or I'll spank you!" The big brother (if he is mean and harsh) may say: "Give me your cake or I'll break your doll!" Notice that in each case the one using coercion offers a choice; he says: "Carry out my purposes or your personality will be injured in a still worse way!" Actual or threatened physical violence is used in all social phenomena coming under the heads of physical punishment, imprisonment, fines, capital punishment, slavery, autocracy, bullying, hazing, torture, and war.

But coercion may use psychological rather than physical violence as the means to imposing its will on others. During one of my college vacations I acted as a book canvasser. A suggestion of our sales-manager was that if a customer seemed to hesitate, we should take out the order blank, hold it toward the customer with a fountain pen pointed at the dotted line ready for her to sign, and then talk a steady stream until she took the pen and signed. I tried this method successfully on one customer. When I came to deliver the book, she

wanted to refuse to accept it because she said I had practically forced her to sign the order. The method involved the use of psychological coercion.

A quite different instance is the following:

At the annual meeting of the Consumers' League held recently in Boston the effort to spread the Massachusetts plan was selected as the most profitable line of activity for keeping the minimum wage principle alive and working. Under the Massachusetts law a list of firms which are found to underpay women employees is published in the press, and the pressure of public opinion is counted as a sufficient weapon to bring up the wage scale. There is no penalty imposed by law for failure to pay a standard wage. In Massachusetts the plan has been singularly successful. It would seem that such a plan could be employed by any existing minimum wage board or enacted by any legislature without encountering the obstacle of the Supreme Court decisions. Reliance on publicity rather than on penalties is upheld by not a few as intrinsically desirable. Others regard it merely as the best stop-gap solution.[1]

Effective use of psychological coercion was made by the medieval popes who, by threats of excommunication and hence of hell-fire and damnation, were able to control wide-flung areas and peoples. A very modern instance is the advice of Maxim Gorky to Russian newspaper men:

Many of you like to moralize. This kind of activity is not profitable. It is better to kill with ridicule. A harsh word must be hurled out abruptly, like a blow.[2]

Under the general head of psychological coercion come threats, fear, scolding, blame, contempt, ridicule, urgent suggestion, and even at times fashion and convention. All of these operate, by attacks on the personality, to impose purposes upon unwilling victims who are conscious of the imposition; and this is the essence of coercion.

Several movements in recent years have popularized the idea of "non-coöperation," "non-violent coercion." The essential principle involved in this method is that one may injure the purposes and personality of another by withdrawing coöperation from him. In India, where great experiments have been made along these lines, the objective has been for native Indians to withdraw coöperation from the British in the government, in industry, and in every activity in which the two races had been working together. So much did the

[1] *Survey*, Dec. 15, '25, p. 344. [2] *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 12, '26.

British depend on the natives to do essential work in their enterprises that if non-coöperation could have been fully achieved the activities of the government of India would have been paralyzed.

Under the head of coercion by non-coöperation come such activities as peaceful strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and ostracism. The general strike in England in 1926 is a clear-cut example. The " economic sanctions " proposed as means of enforcing decisions of the League of Nations are of this type.

Withdrawal of coöperation has a peculiar characteristic of its own among the techniques of coercion. It can be effective only to the degree that it paralyzes activities in which the parties to the conflict had previously been successfully engaged. The strike must paralyze the shop or the industry or the country. But this very paralysis hurts not only the employer but the employee. It costs wages as well as profits. If the participants in the British general strike had been able to stop the activities of England they and their children, as well as the other citizens, would have suffered the consequences. Non-coöperation is a weapon which necessarily hurts the user as well as the group against which it is used.

Exploitation. Exploitation is the ruthless and forcible or fraudulent utilization of the personality of another to promote one's own ends. In this definition " personality " is used in the expanded sense to which we have become accustomed: exploitation may involve ruthless use of the property, the ideas, the organism, the friends, the toil, or any other part of the expanded personality of the victim. Exploitation involves also the presumption that the victim has a better right to the use of the thing taken from him than has the exploiter. An instance will make this clear:

An energetic and ambitious woman was married to a worthless loafer of a husband. When he failed to support her and her child she opened a boarding house. By years of drudgery and economy she not only kept herself and the child alive, but succeeded in paying for the boarding house, so that it became her property. Then her husband returned, and under the laws of that state successfully claimed the boarding house as belonging to him, since he, as husband, held title to all goods belonging to his wife. The legal right to property was with the husband, but we call his action exploitation because we feel that morally she had the better right to it, and that he used the force of the law ruthlessly to take from her the product of her toil.

Similarly one may speak of the exploitation of child labor or of sweat-shop labor even though the employment of the young children or the giving out of the work to be done at wretched wages by overworked families in congested tenements may be perfectly legal.

Exploitation may involve the destruction of potential values rather than the thwarting of actual conscious purposes. The exploitation of lumber resources, of soil fertilities, of coal and oil deposits, may be injuring future generations or distant fellow citizens in ways of which they cannot be conscious; or, the exploiter may use people in ways damaging to their welfare but not in conflict with their purposes. An employer of immigrant labor may use ignorant foreigners for the very reason that their lack of knowledge prevents them from realizing the injustices done them. Industrial conflict is avoided as long as their purposes are not aroused, but exploitation still goes on. Similarly the traffickers in drugs may enrich themselves at the expense of victims who not only fail to resent the exploitation but actually demand it. The damage in such cases is to potential values, not to conscious purposes.

The exploiter may or may not be aware of the purposes which he is defeating. In this respect exploitation ranges from complete ignorance to the keenest shrewdness.

Despotism. Exploitation has been shown to be the utilization of other personalities without regard to their rights. Sometimes, however, the conflict involves not so much the utilization of the other personality as the smashing of that personality in order to carry out one's purposes. This ruthless crashing through the purposes and possibilities of others regardless of their rights is covered by the term "despotism." History is strewn with ancient instances of despotism; a modern instance is the use of the police third degree in American cities:

> The controversy over police brutality is not whether, when trying to make an arrest, the policemen should use their clubs or pistols, and beat or maim prisoners. Harsh means *then* are frequently justifiable. Indeed, when trying to arrest a suspect, policemen should not be held to the exercise of fine judgment in deciding whether or when to strike. But *after* the prisoner has been captured, taken to the police station, and there rendered helpless and *harmless*, it is not too much to ask that policemen should not assail the prisoner with weapons, blows, or other vicious means.
>
> That such brutality is common, every person who is well informed in police tactics and manners well knows. Nobody knows it better than the

newspaper writers. The process is commonly called the "Third degree." Nobody denies the fact, unless he happens to be very ignorant, or seeks to evade the truth for a political purpose.

The "third degree" is a thing that takes various forms. Its chosen weapon is the rubber hose. This article is in special favor because, while it inflicts great pain and shock, it does not cut the skin or necessarily break bones, and if discreetly used will not leave any marks that will betray the proceeding. Sometimes the hose is brought out and placed in front of the victim, who is ordered to gaze upon it and is then told that unless he complies with stated police demands he will be beaten with it. Sometimes a prisoner yields to these threats. If he does not, he is beaten. On occasions a stubborn prisoner is kicked, struck with the fist, hit with the billy or a policeman's stick.

Policemen do not always hesitate to inflict grievous bruises and deep cuts; because they have cut-and-dried explanations to which, learned by rote, they resort if ever questioned about their brutality. As a rule, however, they are not questioned, wherefore they feel free either to deal severely or lightly with their prisoner, as the situation in their judgment requires.

Instances are known where policemen starve prisoners; or punch, pinch, or nudge them to prevent them from sleeping, so that from mere exhaustion the victims are coerced into complying with demands.

Often the cries of beaten prisoners fill the police station; but seldom is there found a policeman courageous enough to protest or a captain who will order the guilty officers to desist. Indeed, it is a part of the police "system" that policemen who see, hear, and know should, contrary to the truth, either deny knowledge or employ falsehood to defend their guilty brethren. It is very seldom that this cardinal rule of police loyalty is ever broken.

The judges as a rule fall in with the "system." They are timid about incurring the hostility of the police. They are afraid also of the newspaper criticism — afraid of being accused of favoring the criminal, or hindering the police in the discharge of their duty.[1]

Exploitation and despotism, then, are both phases of the use of force in defiance of justice. In our quest for the answer to the question as to when force is justified as a means of settling a controversy, there need be no dispute about the conclusion that an evil aspect of the use of coercion is its ruthless tendency to violate rights.

Force Breeds Fraud. Whenever a high pressure of emotional energy exists it bursts or worms its way through obstructions. Despotism and exploitation are forms which ruthless high pressure of desire may

[1] Robert H. Elder, *McNaught's Magazine*, Sept. '26. Abstracted by the *Reader's Digest*.

take in its aggressive assault on barriers. But it may also take the shrewder form of fraud. The desire for intoxicants in the person who has acquired the alcohol habit generates high pressure of emotional craving. This pressure is likely to produce violence and fraud. William G. Shepherd reports that a barrel of beer which costs about $3 to make sells to the saloon-keeper for $60. As to the $57 difference he says:

It dribbles out like poison into the civic physique of the city until to-day the body politic of Chicago is sick. The poison of these fifty-seven poison dollars corrupts all politics. It also corrupts officials.[1]

Similarly, in Moscow, the intense demand for a place to live, combined with the extreme scarcity in supply, creates a pressure of emotional energy which breeds corruption. Junius B. Wood tells this incident:

"I know where you can get a three-room apartment for $2000," a friend advised me. That merely meant the privilege of moving in. Collecting bonuses from new tenants was lucrative for house committees and no vacant space was ever reported to the municipality. That practice has been made a prison offense, but it continues.

The need to stand in line or " queue " in Moscow for long hours, in order to get a chance to buy, built up a strong temptation-pressure:

Custom gives a woman with a baby first place in any queue. The baby privilege has been abused. One shawl-wrapped "baby" in a vodka store queue accidentally dropped and disclosed itself as an empty bottle! Another woman, until arrested, did a profitable trade with galosh-store queues by renting a real baby to women who did not want to stand in line all day.[2]

Now the use of force builds up temptation-pressure, because it dams up the purpose which is forcibly thwarted, and if this purpose cannot break through the dam it seeks to burrow underneath or trickle through some circuitous route.

The forcible exclusion of certain classes of immigrants from the United States has built up its own type of pressure toward fraud:

In spite of the stringent immigrant regulations of the United States hundreds of Europeans, mostly of the lower classes, are being smuggled from Mexico into the United States every month. An international band of smugglers, with headquarters in Chicago, New York, St. Louis, Havana, and

[1] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 30, '26, p. 44. [2] *National Geographic*, Nov. '26.

the principal European cities, is shipping to Mexico thousands of undesirables who later find their way into the United States.

This gang has agents in the seaports of Mexico and in Mexico City. It is well organized and has plenty of capital. The smuggling of immigrants and drugs, too, is a flourishing industry with them, paying large returns upon invested capital.

Those who succeed in crossing the border are held in virtual slavery until they pay the gang for bringing them from Europe and getting them into the United States. At present there are at least 8,000 in Mexico waiting to enter the United States illegally.[1]

Another type of instance of force producing fraud is illustrated by the following case which came out in a Canadian smuggling scandal:

A typical instance, given by Hon. H. H. Stevens, in his charges before the Canadian House of Commons, was that of the chief preventive officer of the port of Montreal, who had been promoted rapidly in the service and who was "head smuggler of the ring." He owned a farm conveniently astride the international boundary, which was a notorious rendezvous for smugglers. "The worst of crooks," declared Mr. Stevens, "he is the intimate of Ministers, the petted favorite of this Government. The recipient of a moderate salary, he rose in wealth and opulence, a typical debauched and debauching public official." It was shown that within a few months after this man's promotion to the post of chief preventive officer of this district, he acquired a summer home, a new automobile, and a private bank account of $60,000.[2]

Still another type of instance is afforded in what happens in strictly military systems. Under military organization all authority comes down from the commander-in-chief. Every subordinate must obey his superiors absolutely, under pain of being put in the guard house, being demoted, or, under extreme circumstances, being shot. The power, theoretically, is absolute, and it is enforced by courts martial and military police.

Now in a certain army it was desired to prevent the stealing of government property. To this end a very detailed series of reports had to be made out under oath regarding every bit of property which was worn out or destroyed. The whole force of the army was back of those regulations. The result was that young men who were candidates to become officers were instructed by their superiors that when property was lost the best way to get out of the trouble was to swear that a wreck had occurred, and thus clear the records. Failing this, the

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 10, '26. [2] *Literary Digest*, May 29, '26, pp. 16–17.

instructions were that the next best method was to steal the missing equipment from some other company or regiment.

In that same officers' training camp very rigid examinations were held. Failure meant not getting a commission. It meant disgrace before one's comrades and friends. The men therefore got together and collectively bribed the sergeant who typed the questions to give them out the night before the examination. In another outfit the officer-teachers, whose record depended upon the showing made by their students, themselves sent out information just before the examination as to certain questions and the proper answers.

More subtle but of the same sort, are the results which come in a school system from an attempt to run everything by pressure from above. In one city the superintendent appointed an energetic and aggressive supervisor of English Composition. This supervisor started out to make a record by setting the highest possible standards of theme writing. She preached her ideals without winning the understanding and coöperation of the English teachers. She had each school send in themes to school headquarters to be graded. She was lavish with praise for those she approved, and severe in criticism of the poorer papers. As a result the teachers came to feel that if they were to meet her impossible standards it was necessary for them to write themes themselves and turn them in as the work of their students. This practice became quite widespread in the city. It proved demoralizing to both teachers and pupils, and helped to aggravate a spirit of unrest and disloyalty.

When Outer Conformity Is Forced, Inner Consent May Be Withheld. One reason why coercion is so prone to produce fraud is that people do not feel bound to act in good faith to despots or bullies. Unless the person gives his inner consent to the justice of the solution of a conflict he is not apt to live up to the arrangements forced on to him. It is an old saying that "A man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still."

The American Revolution afforded one instance of this fact. When the Declaration of Independence was presented to the Continental Congress, New York and Pennsylvania did not at first agree. Conventions were held in New York City and in Philadelphia and finally the formal consent of the delegates was obtained to make the adoption of the Declaration unanimous. Quaker and pacifist opinion in Pennsylvania, however, had been forced rather than converted. As a

result, when the ragged Continentals were encamped at Valley Forge many of the Pennsylvania farmers refused to sell them food, and thus increased the hardships of that bitter winter. This does not necessarily mean that the psychological coercion used to get the consent of the Pennsylvania delegation was wrong. The point is simply that one of the drawbacks of the use of force is the failure to win the inward conviction which so often is essential to full success of the project.

John R. Commons says:

> Superior authority, for a time, may install and impose the machinery of democracy, but, if the spirit is lacking, the machinery clogs. And in time of peace, even the machinery cannot be imposed on a large scale without consequences more serious in other directions.

When Force Defeats Its Own Ends. Not only does coercion fail to win the inner consent of the coerced, but it is likely, as we have seen from our study of the dynamics of personality, to generate antagonistic emotions which directly defeat the very ends for which the force was used. The methods sometimes used by the police are a case in point as illustrated by an instance given by Lillian Wald:

> As usual in hard times, it was difficult for the unhappy, dissatisfied unemployed to find a place for the discussion of their troubles. It was no more than an attempt of men out of work to get together and talk over their situation. They had no money for the rent of a meeting-place, and having been driven by the police from the street corners, they tried to get into an unoccupied hall on Grand Street. Rough handling by the police stirred them to retaliation, and show of clubs was met by missiles — pieces of smoked fish snatched from a nearby stand kept by an old woman. Violence and ill-feeling might have been averted by the simple expedient of permitting them to meet unmolested.

The Czar's government of Russia was prone to attempt to stamp out revolution by force — with what results may be seen from the present conditions in that country. Lillian Wald illustrates by telling how Babuschka, "the little mother of the revolution," when she was a young noblewoman, attempted to teach the newly freed serfs on her father's estate in the early sixties; how her religious zeal to give all that she had to the poor was regarded as dangerous by the czar's government, and how one suppression and persecution after another finally drove her into the circle of active revolutionists.

Military governments in "protectorates" are prone to "maintain order" by massacring the population. For instance, here is an instance of methods used by a French general to pacify Syria:

Says William Bird in a Consolidated Press dispatch from the French capital:

"The apparent failure of General Sarrail, military Governor of France's Syrian mandate, to understand the Syrian situation and particularly the delicate psychological difficulties of ruling a people who possess the age-old tradition of independence, has brought about a grave menace to France's Oriental prestige. . . .

"Even Sarrail's stoutest defenders stand aghast to-day at what the mildest among them term his tactlessness in parading the dead bodies of twenty-two executed agitators through the streets of Damascus and burning their homes."[1]

At the close of the World War the Allies, in the Treaty of Versailles, imposed severe restrictions intended to keep Germany from becoming a power in aviation. How did this piece of coercion work out? The following copyright cable to the *New York Times* by T. R. Ybarra gives the answer:

London, Nov. 6, 1926 — Germany to-day is unrivaled master of the air in commercial flying, according to Sir Robert Donald, a London newspaper magnate. The Germans have obtained unchallenged control of the air lanes under the very noses of the nations which vanquished them in the World War.

During the last five months German planes flew more than five times as many miles as the British and carried more than nine times as many passengers.

Whereas, in Britain, London is the only terminal for air routes, the Germans have big aerial networks radiating from numerous German cities, including Berlin, Cologne, Munich, Hanover, Hamburg, Stuttgart, and Halle.

Far from being handicapped by restrictions imposed upon her aerial development by the Versailles Treaty, Germany has found these restrictions a stimulus so far as commercial aviation is concerned, since she has devoted herself feverishly ever since the end of the war to building small aircraft which are cheap and highly efficient commercially. The restrictions imposed by the treaty against the extension of the German air net to foreign countries is being gradually overcome by steady German efforts to such an extent that even a German service from Germany to Paris is projected. Other German

[1] *Literary Digest*, Nov. 14, '25, p. 9.

foreign airlines include regular service from Germany to England, Denmark, Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, and Holland. The London service to Germany, via Amsterdam to Berlin, now connects with the night service in Moscow.

However, it is not necessary to look to the behavior of other governments for examples of self-defeating coercion. Lillian Wald says:

> Police interference with free speech and free assemblage in our country has stirred vigorous protest from sober people and has had the effect of kindling enthusiasm for propaganda of ultraradical philosophies among those who might otherwise never have given thought to them.[1]

Forcible repression of publicity by censors may defeat the very purpose for which the censoring was done. A picturesque example is afforded by the French censorship over newspapers in Syria.

> Al-Ahrar is the leading Arabic daily of Syria. Its clever young Syrian editor decided to try a new trick on the censor. Accordingly, on May 13, 1926, in the first column of the first page of his paper he printed an editorial entitled, "Will the Censor Cut This?"
>
> Then followed the first chapter of Isaiah, word for word, from the Arabic Bible.
>
> The censor cut out seven verses, leaving two white gaps in the column.
>
> The verses deleted included the following:
>
> "Why should ye be stricken any more? Ye will revolt more and more. . . . Your country is desolate, your cities burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers. . . . How is the faithful city become an harlot! It was full of judgment; righteousness lodged in it; but now murderers. Thy silver is become dross, thy wine mixed with water. Thy princes are rebellious and companions of thieves: every one loveth gifts and followeth after rewards: they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them."
>
> Had the censor merely passed the editorial by with a smile, very few would have stopped to read through the first chapter of Isaiah. But the fact that the censor had considered it worth censoring aroused curiosity and not a person neglected to read the unexpurgated text — if he owned a Bible. Many Mohammedans who had no Bible bought or borrowed one simply for the purpose of reading those deleted verses.
>
> Friends greeted each other with the salutation: "Have you read the first Chapter of Isaiah?" That blue marking gave the revolutionaries pub-

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 227.

licity. This fact the censor observed toward evening and an order was sent out prohibiting further sales of that day's Al-Ahrar. The order came too late, for every copy had already been sold.[1]

Similarly in this country an attack upon a play or novel, charging that it is immoral, often has the effect of making it tremendously successful.

Reinforcing the Opposition. An attack is quite likely to stimulate the opposition to activities which defeat the attacker. In 1926 Smith W. Brookhart defeated Senator Cummins for the senatorship from Iowa by the large margin of 70,000 votes out of the total of 400,000. One outstanding reason for this victory was expressed as follows by Iowa newspapers to which the *Literary Digest* telegraphed for information:

"Iowa should be allowed to select its own Senator. It elected Brookhart in 1924, and the Senate went out of its way to unseat him." "Iowa is tenacious of its own natural rights in the matter of electing representatives to the Congress." "Brookhart's nomination is *prima facie* notice to the United States Senate to keep its hands off Iowa's elections." "What they considered the unfair unseating of Brookhart by the Senate, caused thousands of Iowans to vote for him even though not enamored of his theories." [2]

Another striking instance of the way in which an attack may have exactly the opposite effect from that intended has to do with a Catholic priest in the Hawaiian Islands who gave his life for lepers:

Father Damien's heroic work among the exiled lepers became widely known through the attacks of the Rev. C. M. Hyde of Honolulu and the defense of his character by Robert Louis Stevenson, who wrote of him: "He shut to with his own hand the door of his own sepulcher."

Father Damien heard of the pitiable condition of the lepers on Molokai and volunteered his services to the hopelessly afflicted. His offer was accepted and he was sent out to the leper colony almost at once. After 1886 he never left the settlement, as he had by that time contracted the disease.

Meanwhile, his critic, Dr. Hyde, was living at Kalaupapa. Four months after the death of Father Damien, on Aug. 2, 1889, Dr. Hyde wrote a letter to the Rev. H. B. Gage of Riverside, Cal., bitterly attacking the character of the dead priest.

Little did Dr. Hyde dream when he launched his attack upon the morals of the dead Father Damien that the gifted writer of romance would accept

[1] Abridged from *N. Y. Times*, Oct. 3, '26.
[2] Abridged from *Literary Digest*, June 19, '26, p. 5.

the challenge of battle and direct the attention of the world to the man who gave his life for the Molokai lepers. This solitary priest, who during his lifetime was accused of being immoral, domineering, quarrelsome, ignorant, and dirty, now, thirty-seven years after his death, is talked of as a candidate for canonization in his Church.[1]

The attempt on one side of the conflict to settle it by force may provoke the other side to reply with force, and this in turn may provoke new reprisals. Some time ago the British government adopted legislation intended to protect producers of rubber in its possessions from disastrously low prices due to over-production. Various attempts at retaliation have been talked of. The following appeared late in 1926:

A powerful combination of automobile and rubber manufacturers, with a credit "pool" of $30,000,000, will use this fund to buy crude rubber in the hope of stabilizing the price of that commodity. This is their primary object, it is said, but they also intend to "break the monopolistic grip of Great Britain on the rubber market," declares the *New York Herald-Tribune.*

In a London dispatch to the *Baltimore Sun,* however, J. F. Essary informs us that producing rubber interests of the British Empire are being urged to meet the challenge of the American rubber buyers' pool by the formation of an equally strong rubber producers' pool. The financial editor of the *Observer* (London) is then quoted as saying:

"Whatever may be the motives behind this pooling of American resources, it should be taken seriously by producing interests. The combined buying should be met with combined selling. The consumers' pool is seeking to put itself in a position of being able by means of the stocks it can hold to manipulate the market when it is thought desirable. A producers' pool strong enough to withhold supplies from a falling market should be the answer."[2]

Even when the use of force to settle a controversy apparently succeeds, it may build up antagonism which will obstruct the further purposes of the victor. Commons and Carpenter thus tersely summarize the fruits of "victory" in an industrial conflict:

The Packard Piano Company had won the strike of 1912. But the workers who came back were sullen, production was low, harmony gone.[3]

Their further account relates how the Packard Company worked out a far better method of solving conflict than force.

[1] Diane O'Connell, *N. Y. Times Magazine,* Nov. 14, '26, p. 10.
[2] *Literary Digest,* Dec. 18, '26, p. 12.
[3] *Industrial Government,* p. 70.

The futility of force as a solvent for industrial conflict was demonstrated also in England:

> Illegal or unauthorized local strikes in England forced the government to waive the penalties of the law, to go over the heads of the national leaders, and to negotiate directly with the strikers; it could not even enforce legal penalties on the local leaders, for that but shifted the demands of the strike from the correction of shop grievances to the release of the leaders. . . . Compulsion failed, and the government, after two and a half years' experiment with compulsory methods, proceeded to recommend and introduce more nearly voluntary methods into the shops and localities.[1]

Coercion in Emergencies. Is it sound to conclude, then, that the use of force is never justified, that coercion always defeats itself? In the next chapter we shall see that many extremists reach practically this conclusion. Before agreeing, however, it is advisable to consider certain instances which appear to call for a modification of any such sweeping generalization.

A father is crossing a street with his little son. He sees an automobile approaching swiftly and calls to the youngster to hurry. The child is interested in something else and ignores him. There is no time to argue or persuade. The father seizes the child and snatches him out of the path of the speeding car. The boy is startled and angry. Yet who would assert that the father did wrong?

Chester Rohrlich, in reviewing Randall's *Constitutional Problems under Lincoln*, remarks:

> The figure of Lincoln, instead of being dwarfed by the magnitude of the problems, stands out above them. The President became a dictator, assumed legislative and judicial functions, freed slaves by proclamation, remade States, suspended the writ of habeas corpus, declared martial law, and enlarged the army and spent public money, all without Congressional authorization.
>
> A contemporary can hardly be expected to resist the temptation to draw comparisons between the Civil War and our last war. "Legally, the Civil War stands as an eccentric period, a time when constituted restraints did not fully operate and when the 'rule of law' largely broke down." Whatever dictatorship there was, was executive. Lincoln seized powers because he regarded them as "indispensable." He frankly said:
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> "I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional might become lawful

[1] John R. Commons, *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 118.

by becoming indispensable to the preservation of the Constitution through the preservation of the nation."

Arbitrary Executive Government was adopted by virtue of "military necessity"; it was "illegal" and abnormal. Lincoln's dictatorship was irregular, confused, and haphazardly enforced. Conscription met with much opposition and was, as a result, lax. Conscientious objectors of sufficient stamina were finally, by order of the President, "sent home." During the Civil War, the Attorney General's office employed eight persons and their annual salary was slightly in excess of $18,000. During the World War the dictatorship was legal. Congress was generous in the grant of extraordinary powers. "The arsenal of legislation was full and the organization elaborate." In 1918 the Attorney General's department spent $530,000 in salaries, and its secret service division was five times as large as it had been in 1916. And the Attorney General was truthfully able to say, "Never in its history has the country been so thoroughly policed as at the present time." Conscription met with comparatively little opposition and was completely enforced. The statutes for suppression of disloyalty were plentiful and actively enforced. "Those who were caught in the machinery . . . were more severely punished than were the political prisoners under Lincoln." It was all "accomplished within the law and through the civil courts, rather than by extra-legal means." Suppression had become legal and efficient.[1]

Creative Coercion. The fact that conflict may be creative means also, of course, that force may be used creatively. Coercion compels a reorganization of the personality. This reorganization is practically certain to generate antagonism for the time, but the personality very often finds that the changes which it was compelled to make open up new possibilities for functioning and so enrich its life. An exceedingly simple instance occurred among the pre-school children. Will had brought a toy street car to school, and was trying to organize a procession to follow it around:

Will went to Sylvia, at the sand table, saying, "Come on, Sylvia!" "I wont!" retorted Sylvia decidedly. "Come on, you must!" Will persisted, and he dragged her, protesting after him. She soon forgot her frowns in tramping energetically after.

Commons suggests that constructive results may follow certain forms of compulsory legislation and psychological coercion:

I do not know that this machinery of collective democracy can be successfully imposed by law where the employer or manager is unwilling. But

[1] *N. Y. Times Book Rev.*, Nov. 7, '26.

willingness can be educated. Legislation is a crude and impersonal method of education. Willingness is a personal and every-day attitude of mind that sees the need and then does things before being compelled to do them. Often, however, willingness is preceded by a jolt. The present-day jolt is the freedom and unrest of labor.[1]

Jane Addams cites an instance in which a psychological attack on the personalities of consumers had creative possibilities:

Beatrice Webb so analyzed the sweating system as to make clear that the purchaser of a sweated-made coat became a pauper; he was pauperized by the husband of the woman who supported her while she made the sweated coat at half price. It became an ethical question then for the purchaser of a sweated garment as well as for the employer of sweated labor and also for a right-minded community who objected to subsidized wages on the ground of simple justice. If enough people had arrived at that sense of unwillingness to be pauperized or to make paupers the whole question of sweated labor would have been taken care of because the ethical standards had been raised. The community would have been saved the care of thousands of undernourished children, of tuberculosis superinduced and transmitted in unsanitary tenements where the all too-meager home became also a workshop.[2]

Coercion may be used actually for the good of the person coerced. Such coercion might perhaps be termed "justified paternalism." In a certain Mexican saloon a drunken man persisted in singing loudly. Such boisterousness happened to be against a strictly-enforced city ordinance. The bartender spoke to the man several times, but without results. Finally he took him gently by the shoulder and forcibly put him out of the building, saying, "Run along out and think it over, and come back when you have changed your mind." In another instance a well-known American had gone to Mexico, had gotten drunk, and was running wild. Mexican officials quietly put him in jail, explaining to his friends that they had no grudge against him, but that they felt that he would be safer there until he sobered up.

Use of Force by the State. One of the outstanding objections to the use of coercion is its likelihood of being used for exploitation, in defiance of rights and justice. When the state, by duly safeguarded process of law, uses force against some dangerous minority which is attacking the welfare of the majority, the exploitive element is eliminated. The state may also be defended in such use of force on the

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 111. [2] *Survey*, Nov. 15, '26, p. 199.

grounds of the existence of an emergency when the slower methods of persuasion might not be feasible. The state might also invoke the argument that the coerced minority is likely to come to its senses later and recognize the wisdom of the action. On the other hand, the possibilities of stimulating fraud, of reinforcing antagonism, and of defeating its own ends, are always present.

A widely approved use of legal coercion by state authorities is the following:

A stunning blow against "mob rule" is seen by the editor of the Tifton (Ga.) *Gazette* and several other Georgia newspapers polled by telegraph, in the recent sentence to life imprisonment of one Major Brown, leader of a lynching party which forcibly took a white man from the Coffee County jail last August and shot him to death. Never before, according to the State Attorney-General, has a man received a life sentence for participating in a lynching, nor has one even been tried by a jury and found guilty of a lynching offense in Georgia.

By rounding up more than a dozen of the party which lynched Dave Wright for the alleged murder of a white woman, and giving nine of them sentences ranging from four years to life imprisonment, Georgia "has ushered in a new era of law enforcement," notes the *Herald*, of Fitzgerald, Georgia.

The Coffee County case, observes the Augusta *Chronicle*, "is a demonstration of the force and power of public sentiment," and the neighboring *Herald* wires as follows:

"This is one of the greatest triumphs ever achieved by justice in Georgia. There is never at any time an excuse for lynching. Man has passed far enough along the highway of progress to understand that orderly government is his only salvation. Since 1889, Georgia has had 433 lynchings; if there should be another, we trust that members of the mob will be given the extreme penalty for murder."

In pronouncing sentence, Judge Reed said, in part:

"Lynching is a menace to the rights and liberties of the American individual, and should be regarded so by every intelligent community. It is as much out of place in our modern civilization as would be the burning of witches.

"When a community makes public the fact that it will bend every effort to apprehend lynchers without loss of time, and mete out punishment to them, there will be few cases of lynching in that community."

In the Macon *Telegraph* we are told that:

"Justice won because public sentiment in Coffee County demanded justice; because the better element in Coffee County demanded that the officers of the law bring to accountability the reckless and brutal men who reverted to the savagery of nomad tribes to avenge human wrongs.

"Wright was a white man. It is easier to convict of lynching a white man than it is to convict of lynching a negro, but it has been so difficult to do either heretofore that it has not been done. We must remember this: That justice must be even-handed; that there can be no justice as long as there is discrimination between the high and the low, the rich and the poor. As long as we tolerate lynchings in Georgia, whether the victims be white or black, humble or arrogant, every person in the State, high and low, rich and poor, is a potential victim of a mob. If lynchings are tolerated, any group of men in the State can form themselves into a mob, kill their victim, and go back home with the assurance that there will be no punishment. If we adopt the attitude of Coffee County — that no lynching shall be tolerated, and that all lynchings must be paid for before the law — we have protected human rights and human life, and the property rights of all." [1]

The prohibition amendment and its enforcement come under the heading of the use of force by the state. Jane Addams compares this to a previous use of force by our government:

I hope no one will understand me as in favor of the present attempt to modify the Eighteenth Amendment because it is not being enforced. Its present failure is like the failure of the first attempts in the South after the abolition of slavery. The southern people did not believe slavery should have been abolished. They did not believe the United States had the right to legislate about it, and so when the slaves were barely free, they lost their votes, they fell into peonage, and all sorts of things happened to them. Yet in three generations no one would venture to say that the descendants of slaves are not enormously better off than if that legislation had not been passed.[2]

Summary

A. The problem of the chapter is to determine when, if ever, force is justified as a means of settling conflict.

B. Coercion takes various forms.

1. The weaker may be overpowered physically by the stronger.
2. Threats offer the alternative of compliance or injury.
3. Actual or threatened physical violence is used in imprisonment, fines, capital punishment, slavery, autocracy, bullying, hazing, torture, and war.
4. Psychological coercion includes threats, fear, scolding, blame, contempt, ridicule, urgent suggestion, and at times fashion.
5. Withdrawal of coöperation is the basis of such attempts at coercion as strikes, lockouts, boycotts, and ostracism.

[1] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 4, '26, p. 10. [2] *Survey*, Nov. 15, '26, p. 200.

C. Evil aspects of the use of coercion include the following:

6. Exploitation and despotism make use of force as a chief weapon.

7. Force breeds fraud.

8. Though outer conformity may be forced, inner consent is likely to be withheld.

9. Force is likely to defeat its own ends by generating energy in the opposition.

D. Justification is sometimes offered for use of coercion on the following grounds:

10. In emergencies there may be no time to persuade or agree.

11. Coercion at times forces reorganizations of personality which the coerced individuals later recognize as beneficent.

12. The state uses force, under supposed safeguards as to its justice, in order to protect the majority against menacing minorities.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

12D1. In what sense might it be said truly that the use of coercion is like the use of a drug?

12D2. Gerald Stanley Lee, in Hearst's *International-Cosmopolitan* for April, 1926, makes the following suggestion:

> There are several ways people can take when a man is not well.
>
> One way is to laugh at him and get him to see that he is a ridiculous object. If 10,000 men in New York would agree to-morrow publicly to make fun of fat men in the streets, so that only people in taxis could afford to be fat in New York, everybody knows what would happen.

Discuss this proposal.

12D3. Two parents were arguing about whether children should ever be spanked. The one who was opposed to spanking said: "You bully! You coward! No one who wasn't yellow would strike a little child!" Discuss the significance of this incident. What parallel cases can you cite?

12D4. What influence has concentration of wealth upon exploitation? Why?

12D5. Karl Marx and others have used the term "exploitation of labor." American writers have used the term "exploitation of natural resources." In what ways is the meaning of the word "exploi-

tation" the same in these two phrases, and in what ways different? When is exploitation justifiable?

12D6. What instances can you give of attempts to exploit the products of another's toil?

12D7. In what sense might it be said that paternalism is exploitation? That cruelty is exploitation?

12D8. What aspects of coercion are illustrated by the traditional behavior of a minister's son, by the slyness of the wife of an autocratic husband, and by the tendencies in some schools to cheat in examinations? How could these tendencies be avoided?

12D9. Give instances in which the victor in a conflict lost more than he gained in the struggle. How usual is this sort of outcome?

12D10. Discuss the following episode, abstracted from an article by John MacCormac in the *New York Times* for July 4, 1926:

General Pangalos, in all that ordinarily constitutes a dictator, was a Balkan Mussolini.

When the feminine skirt, like some great tide actuated by whatever mysterious planet controls such things, ebbed from ankles to calves and from calves to knees, the Greek woman also proceeded to reveal more of herself.

General Pangalos, like King Canute, thought to stay the tide. It is not known whether he took counsel with his advisers in the great skirt question. Probably he did, since the decree that was to settle the matter for all times, as originally drafted, fixed a maximum length of 30 centimeters, or 12 inches, from the ground. This was altered, before it was put into effect, to allow a height of 35 centimeters, or 14 inches.

The modified decree came into force on Jan. 15. It made fathers responsible for the length of their growing-up daughters' draperies, and husbands for that of their wives'. It provided that offenders during the first few days should be warned: that they should later become liable to fines ranging from $1.25 to $15.

The new decree was not welcomed by the police. When they were finally urged into action (for dictators must have their way sooner or later) the police acted summarily indeed. They arrested no less a person than Miss Vogiatzi, daughter of a Judge of the Court of Appeal in Athens. Miss Vogiatzi was taken to a police tribunal and remained in custody for twenty-four hours. She was then found guilty.

Hisses from the large audience in court testified to the unpopularity of the decree. There was an outburst of indignation from Athens society over this indignity that had been visited on one of its members. General Pangalos not only became unpopular (which is nothing new or startling in the life of a dictator) but stood in grave danger of being made ridiculous.

Dictators can brave anything but ridicule. Eight days later the great skirt decree was rescinded.

12D11. Compare the use of coercion in the following cases: by pirates against their victims; by Lincoln in emancipating the slaves; by college authorities in requiring students to take certain courses; by military commanders in shooting men who desert under fire.

12D12. If you were a professor, would you want your course to be required or not? What are your reasons?

12D13. Was the following a justified use of coercion by a state?

The Criminal Syndicalism Act went into effect April 30, 1919, more than five months after the Armistice. The first arrests were made in San Francisco less than a week later, and then they came thick and fast — more than five hundred by August, 1924.

Dr. Kirchwey finds that in only a few instances was there even an attempt to connect the persons under trial with any wrongdoing other than membership in an interdicted organization — *i.e.*, the Communist Labor Party of California or the Industrial Workers of the World. In no case was a member of either of these organizations shown to be a menace to the peace and order of the community. Yet during those five years scores of them went to jail (and 28 of them are still in jail in California and other states) under an act which punished even talk aimed at "a change in industrial ownership or control" or "any political change."[1]

12D14. When, if ever, have religious organizations used force or fraud as a means of carrying out their purposes? How do you account for such behavior?

12D15. In the *Cosmopolitan* for May, 1926, "Pussyfoot" Johnson published an article under this headline:

"I HAD TO LIE, BRIBE AND DRINK TO PUT OVER PROHIBITION IN AMERICA"

Discuss the significance of this incident.

12D16. When, if ever, is politeness a handicap on sound social relations? Why?

12D17. British policemen carry no firearms. Even during the great general strike these officers of the law carried only their batons. Discuss the wisdom or folly of such methods.

[1] *Survey*, Jan. 15, '27, p. 495.

12D18. President Wilson's proposal to make conscription illegal in all countries affiliated in the League of Nations was recently taken up by a European committee. The *Literary Digest* for September 18, 1926, p. 14, says:

The men behind the movement include such figures as Norman Angell, H. G. Wells, and Bertrand Russell, of England, Henri Barbusse, Georges Duhmel, and Romain Rolland, of France, while Germany is represented by Prof. Albert Einstein and a number of men with military titles, led by General Von Deimling. The keynote of the plea, as reported by the London Bureau of the *New York Times*, is found in three paragraphs running:

"We call for some definite step toward complete disarmament and the demilitarizing of the mind of civilized nations. The most effective measure toward this would be the universal abolition of conscription. We therefore ask the League of Nations to propose the abolition of compulsory military service in all countries as a first step toward true disarmament.

"It is our belief that conscript armies, with their large corps of professional officers, are a grave menace of peace. Conscription involves the degradation of human personality and the destruction of liberty. Barrack life, military drill, blind obedience to commands, however unjust and foolish they may be, and deliberate training for slaughter undermine respect for the individual, for democracy, and human life.

"It is debasing human dignity to force men to give up their lives or to inflict death against their will or without conviction as to the justice of their action. The State which thinks itself entitled to force its citizens to go to war will never pay proper regard to the value and happiness of their lives in peace."

The main obstacle is the lack of security that a disarmed nation feels, believes the *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, a point which the many and important signatories of the manifesto seemingly overlook. The Philadelphia editor continues this criticism:

"Only a League that was a real superstate, able physically to defend its members from any possible attack, could induce its members to forego the right of self-defense to the extent that this committee asks. For the petition goes further than to ask the abolition of universal military service which keeps a whole nation constantly in arms for purposes of possible aggrandizement. It strikes at a fundamental power of every State, which it must retain unless it abdicates to a superstate, to demand that in the emergency of war all its citizens shall serve it under arms, if they are needed."

What position would you take on this question, and why?

12D19. What difference, if any, is there between social control and social coercion? When are governments cruel? When exploitative?

When paternalistic? What instances can you cite where governments have acted in ways not coming under any of these three heads?

12D20. The Newspaper Enterprise Association says: "It ought to be against the law to break Prohibition laws." What is the point of this crack?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

12F1. Visit some old-fashioned jail or penitentiary. If possible, obtain special permission from the warden or jailer to make a thorough inspection. Try to get a chance to talk with the prisoners as well as with the keeper. Try to discover to what extent the confinement in this institution is thought of as punishment, what the attitude of the jailer and prisoners is toward this treatment, what the actual effect is, and how severe a punishment being confined actually is. If you visit a jail, find out how many of the persons confined are serving sentence and how many are being held for other reasons. What are these "other reasons"? What difference is made in treatment between those being punished and those held for other reasons? (Time credit to be arranged)

12K2. Make as detailed a study as you can of the use of the boycott as a weapon in international relations, including its use by China and by Mexico. (Time credit arranged)

12K3. Write a brief paper discussing the methods proposed in the League of Nations Covenant for coercing nations who violate their agreements. What were these methods, and what arguments for and against them have been presented? (Two to five hours)

12K4. Look up in Greek history, and write a brief paper on, the exploitation of the Helots by the Spartans. (Three hours)

12K5. Make as full a collection as you can, from your reading and observation, of cases of exploitation. Classify them. What modifications in our theory are suggested by this study of yours?

12K6. Which of the following gave notable examples of social coercion? How would you classify the types of coercion of which they were guilty? Nero; Julius Cæsar; Lucretia Borgia; Alexander the Great; Kaiser Wilhelm; King Leopold of Belgium; Napoleon; Machiavelli; George III of England; Stinnes of Germany; J. J. Hill, the American railroad magnate; Henry Ford. Add to this list the names of ten famous men or women who have been notable social despots. Do not guess in your classification; be sure of your facts in the cases you discuss. (Two to five hours)

12K7. In what ways do the following occupations offer, to those who follow them, special temptations to be exploiters: farmer; manufacturer; physician; banker; carpenter; coal mine operator? Discuss one occupation in detail, and the others in outline. What additional occupations would you suggest for this list? Why? (One to three hours)

12K8. In the summer of 1926, Bertrand Russell wrote as follows in the *London New Leader* about the British policy in China:

> If we were fighting for a great cause, the prospect of loss might be faced with heroism. But the exact opposite is the case: we are fighting against everything progressive, upright, and intelligent in China, in favor of everything ignorant, reactionary, and corrupt. We are fighting to keep civilization under in a great nation, in order that it may be the easier to exploit. We are fighting for the right to shoot down young unarmed students when they protest against the killing of Chinese workers by Japanese capitalists in labor disputes. We are fighting to prolong anarchy and civil war among self-seeking militarists dependent upon foreign support. We are fighting to preserve everything that is bad and to prevent the growth of everything that is good. This is, alas, our position throughout Asia. This is the sacred cause which we pursue with a pig-headed obstinacy that must, before long, bring ruin and national disaster upon us. Both as a patriot and as an internationalist, I view the situation with feelings little short of despair.
>
> Meanwhile we have to face the cry of "British lives in danger." Will our mandarins never understand the cry of "Chinese lives in danger," which went up after the Shanghai massacre, committed at a time when no British lives were in danger? If the British in China are in danger, let us announce that we are prepared to withdraw them, and the danger will cease. So long as the British arrogate to themselves the right to shoot Chinese at sight, they can not expect that the Chinese will respect their right of life. "This animal is wicked; it defends itself when attacked." [1]

Look up the events which provoked this statement, and developments in China since that time, and write a paper presenting evidence as to the degree to which Mr. Russell's position was justified. (Five hours)

12K9. Study the article in the *Literary Digest* for May 1, 1926, pp. 36–42, on "The Tiger Claws of 'Pussyfoot' Johnson." Look up information on the subject in other periodicals. Summarize your conclusions in writing. (Two to five hours)

[1] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 16, '26, p. 21.

12K10. Read, and discuss in writing, the article in the *Outlook* for June 2, 1926, by Ernest W. Mandeville on "Can a Prohibition Agent Be Honest?" (One to two hours)

12K11. Study the use of coercion by the Fascist government of Italy. To what extent has it thwarted purposes? To what extent can you discover that it has produced fraud? (Two to ten hours)

12K12. Make a study of some instance in history where a conquered people has gradually developed loyalty to its conquerors. How does this case relate to the present chapter? (Four to ten hours)

12K13. Make a study of the non-coöperative movement in India. (Three to ten hours)

12K14. Collect detailed accounts of instances in which the British government has used violence in its control of the American Colonies, of India, China, and Africa, where France has used violence in its control of Syria and Morocco, where Belgium used it in controlling the Congo, and the like. To what extent were these countries justified in using these methods? (Three to ten hours)

12K15. Collect instances in which the United States has used violence in dealing with the Philippines, with Haiti, with Nicaragua, with Colombia, and the like. To what extent were we justified in using these methods? (Three to ten hours)

12K16. Study the use and the effects of coercion in France before the French Revolution and in Russia before the Russian revolution. (Five hours)

12K17. Interview one or more ex-service men. Ask them to describe to you in as much detail as they can the methods used in the army in breaking in raw recruits. Write up your results, with comments. (One to three hours)

12K18. Draw up the definitions, schedules, and plans necessary for a statistical study of the problem as to what conditions determine the effects of the use of social coercion. Carry out your program as far as is feasible and report results. (Time credit to be arranged)

12K19. The *New York World* says:

> Every time the Allies sent another army into Russia more anti-Bolshevik Russians joined the Red Army. The more pressure there was from the outside, the stronger and more ruthless the Bolshevik dictatorship became. It was only when the Allies gave up the policy of intervention that the moderate elements in Russia gradually got into power and were able to begin readjusting the Soviet policy to the economic facts.

Make a critical study of the historical facts to which this assertion relates. (Five hours)

12L20. Make a list of all the required courses which you have taken. How much did you like these courses when you first began them? How did you feel about them when you had finished? Judging from your experience, what do you think is the effect on the students' attitude of making courses required? (Two hours)

12W21. Read Ross's chapter on "Exploitation," *Outlines*, pp. 106–121. What is his distinction between domination and exploitation? From his "Laws of Exploitation" draw up a set of rules for the attitudes of an individual who wants his influence to count as strongly as possible against exploitation. How adequate do you feel that these rules are? What are your reasons for this feeling? (Two hours)

12W22. What relation has Sumner's last chapter, pp. 639–653, to our present chapter? (One hour)

CHAPTER XIII

FREEDOM AND LAISSEZ-FAIRE AS AVOIDERS OF CONFLICT

Antidotes for Tyranny. If the tendencies which lead to social domination and exploitation were unrestrained by other fundamental urges, it might well be that the strongest and shrewdest individuals would always be able to force the weak to carry out their purposes, and that oppression would be universal. Fortunately the drives toward conflict are only part of the basic elements in social motivation. In the chapter on "Contagious Behavior" it has been shown that there is a spontaneous tendency in children and even in apes to put themselves in the place of their associates and to share their experience. In the chapter on "Attention and Approval" it was shown that the desire to be well thought of is one of the most overwhelmingly powerful of social motives. In the present chapter it will be shown that the desire to carry out one's own purposes rather than the purposes of another creates a desire for liberty; in the following chapter it will develop that the tendency to put oneself into the place of others leads to a vigorous sense of the equality of human beings, and that this sense of equality, under critical use, develops into systems of justice. These factors — desire for approval, sympathy, craving for liberty, the idea of equality, and the demand for justice — all of them are powerful fundamental drives to counteract the tyrannous tendencies of cruelty, exploitation, and paternalism.

Insistence upon One's Own Purposes. The tendency toward the use of coercion in social relations is met by the desire for freedom. This love of liberty is a natural corollary of the dynamics of personality. The imposition of new purposes on to an individual may be regarded as a menace or a stimulus, as a favor or as an attack. Unless the person on whom the purpose is imposed, however, is docile or well disciplined he is apt to regard the imposition as an attack, since it is apt to involve thwarting of purposes which he has already formed. If

taken as an attack, the imposition of an outside purpose generates energy which is turned toward resistance. This energy is called the desire for freedom — the love of liberty.

Even chimpanzees exhibit a willful determination to carry out their own purposes rather than those of some one else:

When one tries to make an ape do something which he does not feel like doing, the effect of this pressure, as a rule, is merely that the greatest opposition is offered against doing what is wanted. . . . None of the animals were as obstinate as Sultan, and his behavior, when I wanted to force him to perform a test, was like that of a wayward child. One day, when he had begun lazily to make a choice between two objects and I applied pressure, I found it impossible to make him do anything more, not even to take in his hand the stick with which he was to choose. The other animals were fed, but not Sultan, and still he would not touch the stick, although he would have been able to get his food with it immediately. I put the others to bed and still Sultan remained stiff-necked. Then from a hiding place I noticed the following: when evening came and it grew colder and less comfortable, he at last took the stick, scraped around the ground in his room with it, but exactly in the opposite direction from where the test-objects were. After a time he pushed it through the bars, and scratched about side-ways in the sand, as though he were playing. Then he dropped the stick again, but after a few minutes picked it up, and so it went on, until at last he made the simple choice and the right one, which I had demanded of him. When I had put him into his sleeping-den, there was a frenzied scene of reconciliation. . . .

The same animal behaves quite extraordinarily, when one tries to teach him something in which he is not interested. Once, it was demanded of him, in the evening, after all the animals had been fed, to collect all the fruit skins which were lying about, and put them in a basket. He quickly grasped what was required of him, and did it — but only for two days. On the third day he had to be told every minute to go on; and on the fifth and following days his limbs had to be moved for every movement, seizing, picking up, walking, holding the skins over the basket, letting them drop, and so on, because they stopped dead at whatever place he had come to, or to which he had been led.[1]

Similarly Neuva worked industriously at the weaving and knots which she had invented, but refused to have anything to do with patterns set by her master:

She had a special fancy for knots; for instance, she thrust a strip of banana leaf through a wire mesh, laboriously drew the end back through

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 307–9.

another mesh, tied the two ends together, and continued in the same way, either by slipping one end of the leaf through the knot, or tying the ends again. I often thought that she was about to begin a deliberate, though rudimentary constructive effort, a form of manual craftsmanship, but she could never be induced to continue these efforts on any plan, however easy. When I prepared for her a wooden frame with a few loosely inserted strips of leaf, she turned aside and devoted herself to her own knots; the slightest pressure towards anything stable and "productive" extinguished her joy and interest at once, and she let the frame fall in sullen displeasure.[1]

Children are very apt to resent any attempt at assimilation which transfers from themselves to some one else a purpose initiative which they have developed:

Beatrice went to the corner where Charles was laying a row of square beads on the floor. She picked up a bead and laid it on the end of his row, laughing, but he pushed it away frowning at her and doubling up his fist as though to strike. . . .

Belle put her arm around Dorothy to help her to the slide, but Dorothy pushed her away and ran off alone. . . .

Dorothy almost cried when Genevieve tried to show her how to clap. . . .

Helen returned to the slide and proceeded to "help" any child who appeared slow in climbing the ladder. "See, I'll help you," she said when Stanley paused on the steps, and she gave Peter a gentle push saying, "this way," but Peter pulled away saying, "Let me alone." Peter made no advances to the other children but seemed to feel independent and self-reliant, resenting help and following directions immediately and well. Sarah resented every direction given; she sulked at being forced to wait her turn at the slide, refused to come into the circle or to lie down until forced to obey. . . .

Thomas pushed in and helped Mildred hold her wheel in place. Helen tried to do the same thing for Sarah but Sarah said, "I can do it myself; go away." . . .

On his way to the sand, Stanley almost stumbled on Helen who was dragging the wagon about. "I'll give you a ride," Helen said, and Stanley sat down on the wagon. The wagon was cramped and Helen could not move it. Albert jumped off the table offering, "I'll help you, Helen," but the little girl screamed, "No, no, let me alone," pushing him away violently.[2]

Adults, of course, act in very much the same way. I heard a business woman who was being urged by the head of her department to

[1] Köhler, *Mentality of Apes*, p. 324.
[2] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 40, 43, 38, 59, 63, and 71.

attend a social function, say, upon being told that attendance was practically required, " I'd like to see any one *make* me do *anything*." When I was just out of college I went on a canoe trip. At one of our stops an expert woodsman undertook to show me how to build a campfire with a support for kettles over it. His method was much better than mine, but I remember that I refused stubbornly to change my old ways.

This fundamental desire to act according to one's own purposes, not according to purposes imposed from the outside, takes form in a number of different social philosophies, all having in common their aversion to having people forced to do what they do not want to do. These philosophies may conveniently be referred to by the following phrases: avoidance; freedom; *laissez-faire;* individualism; philosophical anarchy; nihilism; pacifism; non-resistance; and self-abnegation. In mental life certain parallels exist which may be referred to as mental dissociation and nirvana.

" Live and Let Live " as a Social Philosophy. As long as there are ample available opportunities to function, the natural solution of incipient conflict is to keep out of each other's way — to " live and let live." An ancient instance is Abram's suggestion to Lot:

> And Lot also, which went with Abram, had flocks and herds and tents. And the land was not able to bear them, that they might dwell together. And there was strife between the herdsmen of Abram's cattle and of Lot's cattle. And Abram said unto Lot: "Let there be no strife, I pray thee, between me and thee, and between my herdmen and thy herdmen; for we be brethren. Is not the whole land before thee? Separate thyself, I pray thee, from me: if thou wilt take the left hand, I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go the left."
>
> Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan; and Lot journeyed east; and they separated themselves one from the other.[1]

The pre-school children presented certain instances of this type:

> Blackboard and chalk were provided and the fun of writing kept the children busy all morning. They paid no attention to one another beyond some adjustment of position to let them work together at the same boards. . . .
>
> Myrle laid a few boards end to end saying, "I'm making a sidewalk." Charles, Sylvia, and Belle each made a similar path of boards and Sylvia began to walk along hers, trying not to step off. At once the others began

[1] *Genesis* 13: 5–11 (abridged).

this, and Sylvester tried to walk on Sylvia's also. Sometimes the children would start one from each end of the boards and stand amazed when they met, but did not seem to resent this. Both children always got off, though only one would have needed to. . . .

They did not talk much to one another, but did not interfere with one another's play, and seemed even to adjust their movements to one another. . . .

When free play began, Myrle and Charles went to the blocks together and began to pull them down; then stopped to frown at one another. They had all the tense attitude of a fight, but Myrle moved away a little and they sat playing individually.[1]

Avoidance. At Hull-House the residents were distressed by the refusal of certain "respectable" members of a settlement club to associate longer with other members who were felt to be "tough."

They contended with much justice that ambitious young people were obliged for their own reputation, if not for their own morals, to avoid all connection with that which bordered on the tough, and that it was quite another matter for the Hull-House residents who could afford a more generous judgment.[2]

This same attitude of aloofness toward others who are disapproved of appears in another anecdote from the same source:

Two of us officiated quite alone at the birth of an illegitimate child because the doctor was late in arriving, and none of the honest Irish matrons would "touch the likes of her."[3]

Miss Addams herself felt compelled to adopt the policy of agreeing to disagree when she got into an insoluble conflict of opinion in a committee dealing with unemployment:

The danger of permanently lowering wages at such a crisis, in the praiseworthy effort to bring speedy relief, was brought home to me. I insisted that it was better to have the men work half a day for seventy-five cents than a whole day for a dollar, better that they should earn three dollars in two days than in three days. I resigned from the street cleaning committee in despair of making the rest of the committee understand that, as our real object was not street cleaning but the help of the unemployed, we must treat the situation in such wise that the men would not be worse off when they returned to their normal occupations.[4]

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 44, 50, 59, and 43.
[2] Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 344.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 110.
[4] *Ibid.* p. 161.

This attitude of live and let live is a possible solution so long as there are abundant lands, resources, and opportunities for all. It is an attitude especially characteristic of frontiers, where wide spaces wait to be occupied, and where everybody can pretty well carve out his own fortune without carving up the fortune of anybody else. But even if this were an ideal arrangement where it can be substituted for conflict (which it is not), mere let-aloneness for a number of reasons cannot in most social relations be applied. In the first place, the supply of land and of wealth, and the opportunities for power, are so limited that there is not room for a fraction of the people who want to exploit these resources. Expanding personalities inevitably collide in this little world.

The contagiousness of behavior helps to aggravate this kind of conflict. Miss Verry reports:

> Sam had dropped his wheel and was doing something else. While he was doing this, Albert and Helen who had been out in the examination room came in and got the two wheels not in use. When Sam saw this, he went to each one saying, "That's my wheel," but when they resisted, he went over to the window where Miss S. and some of the less active children were sitting watching the rain.[1]

Similarly, the swing in our back yard hangs empty for hours, but if one child starts to play in it the other two at once begin to yell loudly for possession. Oil deposits are ignored for decades, but let some one sink a well, and suddenly a battle royal begins to rage between the interests trying to get possession of the territory.

A second reason why mere avoidance is not an adequate remedy is evident from the analysis presented in the chapter on conflict. The craving to manipulate and control people means that exploiters are certain to seek to impose their wills on others, even if the world were big enough for each to live his own independent life. Coercion inevitably develops, and against coercion the demand for liberty rises unquenchable.

Avoidance, moreover, means giving up all of the creative values of stimulation and mutual reinforcement which might be attained by a proper integration of purposes.

The Demand for Freedom. When our forefathers, having come to the New World in quest of the opportunity to live and let live, found

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 74.

that tyranny still pursued them here, they resolved to resist with force this encroachment on their liberties. They embodied the idea of freedom in the foundations of our government. In the Declaration of Independence, our forefathers said: "To secure these rights (life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness) governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; . . . whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it and to institute a new government." In other words, any government which arbitrarily imposes its will contrary to the purposes of the people governed, is tyrannous and should be thrown off. It is this basic demand to act upon one's own purposes that has underlain the great drives for liberty and freedom.

***Laissez-faire:* Let Natural Processes Alone.** The cry for freedom, for liberty, for self-determination, has been an assertion of the right to change a government when it becomes tyrannous. The philosophy of *laissez-faire* has been a demand that actually existing governments should interfere as little as possible with the purposes of their citizens — that the collective will should not tyrannize over or meddle with individual wills. Its axiom has been expressed in the words: "The less government, the better!" This social theory got its fullest expression in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer and in the teachings of Adam Smith and other economists of the Manchester School. Dr. Richard Cabot tells as follows of the way in which this attitude toward social relations affected his generation:

> We had been foolish enough to accept what Herbert Spencer and his followers were serving up in the sacred name of science. This philosophy in its particular relation to ethics and industry was crystallized in the vague notion of *laissez-faire*. We were told to let things alone, especially the things that deal with civilization and business. The fit were bound to survive through the struggle for existence and therefore the fit society, the fit business structure, were sure to come to the fore and to win their way, provided only we left men free. That was the great gospel. "Hands off! Don't get in the way! Leave trade and the laws of trade without interference. The best government is that which governs (and interferes with business) least." For there is (so we had been taught) a natural tendency in human affairs towards improvement, the growth of which had been choked hitherto by the interference of kings, tyrants, and priests, but which needed only a free chance to lead us toward that "far off divine event" to which the whole creation was bound to move.

Obviously under such doctrines — and especially when they were promulgated in the name of "science" to a generation so hypnotized by that word that they were not prone to inquire what it meant, — ethics was bound to languish, for ethics has always assumed that things are *not* bound to get better but must be *made* better by human effort.[1]

Beatrice Webb tells how the teachings of this group affected her mother:

An ardent student of Adam Smith, Malthus, and particularly of Nassau Senior, she had been brought up in the strictest sect of utilitarian economists. Her intellect told her that to pay more than the market rate, to exact fewer than the customary hours, or insist on less than the usual strain, even if it could be proved that these conditions were injurious to the health and happiness of the persons concerned — was an act of self-indulgence, a defiance of nature's laws which would bring disaster on the individual and the community. Similarly it was the bounden duty of every citizen to better his social status; to ignore those beneath him and to aim steadily at the top rung of the social ladder. Only by this persistent pursuit by each individual of his own and his family's interest would the highest general level of civilization be attained. It was on this issue that she and Herbert Spencer found themselves in happy accord.

No one of the present generation realizes with what sincerity and fervor these doctrines were held by the representative men and women of the mid-Victorian middle class. "The man who sells his cow too cheap goes to Hell" still epitomizes, according to John Butler Yeats, "the greatest part of the religion of Belfast" — that last backwater of the sanctimonious commercialism of the nineteenth century.

My mother's distinction was that she was free of this taint of hypocrisy; she realized the hopeless inconsistency of this theory of human nature and human conduct with her mystical cravings, either with the Sermon on the Mount or with the *Imitation of Christ* which she read night and morning.[2]

The philosophy of *laissez-faire* is more than a mere reaction against government tyranny; it is an expression of opposition to meddling with processes which are presumed to take care of themselves better without our conscious attempts to manage them. The logic of this attitude may be expressed as a development of the idea of biological and subsocial accommodation. During ages and centuries past life has been busily making its intricate adjustments — adjustments of the human body and the human race to its environment, adjustments of economic

[1] *Survey*, Apr. 1, '26, p. 18.
[2] *My Apprenticeship*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1926, pp. 15–16.

structure to human needs, adjustments of family life to satisfactory sexual, parental, home, and social functioning. These adjustments involved intricate accommodations which have occurred without conscious planning; if you fool with them you are certain to do more damage than good. Let them alone!

The working of this philosophy may be made clearer by instances in three specific fields. In relation to poor relief, to endeavors to reduce infant mortality, and to philanthropic efforts in general, the advocate of *laissez-faire* says: "You are helping the unfit to survive. You are keeping alive sickly babies and feebleminded children who would be eliminated under natural conditions. Don't interfere with the laws of nature. You simply increase the ultimate amount of misery by your crude interference. Let the unfit human stuff alone, to die if it must!"

In connection with laws regulating safety hazards, compensation for industrial accidents, hours of labor, night work for women, minimum wages and the like, the advocate of *laissez-faire* says: "The process of social accommodation has achieved delicate adjustments of wages costs, prices, and working conditions through the operation of the law of supply and demand. If you tinker with industrial conditions you will upset these adjustments. Keep your hands off!"

In 1925 the proposed Federal Child Labor Amendment was at least temporarily defeated by this same philosophy, applied in this case to the family. The essential fear was lest the government should interfere in the relation between parent and child. Thousands of years had produced, through social accommodation, a set of rights and duties between parent and child. To pass laws altering this adjustment violated the philosophy of those who believed in *laissez-faire.*

It may be noted that these arguments assume that certain kinds of forces in human relations are natural, while others are not. The destructive attack of disease germs upon a child is held to be natural, but an organized attack upon disease through social medicine is meddling. The application of coercion through the bargaining power of the employer or of the labor union is natural, but the application of government regulation is interference with natural law. The use of coercion by the parent to work his child of tender age for long hours in a factory is natural, but the use of government authority to regulate this relation is regarded as arbitrary.

Individualism as a social philosophy is merely a variant of the "live

and let live " and the *laissez-faire* attitudes. It expresses itself in the assertion that each person renders his best service to society by pursuing his own selfish interest. For instance, Frederick C. Howe recently asserted his allegiance to this doctrine:

> Possibly if the entire American people were to follow its own individual desires we would be a happier America, possibly a more richly endowed America, a more quickly reformed America. . . . Possibly too if we biologically followed our own wants and instincts we would correct quite naturally even the economic and political wrongs of the world.
>
> For myself, I was quite fifty years of age before I had the courage to believe that I had any right to live my own life, and to do what I chose. "I was my brother's keeper." [1]

Anarchism. If *laissez-faire* holds that the less government the better, its logical outcome is philosophical anarchism. Not long ago the writer heard the president of an anarchist meeting say: " We pay our taxes, but we resent paying them. We think that the only good use for a policeman is helping children cross streets without being run over." The anarchist is likely to argue that people are bad because we have prisons; that the use of force by society is what stirs up evil in men; that we break laws because there are laws to break; and that if only all coercion and force between people could be removed, all evil would at once disappear.

Pacifism. A special form of the revolt against the use of coercion is pacifism, which directs its energies against the use of war as a form of force. I have heard people argue that when Germany invaded Belgium the Belgians should never have taken up arms, but should have declared a universal holiday, and should have received the invaders as guests. The pacifist insisted that the Germans could not possibly have slain or injured such non-resisting people, and that there would have been no war.

An attitude such as that just quoted has a negative emphasis. It holds that the vital thing is to give up the use of force, even when used in self-defense. But the great body of pacifists take a more positive stand. They are looking for constructive things which they can do to create a world civilization where war will not be possible. This attitude is well indicated in the following statement, issued by the National Study Conference of Representatives from Twenty-Eight Communions

[1] *Survey*, Apr. 1, '26, p. 33.

(including the leading Protestant denominations) on December 3, 1925:

War is the most colossal calamity and scourge of modern life. It is not inevitable. It is the supreme enemy of mankind. Its futility is beyond question. Its continuance is the suicide of civilization. We are determined to outlaw the whole war system. Economics and industry, social welfare and progressive civilization, morality and religion, all demand a new international order in which righteousness and justice between nations shall prevail and in which nation shall fear nation no longer, and prepare for war no more.

For the attainment of this high ideal the life of the nations must be controlled by the spirit of mutual goodwill made effective through appropriate agencies. War must be outlawed and declared a crime by international agreement. The war spirit and war feelings must be banished and war preparations abandoned. Permanent peace based on equal justice and fair dealing for all alike, both great and small, must be achieved. The Kingdom of God in the relations of nations must be established.

This stupendous, difficult, and urgent task challenges the Churches of America and all citizens of goodwill. It is a moral and religious as well as an economic and political task. All the forces of civilization must therefore unite in this noble adventure of faith and purpose.

But the abolition of war is not merely an aspiration of churchmen; it is the avowed policy of the leading nations of the world. When Germany entered the League of Nations, M. Briand, speaking for France, welcomed her ancient enemy in these words:

No more war! No more shall we resort to brutal and sanguinary methods of settling our disputes, even though differences between us still exist. Henceforth it will be for the judge to declare the law. Just as individual citizens take their difficulties to be settled by a magistrate, so shall we bring ours to be settled by pacific procedure. Away with rifles, machine guns, cannon! Clear the way for conciliation, arbitration, peace! Countries do not go down in history as great solely through the heroism of their sons on the battlefield or the victories that they gain there. It is a far greater tribute to their greatness if, faced with difficulties, they can stand firm, be patient, and appeal to right to safeguard their just interests.

Dr. Stresemann, in speaking for Germany said:

The most durable foundation of things is a policy inspired by mutual understanding and mutual respect between peoples. . . . The German government is resolved to persevere unswervingly in this line of policy.[1]

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Sept. 26, '26.

Non-Resistance. Not only with respect to government and to war, but also in all other social relations, the importance of giving up the use of coercion has been emphasized. The insistence that non-resistance is the basis of all true and lovely human relationships, and the only condition on which one may attain real spiritual development is the great burden of the teachings of Gandhi, of St. Francis, and of Jesus.

In an article in *Young India* in 1926 Gandhi published the following statement:

> Non-resistance is restraint voluntarily undertaken for the good of society. It is therefore an intensely active purifying inward force. It is often antagonistic to the material good of the non-resister. It may even mean his utter material ruin. It is rooted in internal strength, never weakness. It must be consciously exercised. It therefore presupposes ability to offer physical resistance.
>
> The acquisition of the spirit of non-resistance is a matter of long training in self-denial and appreciation of the hidden forces within ourselves. It changes one's outlook upon life. It puts different values upon things and upsets previous calculations. And when once it is set in motion, its effect, if it is intensive enough, can overtake the whole universe. It is the greatest force because it is the highest expression of the soul. All need not possess the same measure of conscious non-resistance for its full operation. It is enough for one person only to possess it, even as one general is enough to regulate and dispose of the energy of millions of soldiers who enlist under his banner even though they know not the why and wherefore of his dispositions.

The words of Jesus on this subject are so familiar as to be very widely ignored:

> You have heard the saying, *An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.*
> But I tell you, you are not to resist an injury:
> whoever strikes you on the right cheek,
> turn the other to him as well;
> whoever wants to sue you for your shirt,
> let him have your coat as well;
> whoever forces you to one mile,
> go two miles with him;
> give to the man who begs from you,
> and turn not away from him who wants to borrow,
> give to any one who asks you,
> and do not ask your goods back from any one who has taken them.

You have heard the saying, *You must love your neighbor and hate your enemy*, I tell you, my hearers,
love your enemies, do good to those who hate you;
bless those who curse you, pray for those who abuse you.
You must love your enemies and help them,
you must lend to them without expecting any return;
then you will have a rich reward.
Blessed are the merciful!
they will find mercy.
Blessed are the peacemakers!
they will be ranked sons of God.[1]

Self-Abnegation. Non-resistance must not be confused with self-abnegation. The commands of Jesus not to resist evil have a strong positive element in them. "Go two miles with him." "Let him have your coat as well." "Do good to them that despitefully use you and persecute you." "Be reconciled to your brother." Such imperatives as these suggest, not a spineless submission to abuse, but the giving up of violence and coercion, as a first step toward the attainment of a relationship of coöperation. The great command is to love our neighbors; non-resistance to evil is simply a detail in this program.

Yet there are numerous instances where the attitude taken is simply one of passive submission. Many parents give complete rein to their children, and allow them to abuse the rights of the parents and of every one else in the vicinity, under the impression that this is an enlightened and ideal policy. There have been wives whose life endeavor has been to submit meekly to their husbands. Some of the modern experiments in education are based upon the simple idea of giving the children complete freedom. The extreme pacifist position is based upon this notion. There are those who argue that the employer should simply turn over his business to his employees. Any such passive surrender to the *purposes* of another is likely to mean a tragic sacrifice of his highest *possibilities*.

In the conflict between bodily desires and spiritual ideals the ascetics took self-abnegation as the solution. The cravings for food, for comfort, for courtship, and for approval were to be made to submit utterly in the contest with holiness. The flesh was to be conquered and the spirit to triumph absolutely. Was this the sanest, the most wholesome, the most creative solution?

[1] Matthew 5: 7–9, 38–44; Luke 6: 27–35, reprinted from *The Holy Bible: A New Translation* by James Moffatt, Copyright 1926, by George H. Doran Company.

Conclusion. All of the social philosophies summarized in this chapter have one element in common: They all build upon the social cursedness of coercion. To some of the thinkers represented the mere giving up of violence appears to be enough to solve all social problems; to others the elimination of coercion is merely a first step toward a positive program for building creative social relations in which human purposes shall not thwart each other, but shall release, stimulate, facilitate, and integrate each other. The next few chapters will indicate further steps toward such a program.

Summary

A. As an antidote for the tendencies toward domination and exploitation we have the desire for approval, sympathy, the craving for liberty, the idea of equality, and the demand for justice.

1. In particular, the tendency toward the use of coercion is met by the craving for freedom.

B. The aversion to having people forced to do what they do not want to do takes form in the following social philosophies:

2. "Live and let live," and minimum interference, are natural methods of avoiding conflict as long as resources and opportunities are abundant; this remedy, however, fails to meet the following difficulties:

a. The world is too small to give room, without adjustment, for all the purposes which are expanding in it.

b. Contagious behavior makes people want to use the very things which other people are using.

c. Domination, exploitation, and cruelty cannot be satisfied by minimum interference; they seek out victims.

d. Contact with other purposes is needed for stimulus and reinforcement.

3. When avoidance of conflict becomes impossible, the oppressed are likely to assert by force their demand for freedom.

4. The philosophy of *laissez-faire* has to do, not with the right to throw off a tyrannous government, but with the demand that existing governments interfere as little as possible with the purposes of their citizens.

a. This philosophy embodies also the idea that natural processes succeed best without conscious human interference.

b. A variant of this attitude is individualism.

5. Anarchism carries to its logical extreme the idea that the less government there is, the better.

6. Pacifism directs its energies against the use of war as a form of force.

7. Great religious teachers have insisted that non-resistance toward coercion is the basis of all true and lovely human relationships.

a. They urge non-resistance as a first step toward a positive program of love.

b. Self-abnegation, however, is merely a supine acquiescence toward coercion, without any creative effort to substitute coöperation.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

13D1. How do you feel when some one asks you leading questions? Why? Why do you resent an "impertinent" question? Why resent over-familiarity?

13D2. What is the meaning of the slogan "personal liberty"? To what extent is the demand for it justified?

13D3. Give an incident where some one tried to *make* you do something. What was your reaction? Under what conditions do you obey commands cheerfully and heartily? Why? Discuss the relative merits of direct and of indirect suggestion.

13D4. What meaning might the "freedom of the will" have, as interpreted along the lines of this chapter?

13D5. What instances do you know of where animals other than apes showed special signs of being disinclined to accept the purposes which their masters attempted to impose?

13D6. How do you feel when you discover that some one is experimenting on you? Why?

13D7. Do you know any people who are especially free in giving advice and offering help to you? What is your attitude toward them? Why?

13D8. Do you know of any people who can best be managed by asking them to do the opposite of what you wish them to do? Give details.

13D9. How far does the demand for freedom relate to purposes as distinguished from possibilities? Work out the answer to this question in terms of cases.

13D10. Whiting Williams found that workers in coal mines, who were paid by the day, and who worked away off by themselves in the mines, kept at the job all day with enormously less loafing than workers in steel mills with the foreman's eye right on them. How would you account for this fact?

13D11. Discuss the following remarks, reported by the *Survey* for November 1, 1926, p. 166, as having been made by President William O. Thompson to the freshmen of Ohio State University, in 1925:

> The best thing to do is to do what you are told. . . . For an individual coming into the university and saying "I want to do what I want to do" means starting endless trouble for himself and every one else.

13D12. What has been the foundation of the attitude of the United States in its foreign relations? Who laid this foundation? How did the method of *laissez-faire* break down when America entered the World War? How has it broken down in our relations with Mexico?

13D13. What were the possibilities of intellectual isolation a century ago as compared with to-day? What bearings has this change upon the feasibility of *laissez-faire* as a social policy?

13D14. What is the correct spelling: "Passivism" or "Pacifism"? What is the significance of the difference?

13D15. The *Literary Digest* for April 24, 1926, p. 10, quotes Senator Reed as having spoken of Illinois as a state where "the American voter has not been inoculated with the damnable virus of internationalism." Just what did the Senator mean? What was the basis of his attitude? To what extent do you agree with him?

13D16. In connection with the failure of the United States to enter the World Court, the *Literary Digest* for November 27, 1926, p. 9, quotes the *Boston Herald* as making the following comment:

> We happen to occupy a portion of a planet that is getting very small, and because we are bound to be dragged into any great war the future may produce, we ought to give our aid and support to an international tribunal whose aim is to reduce friction and promote peace.

On the other hand, the *Omaha Bee* is quoted as follows:

> We will remain free to deal with our own affairs, to help any nation without getting consent from any other nation, and to deal justly and righteously with all.

With which of these positions do you agree, and why?

13D17. It is reported that the Soviet government has been encouraging various minority nationalities in Russia to reduce to writing and to teach in the schools the multitudinous local native dialects. What motives would promote such a policy? What do you think of its wisdom?

13D18. When, if ever, is a revolution justified?

13D19. How does public opinion affect the conduct of affairs under other forms of government than democracy?

13D20. Some one has said that freedom consists in subjection to law. What truth is there in this statement?

13D21. What is the real difference between the activities of a slave and those of a freeman?

13D22. Many radicals have suggested the more or less complete abolition of property rights as a means of eliminating social conflict and injustice. Discuss the value of this proposal in the light of the facts brought out in our chapters on " The Expanded Personality," and on " Social Conflict."

13D23. What effect on exploitation would the complete abolition of money have? What fundamental distinctions are there between the craving for money and for other kinds of power?

13D24. To what extent would you say that social welfare during the next fifty years will depend upon what the government does or does not do? Would you say 10 per cent? Fifty per cent? Ninety per cent? (Ross)

13D25. " Under the Anglo-Saxon government, no king could ever make a law, but could only declare what the law was." Discuss the significance of this fact.

13D26. To what extent do the American voters actually crave to control the government? On what evidence do you base your opinion? What relation has this question to the present chapter?

13D27. How would the *laissez-faire* theory work out as applied to such problems as workmen's compensation for industrial accidents? Heresy? Divorce? Sex morals? Education? Housing?

13D28. How did pioneer life affect American traditions and character? Why?

13D29. " Present-Day Child Labor Problems " were defined as follows in 1926 by the National Child Labor Committee. How would the attainment of these objectives affect American liberty?

To bring the 14-year age limit up to standard in 40 states.

To establish an 8-hour day, 48-hour week for children in 28 states.

To prohibit work after 7 P.M. for children in 32 states.

To establish an educational requirement for children entering employment in 28 states.

To require health certificates for children before entering employment in 31 states.

To secure protection for children under 18 years against dangerous employment in practically every state.

To regulate the harmful employment of children in tenement home-work, street trades, and forms of agricultural exploitation wherever found.

To secure adequate provision for the effective administration and enforcement of the child-labor law.

To arouse the public to a realization of what constitutes harmful child labor, and a demand that it be eliminated.

13D30. Comment on the following, taken from the *Literary Digest* for September 18, 1926, p. 24:

That much of our work in reforestation is going to be wasted because it opposes, instead of following, natural laws of tree growth, is charged in the *Paper Trade Journal* (New York), by Charles R. Berry, in an article entitled "Survival of the Fittest." The modern physician relies largely on nature to effect his cures, confining his efforts to the removal of obstacles from her path. This is what Mr. Berry would have our reforesters do. Nature will grow her own trees, he believes, and, moreover, will grow them where they belong and where they will thrive. All that we have to do is to fight nature's enemies, of which fire is the most dangerous. We read:

"It is pretty generally conceded that nature, left to her own peculiar devices and given her fulness of time, operates unerringly toward the goal of perfection. The axiom may be particularly applied to reforestation."

13D31. If a prominent business man taking the *laissez-faire* attitude were accused of having leanings toward anarchism, what defense could he offer?

13D32. What do you think of Ben Franklin's saying, "There never was a good war or a bad peace"?

13D33. Discuss the value of preparedness as a means of avoiding war.

13D34. What attitude do the officers in a standing army have toward an impending war? Why?

13D35. What arguments are there for and against the suggestion that only governments themselves and never private concerns should manufacture munitions of war?

13D36. In the *Christian Century* for November 4, 1926, p. 1352, appeared an article commenting on the stand taken, as to war, by the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America in 1926 as compared with 1925. In this article occur the following sentences:

> Manifestly some one has been tampering with the federal council's convictions on the war question since the document in 1925 was issued. An old conception has been revived. It is the devil's distinction between aggressive and defensive war. . . . From the high, clear level of simple, direct opposition to war as such, the federal council now falls to the casuistical and obscurantist level of opposition to so-called "aggressive" war only. . . . This plainly is the language not of Christian faith but of pagan international diplomacy. The best things this document can think of are the conventional and futile ideas of disarmament, arbitration, and security, all saturated with the cant of "international goodwill." . . . The soul of the church is yearning for some insight by which it may be freed from its participation not only in the war system but in the fatuous and sterile discussion of trick devices for abolishing war. . . . All puerile proposals of this sort are but trifling with the big business at hand.

By what methods is the *Christian Century* seeking to attain its pacifistic ends? Discuss the wisdom of such strategy.

13D37. What might one mean by "one-sided social accommodation" as a substitute for self-abnegation? How successful do you think such an attitude might be? How admirable or contemptible?

13D38. What writers can you name who have attacked most violently the doctrines of non-resistance and of self-abnegation? To what extent do their arguments apply to non-resistance as distinguished from self-abnegation?

13D39. How thoroughly do members of Christian churches practice the doctrine of non-resistance? What reasons can you suggest for instances where it has not been applied?

13D40. What instances of self-abnegation do you know of? How successful were they in promoting the functioning of the people involved?

13D41. In England people may criticize the government freely on the streets; in fact, the police offer protection to the "soap-box demagogue." What is your opinion of such freedom of speech?

What effect is it likely to have on social unrest? (Whiting Williams, *Mainsprings of Men*, p. 188)

13D42. What relation have the constitutional guarantees of freedom of assemblage and of the press to the subject matter of this chapter? What happened to these freedoms during the World War? Why?

13D43. Should a man be given freedom to say that which is not true, not wise, or not wholesome? Why or why not?

13D44. Some people have suggested that our "freedom of the press" amounts to letting the moneyed class maintain a lot of newspapers for circulating misleading propaganda intended to delude the people in the interest of this class. What is your opinion about this? On what is that opinion based? What has this question of freedom of the press to do with *laissez-faire?* Where else do similar problems arise?

13D45. Discuss the significance of the following comment on the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor at Detroit, by Robert W. Bruère in the *Survey* for December 15, 1926, p. 374:

> William Z. Foster, stigmatized as the "arch-priest of communism in America," sat cynically smiling in the gallery, but he and others who shared his views were more dogmatically barred from the floor of the convention than the A. F. of L. leaders were from Detroit's pulpits, inasmuch as the energetic action of certain representatives of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America unlocked the doors of many churches to the protagonists of the trade unions before the convention was over.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

13K1. Review J. A. Hobson's *Free-Thought in the Social Sciences.* (Five hours)

13K2. In the *Literary Digest* for August 14, 1926, p. 9, reference is made to "A Fight for Freedom of the Press." Read up on this and similar cases, and present a report. (Time credit to be arranged)

13K3. Read the Declaration of Independence carefully. What other illustrations of points in this chapter, besides those cited here, can you point out? (One hour)

13K4. What was the general level of intelligence of the conscientious objectors in our World War draft? (Information on this point will be found in the *National Academy of Science Memoirs* for 1921, Vol. 15.) What other information can you find about these men who

refused to participate in the war? How do you interpret your findings? (Two to ten hours)

13K5. Bring together a group of typical quotations to illustrate the position taken by various groups of pacifists. Study the official statements of the Society of Friends (Quakers). Read statements on the subject by Jane Addams. Look up quotations from persons taking more extreme stands. Classify and interpret your results. (Three to ten hours)

13K6. Make a collection of sayings of St. Francis and of Gandhi reflecting their attitudes toward the use of coercion. (Three to six hours)

13K7. Look up and read articles listed in the *Readers' Guide* touching on the attitude of the Fascist government in Italy toward St. Francis. Write a brief commentary. (Two to four hours)

13K8. Make a constructively critical study of the activities of the American Civil Liberties Bureau. (Two to five hours)

13K9. Make a collection of references to love of liberty in song, poetry, and story. Use as one reference Sinclair's anthology: *The Cry for Justice.* (One to five hours)

13K10. The *New York Times* for October 24, 1926, gives the following facts about the Second Congress of National Minorities at Geneva in September of that year:

> Four commissions were constituted in order to examine the rights of the various minorities represented: Education, Legislative Representation, Economic Equality, and Political Rights.
>
> Educational inequality was complained of by a large majority of the delegates. Nearly as large a majority complained of economic persecution. This became the subject of resolutions adopted against regional tariffs, State concessions and monopolies, the introduction of foreign labor and State discrimination in favor of majority industry, commerce, etc., at the expense of minority interests.
>
> Similar resolutions were unanimously adopted asserting the political rights of minorities to be equal in every way to those of the national majority and declaring that in all legislatures representation as determined not only by the ethnic ratio but also by property, industrial and social worth, and interests.

Make a study of the general problem of national minorities as related to freedom as a solution of social relations. (Time credit to be arranged)

13K11. Professor Robert E. Park says in the *American Journal of Sociology:*

Kagawa, a graduate of a Christian college in Tokyo and of the Princeton Theological Seminary, is, or was, at the same time a guild socialist, secretary of the Japanese Labor Federation, a social worker in the slums in Tokyo, the author of what is perhaps the most widely read novel in present-day Japan. In these capacities he has played a striking rôle in the present-day life and social politics of Japan.

Read Kagawa's autobiography: *Before the Dawn.* Note particularly the material in this autobiography which relates to self-abnegation and non-resistance. (Four hours)

13K12. Make a study of " Freedom in Company-Owned Towns." Materials can be gathered from data on coal towns, steel towns, and towns devoted to and owned by other industries.

13K13. Write an interpretative review of *Non-Voting,* by Charles E. Merriam and Harold F. Gosnell. (Four hours)

13K14. The *New York Times* for August 29, 1926, carries an article by Clair Price, containing the following paragraphs:

A two-year exposure to the opinion of the world has made no change in the bold program of the Danish Socialist Government for complete disarmament. The composition of the upper house of Parliament has prevented the Government's enacting its program into law. Accordingly it has submitted its program to opinion, both at home and abroad, throughout the two years during which it has held office.

The political deadlock in Denmark is such that the Government at present is helpless to carry out its program of abolishing the Danish navy and army. The next general election takes place in 1928, and present indications are that its major issue will be the proposal to abolish the defenses of the country and throw Denmark upon the mercy of its powerful neighbors as a confessedly defenseless State.

Look up additional material, and write a paper presenting the arguments for and against this proposal. Discuss also the question of the possible extension of this remedy to other nations. (Three hours)

13K15. Lewis S. Gannet, writing in the *Nation* for June 30, 1926, under the title " A Nation of Anarchists," says:

China is an anarchists' heaven. There is no government worthy of the name; people are happiest where there is least government; and the worst evils of Chinese life obviously spring from the attempts of misguided people to govern her.

A peasant in West China does not care whether the government in Peking is republican, or monarchist, or soviet-revolutionary, as long as he can harvest and sell his grain in peace. He knows that he can deal with his neighbors without a government. Only when men fighting for political control rob his farmyard, conscript his sons, and ruin his fields is he disturbed.

Gather material from other sources to indicate whether these statements are justified. Interpret your conclusions. (Five hours)

13K16. Make a study of the problem of independence for the Philippines. (Time credit to be arranged)

13K17. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre presents facts summarized as follows in the *Readers' Digest* for December, 1926, p. 473:

A vast intellectual renaissance has manifested itself among the students of Latin America, which shows a profound divergence between the thought of the rising generation and of the generation that preceded it. The students are championing new principles and adopting new attitudes, not only toward intellectual life, but also toward political and social policies.

The opposition between the new spirit of youth and the extreme conservatism of the university faculties came to a head in the University of Cordoba in Argentina eight years ago. The University of Cordoba was founded in 1614 by the Spanish friar Trejo y Zanabria. The students launched a true revolution, demanding the repeal of the old university statutes, change of professors, abolition of ecclesiastical control over higher instruction, professorships open to all, academic freedom, and other reforms. They demanded the right to have student representatives in the directing council of the universities, and their right to share in the election of professors. The movement was violent. The University of Cordoba was invaded and occupied *manu militari* by the students.

The opposition between the old and the young is to-day stronger than ever. The old are nationalists, anxious to keep Latin America divided into 20 republics; but the students have declared themselves against this nationalism and in favor of a political union of America, and accuse the old politicians of complicity in imperialism. For this reason they are trying to bring about a union between themselves and the workers and peasants in order to resist every nationalistic division within Latin America. Solidarity with the people of the countries most menaced by American imperialism, such as Mexico, Cuba, Santo Domingo, Nicaragua, and Panama, is also the motive of great campaigns of propaganda among the Latin-American students.

Make a search for additional material on this revolt. Gather data also as to the influence of students in revolutionary movements in

Germany, Russia, China, and the United States. Write a paper on "Students as Revolutionists." (Time credit to be arranged)

13K18. The *New York Times* for November 28, 1926, carries an article discussing the divergence of interest between northern and southern California, and referring to a movement to divide these into two states. Make a study of the factors underlying this agitation, and present the pros and cons on the separation question. (Four hours)

13K19. Make a study of Henry Ford's attitude toward charity. (Three hours)

13K20. Study the reasons given for the autonomy of departments in some stores, or for decentralization in certain large corporations. (Time credit to be arranged)

13L21. Write out a detailed account of some case in which a threatened conflict was avoided by applying the attitude of avoidance or "live and let live." (One hour)

13W22. Miss Follett says, in *Creative Experience:* "The doctrine of consent is the 'rationalization' by which arbitrary authority is to-day possible." Read enough of the context to be sure that you understand what she means, and then write a paper developing the problem of the relationship between consent and freedom. (Two hours)

13W23. Write a brief paper on Lincoln's attitude toward the right to revolt. What similar or contrasted attitudes can you find in the writings or actions of other American statesmen? (Two to four hours)

13W24. Write a paper summarizing the attitude of Nietsche on coercion. (Two to five hours)

13W25. Write a paper on "The Contagion of the Idea of Liberty." Include a discussion of the sources from which the authors of the Declaration of Independence drew their inspiration, and a summary of the ways in which our Declaration has been a stimulus to other peoples in their search for freedom. Articles listed in the *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature* under "Declaration of Independence" will be found to contain information on these points. (Three to six hours)

13W26. Present a written report on "Herbert Spencer's Conception of the Functions of Government." (Three to ten hours)

13W27. Rousseau, more than a decade before our Declaration of Independence, asserted that "All men are born free and politically equal in the State of Nature. . . . All men being equal by natural

right, none can have any right to encroach on another's equal right." Make a study of Rousseau's social philosophy with a view to discovering how he arrived at these conclusions. (Five hours)

13W28. Adam Smith was an outstanding figure in the development of the *laissez-faire* school of thought. Present a critical analysis of the line of research or reasoning by which he arrived at his conclusions on this point. (Four hours)

13W29. One of the early modern victories for freedom was won by John Locke's plea for religious toleration. Present a summary of the position taken in his essay on this subject, and of the practical effects which his work in this field produced. (Two hours)

13W30. John Stuart Mill asserted that state control of the individual is a necessary evil. Upon what data did he found this conclusion? What positions did he take on practical social questions related to freedom? (Three hours)

13W31. William Graham Sumner, Professor of Social Science at Yale from 1872–1910, maintained that the wretchedly poor and poverty-stricken are not fitted to survive in nature's competitive system. He held that charity interferes with nature's processes and to that extent retards the evolutionary movement of society. Prepare a critical analysis of his conclusions on this point and of the data from which he drew them. (Three hours)

13K32. What features of the coöperative movement, as described by James Peter Warbasse in his *Coöperative Democracy*, are pertinent to this chapter? (Five hours)

CHAPTER XIV

EQUALITY AND JUSTICE AS SUBSTITUTES FOR CONFLICT

In addition to the demand for liberty, the idea of equality is a powerful antidote for the tendency toward oppression. The world is too crowded, relationships with other people are too unavoidable — and too helpful — to let *laissez-faire* become an adequate remedy for social conflict.

The Demand for Equality Arises from Putting Oneself in the Place of Others. The tendency to put oneself in the place of others, discussed in the chapter on "Contagious Behavior," leads naturally to a demand that others be treated like oneself and that oneself receive the treatment given to others. It becomes thus the foundation of the idea of equality. The conception of equality leads naturally to reciprocity. Critical developments from attempts to apply equality lead to the conception and practice of justice. Equality and justice underlie the conception and practice of democracy. The tendency to put oneself in the place of others is, then, a foundation of equality, reciprocity, justice, and democracy. The central importance of these ideas makes it desirable to trace the connection a little further.

The Self Is Interpreted in Terms of Others; Others in Terms of the Self. We build up our ideas of ourselves through our observations of others, and we build up our ideas of others through our observations of ourselves. A baby makes a certain sort of noise when it is hurt, and so comes to associate the sensation of pain with the noise of crying. Later it hears some one else cry, and the noise brings up the memory of the pain which has gone with that noise in its own experience. The child's idea of the other person thus comes to include the idea that the other person suffers pain, as the child himself does. But the other child when crying screws up its face and the like. The first child, observing these forms of behavior as going with the pain cry, gets an idea of how he himself looks when crying.

In somewhat this same way the meaning of words is conveyed. The child hears the mother say, with smiles and caresses, "I love you!" and links up these actions with these words. When it finds itself smiling and caressing some one else, the words "I love you" arise to fit the mood. Only by this process of interpreting the behavior of others in terms of one's own experiences, and one's own experiences in terms of the behavior of others, can the individual build up a self at all. But this means putting the self in the place of the other. We use the other as a mirror to tell us how we ourselves look when we feel and act in certain ways, and we use our own experiences as a means of understanding how others feel when they act in ways in which we ourselves have acted.

This recognition that others are like us is intensified by our habit of borrowing action patterns. One boy sees another climbing a tree. At once the first boy wants to climb. He goes through the experience which he has seen the other boy go through. One girl sees another with a doll. At once the first girl wants a doll, too; she wants to put herself through the experience which the other girl is going through. The contagion of emotion and of ideas also helps to reinforce the sense of kinship.

The recognition of another person as a person is not inborn. Miss Verry noted that when the three-year-old children first came to play school they treated each other merely as physical objects. But as they dealt with each other they discovered that the others reacted as they themselves reacted. When they tried to take things away these companions resisted and yelled, as they themselves yelled and resisted when some one else tried to take their things away. When they patted and stroked each other the response was the smiling and laughing which they themselves gave as response to the same stimuli. Inevitably they saw themselves reflected in the personalities of the other children. They came to share each other's activities, emotions and purposes. They came to put themselves in the place of the others.

Origin of Animism. So natural does it become to think of others as having personalities like ourselves that children and savages assume that many dead objects are conscious. One has only to listen to a little girl talking to her doll, to realize how vividly she pictures the pretended personality. The writer has heard a child at the age of seven repeatedly speak to a toy balloon as if it were alive. The "animistic"

beliefs of savages, putting spirits into trees, stones, rivers, and the like, grow naturally out of this tendency.

Origin of Equality Ideal. But this putting of the self in the other's place tends toward equality. "If he does it, why can't I do it?" "He can have a turn as long as my turn." "Divide it up into pieces so that we can each have as much as everybody else." This is the simplest and most obvious solution of a problem where purposes have to be fitted together. But even small children are quick to allow for real differences. "Daddy is the biggest; he can have the biggest piece of cake." "Mary is sick; she can have my place on the couch." "Freddie is crippled; he can ride in the cart and we will pull him."

Three little girls whom the writer knows very well illustrate clearly the early stages of the development of the idea of equality. If you call Beatrice in and give her a piece of candy, she asks at once, "Where are the pieces for Janet and Barbara?" She puts herself spontaneously into the places of her sisters. She has their interests in mind. This is not the result of training, as far as her parents can judge. It is a natural outgrowth.

These children like to be carried on their father's shoulders. One night Beatrice was naughty at bedtime, and as a punishment her father carried only Barbara to bed on his shoulders. Barbara burst into tears. "It isn't fair!" she protested. "I got a ride and Beatrice didn't." The father offered to give Beatrice a ride and then to give Barbara a second, but this still brought violent protests from Barbara.

Miss Verry reports a number of cases in which children applied to others the rules which they found applied to themselves. For instance:

> Albert went to the slide at once, and pushing in, would have gone down. Miss S. explained the necessity of taking turns and he at once began to watch the others. When any one got out of place, he would either tell him to take turns, or call the teacher's attention to the child.[1]

Not so different is the behavior of the radio public as noted by Major Gen. J. G. Harbord, president of the Radio Corporation of America. He observes:

> The broadcasting of services has been so popular as to indicate a strong religious influence in the country. However, if we put a Methodist in the air

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 59.

to-night we must follow up quickly with a Presbyterian, and so on down the line. Radio must have a balanced religious program.[1]

Some housewives, when asked how they get on so well with their servants, have said: "I never ask my help to do anything which I am unwilling to do myself." Certain successful army officers act upon the rule that they will never send their men into a place where they are afraid themselves to go. In both instances, the rule is based upon the idea of putting the self into the place of the other.

Miss Wald tells of an orthodox Jewish father whose daughter had married an Irish Catholic and thus "insulted his religion." In his bitterness about it, he expressed his feeling that the Catholic mother was as greatly wronged as he was. He saw the situation from her point of view as well as his own.

Jane Addams says that in her youth she, like Arnold Toynbee, was "perpetually disturbed over the apparent inequalities of mankind."[2] She speaks of

> . . . an impression which I carried about with me almost constantly for a period of two years and which culminated finally in a visit to Tolstoy, — that the Settlement, or Hull-House at least, was a mere pretense and travesty of the simple impulse "to live with the poor" so long as the residents did not share the common lot of hard labor and scant fare.[3]

Similarly Lillian Wald says, after describing her experience in moving into the top floor of a tenement so as to share the life of the poor:

> Any pride in the sacrifice of material comfort which might have risen within us was effectually inhibited by the constant reminder that we two young persons occupied exactly the same space as the large families on every floor below.[4]

The Popular Habit of Putting Oneself in the Place of the Other. The sense of justice comes out constantly in the tendency to reverse situations and "see how we would feel if we were in the other fellow's place," or vice versa. For instance, in connection with the outcry against measures taken by the British government to protect its rubber producers, the *New York World* observed that

[1] *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Nov. 14, '26, p. 5.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 41.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 260.
[4] *House on Henry Street.*

four years ago several of the Washington officials who have recently been denouncing the voluntary restrictions on rubber output in the British East Indies were endeavoring to force Cuban sugar-planters to curtail production in order that our domestic beet and cane growers might exact higher prices.

Bandits in China had held Americans for ransoms. The *Dallas News* observed:

Just as soon as we get through with our mail bandits, we'd better shoot in another stiff note to Peking about order in China.

A British gunboat, sent up a Chinese river to protect British property, had engaged in a bombardment. The *Detroit News* suggested:

It would be pretty droll if China sent a gunboat up the Mississippi to a point opposite Herrin, Illinois, to protect some hand laundry in the vicinity.

In connection with disorders in Poland the *Arkansas Gazette* observed:

Naturally Americans don't understand the situation in Poland. We don't even understand the situation in Herrin.

Contrasts produced by putting the self in the place of another are a favorite comic element:

The Thirst for Vengeance. — "Willie, what is your greatest ambition?" "To wash mother's ears." — *Successful Farming.*

Sometimes the emotion-generating contrast is derived from failure of the joke-subject to put himself in the place of another:

True Tolerance. — "Our pastor," writes a subscriber from Ohio, "says he is unalterably opposed to religion in politics and will never vote for any one but a Protestant." — *Outlook.*

Reciprocity. The idea of reciprocity — of doing to others as they do to you — is a special form of the notion of equality as it develops out of putting the self in the place of the other. Its slogans are: "If you do this for me, I will do that for you." "A fair exchange is no robbery." "Turn about is fair play." Reciprocity may arise through a spontaneous sense of obligation to some one who has done one a favor, or it may take the form of an explicit agreement. Some instances of the spontaneous type of reciprocity are as follows.

On one occasion Miss Wald became acquainted with a group of young men who needed a place to carry on their athletic activities.

She arranged to provide them at her settlement with a punching bag, a boxing trainer, and other facilities which they needed for the functioning which they craved. Some weeks later a small handbill came into her hands. It stated: "EAT 'EM ALIVE! Grand Annual Ball of the Star Athletics of the Nurses' Settlement!" The place which the boys had selected for their dance was a notorious hall on the Bowery. They intended to raise a large sum of money for the purpose of making a present to Miss Wald. She had been helpful to them; they spontaneously wanted to help her in return.

Essentially the same social reaction is involved in the incident related as follows in the *Survey* for November 15, 1925 (p. 198):

> The Wilmer Institute opened a few days ago at Johns Hopkins University is a tribute of appreciation and affection to Dr. Wilmer, and through the endowment of his skill, the establishment of the greatest center in the world for research and treatment in the field of diseases of the eye. Started by a woman whose own sight Dr. Wilmer had saved, the original plan was to raise a comparatively modest endowment of $100,000 to make it possible for him to continue research and to conduct his hospital without loss to himself. As evidence of faith in Dr. Wilmer's work heaped up in the form of solid money contributions, that mark was moved on to $1,500,000, to form and endow a permanent institution which would survive the man who had occasioned it. Ultimately the sum became $3,000,000, and the Wilmer Institute opens as a part of Johns Hopkins University. No truer tribute could be made to the work of a man than the desire to make it possible for him to carry it on in the fullest freedom and with the greatest opportunity and to gather a group of associates in an undertaking which will survive his own working life.

In this institute a woman, whose ability to function through her eyes was saved by Dr. Wilmer, responds by enabling him to function on an expanding scale, and at the same time making available to others the service which saved her.

In the same way, if we are invited out to dinner, we feel uneasy until we have returned the invitation. If we get a Christmas present from some one whom we have failed to remember, we feel mortified.

But the process of spontaneous reciprocity works just as effectively in destructive ways. If one little boy calls another a bad name, the other is likely to reply in kind. When one man injures another, the sufferer is very apt to try to "get even." Indeed, primitive justice is founded on the *lex talionis* — "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a

tooth." The blood feud arises from the habit of evening up one murder by committing another.

Explicit reciprocity is the basis of the whole world of trade. Business is based upon exchange for mutual advantage. A "quid pro quo" is assumed in every business deal. Unless the business man gets "a fair return" for every service rendered he feels either that he is being cheated or that he is engaging in philanthropy.

In politics reciprocity sometimes takes the form of log-rolling. One senator offers to vote for a new post-office building in another senator's home state if the other senator will vote for the appointment of a certain friend of the first. More often, however, political obligations are of the tacitly assumed variety. A political boss, apparently at the time out of pure kindness, secured the appointment of a young medical graduate to the health department of a certain large city. The appointee assured his friends that he was under no obligation to the boss. Years later, however, when the man who had paid the expenses of the medical student while he got his education was running for office, the boss called in the health department employee and told him that he must either campaign against his old benefactor or forfeit his position.

In reciprocity, therefore, two or more purposes not only do not thwart each other, but each aids and enhances the other, yet without merging into one purpose. Reciprocity serves not merely as a means of resolving conflict between purposes already in contact, but also as a basis for bringing together on a fruitful basis purposes which otherwise would operate independently on a more meager scale. In that it differs from *laissez-faire* and justice, which are merely methods of adjusting purposes in conflict.

Political Equality. The idea of equality, arising as it does so naturally and spontaneously in the development of the self, has had a powerful influence upon the development of our political ideals. When, after the great inequalities of feudalism in the Middle Ages, revolutionists and reformers began to fight for equality, they touched on an ideal which seemed to have its roots in the very nature of things. Politically, the statement of the Declaration of Independence that "All men are created equal" became a foundation of our government. The gradual extension of the suffrage until all adults, male and female, white and colored, are constitutionally allowed one vote each, is a concrete expression of this theory. The jury system, whereby the accused is judged by his peers, or equals, is an expression of this ideal in

legal procedure. In theory all men are equal before the law. Our free public schools, from kindergarten through the university, have grown up as an expression in education of the theory of equality.

Religious Equality. In our religious history the idea of equality has had more importance among some denominations than among others. The Quaker movement represented, among other things, a rebellion against inequalities. Quakers refused to take off their hats in deference to supposed superiors; their use of "thee" and "thy" in addressing each other was a reaction against forms of speech which in the time of early Quakers were used to designate inequalities in rank; their adoption of uniform costumes in plain colors was an attempt to emphasize equality. The Congregational church, with its independent local churches, emphasized the democratic idea, and other Protestant churches have shown more or less tendency in this same direction.

Economic Equality. Economically the theory of equality in the United States has taken the form more of a belief in equality of opportunity than in equality of income. Our frontier has made it possible for the ambitious individual to rise from poverty to wealth, and we have taken pride in examples of those who have made this achievement. This interpretation of economic equality has not, however, always been the exclusive one. The same movement which brought in the idea of political equality in voting and before the courts gave to some people the idea of absolute equality of income. Scattered about in various parts of the United States, communities were founded in which absolute equality was striven for. Not only did the people in these communities wear the same kinds of clothing, but they lived in the same kinds of houses, ate the same simple food, and had all things in common. They even tried to share the work absolutely equally both in quantity and quality. Miss Wald repeats the story of the members of a community of this sort, called the Doukhobors, who believed that all work should be shared with absolute equality and hence voted against having any one person milk their single cow. The cow, unfortunately, was not a communist, and went dry.

Some of these communities were founded essentially on belief in economic equality, as for example those who followed the theories of the French socialist, Fourier. Other communities were primarily religious, and made economic equality merely one aspect of their fervent belief in equality before God. All of them alike attempted to

carry to its logical conclusion the theory that men are and should be literally equal.

Many of these communistic experiments came to early disaster because of the fact that men were not equally willing to work hard. More of them failed because of inability of people to work together on a basis of absolute equality. Some of them prospered greatly in a financial way, for a time, but gradually lost their hold upon the ideals of the younger generation.

Economic Inequality. In economic matters we have accepted, on the whole, the fact that people are not equal either in wealth, income, or opportunity. We are getting used to such facts as that the richest 500 people in the United States have as much income as the 2,000,000 poorest people have.[1] A few social workers and reformers are striving to bring about greater equality.

A plan to wave the magic wand of philanthropic wealth over New York's slum district, banishing it forever and replacing congested and insanitary tenements with model apartment buildings, separated by parks, fountains, and tree-lined avenues, has been laid before Mayor Walker by August Heckscher, of New York City, whose millions already have done much to better the condition of the poor. The plan, we are told in the *New York World*, calls for the expenditure of $500,000,000 in five years, half this sum to be raised jointly by the city and the State, the remainder to come from "500 wealthy and public-spirited citizens." Mr. Heckscher is said to be willing to subscribe $100,000,000 or one-fifth of the entire amount.

Mr. Heckscher, who came to this country a poor German immigrant in 1868, was asked by Mayor Walker to make a detailed study of housing conditions in New York and other large American and European cities. His present plan was born of this comprehensive survey. Returning from Europe recently, Mr. Heckscher wrote to Mayor Walker as follows:

"New York's slums are a disgrace to the city and the nation. So are those of other great American cities. To give a better idea of the congestion in New York, let me point out that there is one area in the slums of a little more than a square mile where 650 persons are housed to the acre; more than 400,000 to the mile; more people than there are in the total population of such cities as Seattle, Indianapolis, Providence, Louisville, Denver, Toledo, and Portland, Oregon.

"More than 70 per cent of the population of Greater New York have family incomes of less than $2,500. These people, especially the thousands

[1] National Bureau of Economic Research, *Income in the United States*, New York, 1921, p. 136.

whose income is below this sum, cannot pay high rentals, and they neither can nor should be permitted to continue to live in the wretched quarters that most of them now occupy. We talk a great deal about good citizenship, but how can we expect these miserable apologies for homes to give forth good citizens?" [1]

Mental Inequality. As to equality in education and in government, however, the issue is becoming more vivid. The Army mental tests have helped to raise this issue. We have usually taken it for granted that, with the exception of a few idiots and imbeciles, and a few geniuses, the great bulk of the American people were equal in native ability. The Army tests seem to show that millions of people in this country are dull mentally, while millions more are about average and still more millions are especially keen and clever. We are not alike. Tens of millions of us lack the mental ability ever to get into high school.

This issue is made more acute by the fact that hundreds of thousands more young people are trying to get college and university training than ever before. Thousands who try earnestly and industriously cannot pass the examinations. Yet many of our largest universities are maintained by the tax-payers whose own children sometimes are excluded. What is to be done?

Certain groups of social workers have accepted the fact of mental inequality and are turning their energies toward adjusting our social relations to unequal abilities. Katherine G. Ecob has reviewed the records of 415 feeble-minded from the records of the New York State Commission for Mental Defectives. These 415 defectives were living outside of institutions but were being supervised by four field agents working under the Commission. Out of the total number 13 were known to have been in court. Miss Ecob comments on these facts:

> For some time it has been known that intelligence is distributed from the highest to the lowest with no break in the curve. What is more evident than that the work of the world is distributed in the same way, from that which requires a great deal of intelligence to that which requires very little? For every degree of intelligence, except the very lowest, there is suitable work of some kind.[2]

Another type of effort of this sort is described as follows in the *New York Times* for January 9, 1927:

[1] *Literary Digest*, Nov. 6, '26, p. 12. [2] *Ungraded*, Vol. 9 (1924), pp. 125–32.

Whatever may be the common defect of character of the men who are flocking to the Bowery Y. M. C. A. in increasingly large numbers this winter, a psychological examination of 1,000 of these men has shown that more than one-third are possessed of normal or above the average intelligence.

A tabulation of the results of the first test, which have just been made public, show that of the 1,000 men examined 20 were of superior intelligence, 68 above the average, 275 normal, 219 dull, 265 on the border zone and 153 feeble-minded. Thus 63.7 per cent of the 1,000 men were below the normal standard of intelligence, while 36.3 per cent were of normal or superior intelligence.

The young men who show potentialities in the test are separated from those of lesser mentality who would not be likely to have capacity to profit from further education. This choice, guided to some extent by the results of the test, seemed justified, Mr. McMenamin said, because while many men, who made creditable scores in the test, fell down, due to some destructive habit or other weakness, there is no record of a man making a low score and then achieving great success.

The employment secretaries advise the men who show less than normal intelligence to learn trades that require skill with the hands. Many of them become hospital attendants, masons, lumbermen, shoemakers, sailors, canvas workers, leather workers, firemen, porters, cooks, textile workers, sheet metal workers, laborers, and factory workers. They are thus enabled to support themselves and in many cases earn more than the "white collar" workers.

It is the group of young men possessing normal or superior intelligence which benefits most from psychiatric study. There is a good chance that they can win back self-respect and their place in society. By sympathetic questioning and careful observation, the causes which contributed to each man's failure may be discovered and much may be done to direct his life into channels where he will be more likely to lead a well-adjusted life.

Not all social workers have accepted the fact of mental inequality, or the measures proposed for making social adjustments to it. The *Survey* quotes as follows President George B. Cutten, of Colgate University:

If the present hopes and expectations are realized the tests will result in a caste system as rigid as that of India, but on a rational and just basis. . . . One's intelligence quotient will eventually be known and persons will be classified thereby. Those of high intelligence will be directed into lines of occupation that call for leadership. . . . Each person will be directed on a scale of intelligence down to those whose work is of the most routine character of which an imbecile is capable.

What effect will this have on our so-called democracy? asks President Cutten. He replies:

It must inevitably destroy universal adult suffrage, by cutting off at least 25 per cent of the adults, those whose intelligence is so low as to be impossible of comprehending the significance of the ballot. On the other hand, it will throw the burden of responsibility of government where it belongs, on those of high intelligence, and we come back again to the rule of the aristocracy — this time the real and total aristocracy. For its own salvation the state must assume the obligation and responsibility of selecting this intellectual aristocracy, and having selected it see that it is properly trained.

The *Survey* comments editorially as follows:

This is, of course, not science. It is just what it was in Alexander Hamilton's time — an aspiration for a certain type of social order. But it now appears dressed in habiliments that claim to have been cut on scientific lines. The universities which espouse such doctrines of "intellectual aristocracy" seem to be getting farther and farther away from life — just as the medieval monastery did. They spend multiplied millions in research — with what results? Mainly, the growth of a great fear that "our intellectual aristocracy is being swamped by the mob." Instead of attempting to develop the intelligence of this "mob," as did Jefferson, who didn't think of people as a mob, they seek to segregate themselves from it. Will it work? And if it works, will it pay? [1]

Character Inequalities. Mental tests admittedly test only certain types of ability. The testing of character traits is still in its infancy. Yet data already at hand indicate that differences in temperament and in social attitudes appear as early as do differences in mental-test-ability. Indeed, character differences appear even among apes. Köhler says:

It is a part of the extraordinary variation in character of the chimpanzees that many of them will not intentionally incite to mass attack, while others of them, when they are in a bad mood, will readily do so, fly into a rage over a trifle, and behave viciously in order to incite the herd.[2]

Of the pre-school children two to four years old, Miss Verry observed:

The differences among the children in sociability, and in apparent desire for and ease in making social contacts, are very great. . . . Sylvester

[1] *Survey*, Feb. 15, '26, p. 541. [2] *Mentality of Apes*, p. 299.

treated children, and Fred watched them, very much as "things," with apparently little social consciousness. Genevieve, Gertrude, and Belle almost always assumed the rôle of adults toward their playmates. Gertrude and, to a less extent, Beatrice were fond of "showing off." Gertrude and Genevieve had a great deal of the feeling of conformity both for themselves and for others, usually constituting themselves as special agents to see that the rest of the group behaved alike. Will, Winifred, Sylvia, and Myrtle, with Beatrice in the more simple cases, were the children who were regularly found "playing together" or coöperating. The children might also be rated according to their general sociability; or the apparent desire for and ease in making social contacts. . . .

The individual differences among the children in general sociability are large and persistent. Children who had had practically the same opportunities for social experiences varied widely in the ease with which they approached other children and in the gross number of social contacts which they made in the play group.[1]

From the instances cited in previous chapters it will be noted that Sylvester repeatedly displayed cruelty, while no other child is so mentioned. Fred persistently remained isolated from the other children. Stanley was distinguished for timidity. An analysis of the incidents in which specific (though of course trivial) inventions were made by the children, reveals the fact that in the group two to three years old Gertrude is credited with six such inventions, Will with three, five other children with one each, and the other seven children with none at all. Strikingly enough, Gertrude was also the one who tried to attract attention by her unconventional response to roll-call, and who repeatedly attempted, on her own initiative, to organize games among the other children. In the group three to four years old, among the boys Bert had 12 inventions to his credit, Sam seven, Peter four, and Albert three; among the girls Helen and Sarah had two each, and Margaret and Thelma had one. The other two boys and six girls had none.

Obviously, therefore, in these typical groups of children, other differences besides merely intelligence variations need consideration.

Can Justice Be Built on Inequality? True justice means a recognition of differences. For example, citizens are not taxed equally, but, as far as feasible, in proportion to ability to pay. Income taxes are not only based on a percentage of income, so that those with large incomes

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 36, 58, and 83.

shall pay proportionately more, but small incomes are exempt, and the amount of tax per $1000 of income increases rapidly in the larger income groups. The recognition of differences was essential to the justice of the draft act under which young men were selected to serve in our army in the World War. No women were drafted. Among men only those between certain ages were taken. Of men at those ages the unmarried in non-essential industries were drafted first. If the act had not recognized these differences it would have been unjust.

Justice requires, then, that we change from absolute and unthinking equality to intelligent recognition of differences. Our American ideal requires merely that the differences in treatment shall be based upon corresponding differences in people. We resent differences in treatment based upon partiality, upon special privileges, upon mere accident of birth.

Justice Built into the Culture Fabric. But justice, as it is ordinarily thought of, comes to involve not merely equal treatment of equals, but also recognition of traditional "rights" and "duties." Certain relationships, such as property rights, or, in the middle ages, loyalty to a feudal lord, came to be recognized as just. Such relationships get built into the social system. Justice comes to mean whatever is recognized by general public opinion as being just. Laws grow up as embodiments of these generally recognized rights and duties. When a law is passed which conflicts decidedly with public opinion, it is likely to be denounced as an "unjust" law. Courts are the social institutions for administering justice, that is, for fitting human purposes together according to the principles which have come to be recognized as just.

A striking instance of justice in the making occurred during the period when the right of the Department of Commerce to control radio broadcasting had been nullified and no law had yet been adopted to meet the problem. During the confusion which resulted, the following case arose:

The *Chicago Tribune* had been operating a radio station, WGN, in Chicago for a considerable length of time. It was affording service, which it alleged to be of a high character, to the listeners in that vicinity and over a very wide area. Its communication had been undisturbed and it had developed a clientele. WGES station had been operating in Chicago, but on a wave length so far removed from that of WGN that no interference of any kind resulted. However, when the bars were thrown down and stations became

at liberty to choose wave lengths for themselves, WGES changed the wave length of its station and proceeded to operate upon one which had a separation of only forty kilocycles from that of WGN.

In the absence of any law on the subject and any governmental authority with power to assign wave lengths, there remained no recourse on the part of WGN except an attempt to obtain relief through the courts. It then applied to the State court of Cook County and obtained a preliminary injunction forbidding the defendant company from using any wave length within fifty kilocycles either side of the wave length used by WGN.

Judge Wilson, who wrote the opinion, said that it was a case unique in judicial annals and without direct precedent, but that, nevertheless, under the general principles of the common law relief might be granted.

In response to questions regarding the Government's attitude toward the WGN decision, Judge S. B. Davis, Acting Secretary of Commerce, said: "Judge Wilson applies the 'rule of priority in time greater in right,' and in doing so he blazes a new trail so far as radio is concerned, for this is the first case in the United States, and probably in the world, in which the rule has been thus invoked.

"Judge Wilson points out, however, that he has merely adapted an old and well-recognized principle to a new condition, for it has been applied over and over again in other situations where priority has offered the only solution. 'First come, first served' is good law as well as a good adage. In the absence or delay of legislation, the decision is a long step toward the clearing of radio lanes for the listeners' benefit." [1]

Another field where justice has been developing rapidly is that of conflicts between business men. Will H. Hays, head of the motion picture industry says:

No matter what business you are in, every purchase or sale that you make may end up as an expensive lawsuit — expensive not only in lawyers' fees but in good-will. You may win your case — and lose your customer.

About 75 per cent of the commercial lawsuits involve no questions of law, but only of fact. The point to be settled usually is as simple as: "Are these goods as well made as the samples?" "What damages did this theater owner suffer through failure of a film to arrive when promised?"

It often takes weeks in court to settle such simple questions. Why? Rules of practice, technicalities of admission of evidence, and also because it is necessary to educate a jury in the fine points of some exceedingly intricate and technical business before they can decide the case.

Delayed justice hampers commerce. Therefore, it is not surprising to find that since the earliest times men engaged in commerce have endeavored

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 28, '26.

to set up tribunals composed of arbitrators to settle their disputes. Arbitration was recognized by the Roman law. During the Middle Ages the various guilds and market towns maintained informal arbitration courts where cases could be almost instantly tried by men familiar with each branch of business.

The New York Chamber of Commerce has been arbitrating disputes since 1768. Some trade associations had maintained arbitration machinery for many years. Hence, about three years ago we organized arbitration tribunals in the principal motion picture distributing centers. To-day we have 32 in the United States. Each tribunal is composed of three theater owners and three distributors. In every contract for a film there is a clause binding each party to submit any dispute that may arise under it to the nearest tribunal.

Out of more than 23,000 cases that have been arbitrated in the past two years there were tie votes, necessitating the appointment of a seventh arbitrator, in only 37 cases. That shows how easy it is for six men, all of whom are thoroughly conversant with the ins and outs of a business, to decide on questions of fact and to render just awards.

Often if there is not complete agreement we find a couple of exhibitor arbitrators upholding the distributor and vice versa. Partisanship is rare. The arbitrators, who are busy business men serving without pay, are as impartial and judicial in their findings as any judge can be — and they are better acquainted with the facts and conditions underlying the cases.

Only 21 cases out of more than 23,000 were appealed to court. In every one of these the court upheld the awards. Out of 23,000 decisions of a lower court how many do you suppose are appealed? Consider the saving in that alone, then add to it the saving due to the fact that arbitration costs in cents what a lawsuit costs in dollars, then add the intangible but very real saving in dollars-and-cents value of the good-will which arbitration has preserved. I am satisfied that, next to war, litigation is the largest single item of preventable waste in business.

Business men who have ultimate profits rather than revenge in mind would do well to arbitrate. As a great Chief Justice said to a friend after years of experience, "I advise you by all means to submit your difference to arbitration. I have always considered every man a lunatic, or worse, who goes to law when he can possibly avoid it."[1]

Competition. One special form of justice as a substitute for conflict is regulated competition. The competition may be for a prize, as in a race or a contest. It may be for an office, as in an election. It may be for business, as between competing manufacturers or competing

[1] *Success*, Sept. '26.

retailers. In every case the idea of regulated competition is that the person or group which shows itself best fitted under the rules for the prize shall receive it. The rules may be the regulations of an athletic commission as to the way in which the race or the game shall be conducted, or it may be the election laws or the laws relating to unfair competition that regulate the contest. Or it may be simply unwritten traditions of fair play that control, as when two boys are wrestling. If rules are not observed there may be rivalry, but there is not regulated competition.

Business competition is valuable as a stimulant to efficiency because it involves the creative values of conflict. Each competitor is under pressure to make good or go under. The racer does not make his fastest time unless he has a pace-maker to spur him to his utmost efforts. Even war, the hugest embodiment of destructive conflict, has its creative aspects, and stimulates inventions and progress in many fields.

Herbert Hoover has this to say about industrial monopolies and competition:

> The public has the natural fear that these great units will be used for domination and extinction of equality of opportunity. Arising from this fear and the wrongs done in the past, we have enacted much legislation to compel competition, such as the Sherman and Clayton Acts.
>
> The original conception of this legislation seems to have been to maintain a great host of highly competitive units in every trade. By degrees we have been retreating from this notion. We have found that to maintain complete competition in service to each consumer in the utilities — transportation, light, power, and communications — meant a fabulous cost in duplication of equipment, with less financial stability, increased operating expenses, poorer service, and increased rates to the consumer.
>
> However, in the manufacture and distribution of commodities, I believe that full constructive competition must be preserved. The virility and strength of our whole economic system springs from spontaneous enterprise and the stimulation of competition. But competition does not necessarily imply destructive competition.[1]

Competition Plus Sportsmanship. The Dempsey-Tunney match gave the thrill of vicarious combat to one-eighth of a million direct spectators (including the Governor of Pennsylvania) besides the

[1] *Nation's Business*, June 5, '26.

millions who participated in the thrill via radio and movies. The conditions of the conflict were minutely regulated to insure justice. But beyond this there was a spirit of sportsmanship which transformed the essence of the contest. The following is an account of a meeting of the contenders on the day after the combat:

Greeting his foe of the ring with outstretched hand, which he said was "a bit tender," relates an Associated Press correspondent in Philadelphia, Tunney expressed the hope that Dempsey was "coming along all right." Dempsey "thrust out his hand" — this time in friendship, however — and "told the new champion he was glad he had come." Whereupon Tunney took a seat "in the little circle surrounding the bed on which Dempsey was resting" and the two knights of fisticuffs "indulged in an intimate exchange of details of their contest." Thus they fought their tourney over again in pleasant discourse of hooks and jabs, while the dethroned champion's wife, known in the movie world as Estelle Taylor, hung upon their words with sympathetic palpitations. Despite the painful injuries to his countenance, Dempsey "talked with a whole-heartedness and an engaging smile that made it difficult to believe that only the night before he had been in a desperate battle with his guest." Some concern was expressed over the former champion's closed eye, "which he said was not healing as quickly as he thought it should," and his conqueror expressed an apologetic concern, accompanied with practical advice drawn from his own experience of first aid to battered features. The new champion was reminded by his dilapidated victim of sundry "good wallops" that he, Lieutenant Tunney, had landed, and Mr. Dempsey also "mentioned times when Tunney's hard punches had failed to hit the mark" — failures which apparently afforded him a slightly melancholy satisfaction. Tunney, in his turn, reminded Dempsey of hard swats and well-directed blows, remarking occasionally that he wondered "if you felt that as much as I thought you did." And the correspondent reports this chivalrous speech delivered to the defeated knight of the ring by his conqueror:

"I have always thought you were a great champion, and I want to say now that you are a fine, clean opponent and fought as clean and game a fight as any man who has been in a ring. Any man can be proud to have met you in the fight you made."

That nothing might be wanting in the knightly flavor of this visit of condolence, we are told that —

Tunny emerged from the Dempsey suite with a broad smile.

"Dempsey's a fine chap," exclaimed the new champion, "and I hope he comes around without any trouble. We had a good talk about that fight."

The *Brooklyn Eagle* remarked editorially:

Mr. Dempsey is the "moral" hero of the Sesquicentennial.

The real reason, of course, lies in the way he took defeat. Those who had regarded him as a sour, bad-tempered animal were agreeably surprised to see him, "the Manassa Mauler," coming up time and again to receive a pitiless lacing on the face from the challenger. It was a shower of blows about the head that, had the fight gone to a finish, must have knocked out Dempsey in a few more rounds. Few championship bouts have displayed such a bombardment. That Jack bore up courageously under it and hung on grimly to the last round attest his bigness of heart. His defeat did something that none of his victories could do. For the first time the world is singing his praises as a sportsman.[1]

Competition may be thought of as a cross between creative conflict, *laissez-faire*, and justice. As we have seen previously, conflict has stimulating effects which might make it exceedingly valuable if its destructive tendencies could be avoided — if domination and exploitation could be excluded and antagonism eliminated. Competition is an attempt to achieve exactly these improvements. By adoption of recognized rules and safeguards it seeks to prevent the overriding of the socially desirable purpose by the socially dangerous one. It adopts from *laissez-faire* the idea of giving the best man a chance to win, without interference except to the degree necessary to insure justice. In our further examination of actual social relations we must watch alertly for methods which may be still better than competition, but in the meantime it must be recognized that it represents a combination of good elements from all of the solutions of conflict thus far discussed.

Discipline. Competition is one way of bringing about the creative utilization of the energy generated by being forced to modify one's personality. Under competition one is forced to function intensely in order to keep up the pace. Another method of attaining much the same end is discipline. When a volunteer enlists in a military organization he thereby willingly submits himself to coercion by his superior officers. He *has* to learn to drill; he *has* to appear in a neat uniform; he *has* to submit to severe reproof for his mistakes; he *has* to obey orders unquestioningly. This is coercion and yet it is voluntarily accepted. Because it compels the remaking of the personality it has tremendous possibilities of stimulation. On the other hand, the fact that the recruit undertakes the discipline voluntarily should mean, if

[1] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 16, '26, pp. 42–6.

the proper spirit is maintained, that resentment and antagonism are minimized.

When a student decides to go to a certain college he submits to the discipline of the institution. He agrees, actually or tacitly, to abide by the college rules, to accept the assignments given by the instructors and to subject himself to the penalties fixed for misconduct or failure. The professors may make severe requirements, but if the discipline of the institution is accepted in the spirit of the volunteer the very severity of the demands may act as a stimulus to growth which can never be attained in any less stringent way.

The Essence of Justice. The discussion up to this point should lead us to a definition of justice. Clearly, it does not mean equality. Nor, in view of the importance of traditional rights, can justice be said to be purely proportionality. In our study of specific social relations we shall see that justice is the attempt to solve a conflict between purposes by an appeal to principles accepted by both of the conflicting parties. Sometimes the principle appealed to is equality; sometimes it is proportionality; sometimes it is tradition. In any case the essential thing is that the principle shall be agreed upon. Usually the agreement on principles antedates the conflict.

This may be illustrated from any field of social conflict. When two men quarrel over the ownership of a piece of land, and go to the courts for justice, they are appealing to a tribunal recognized by both, to settle the dispute according to laws which both accept. Justice was substituted for coercion in disputes in the garment trades of Chicago when a tribunal was set up to arbitrate conflicts according to principles accepted by both sides in a written agreement. When two nations agree to arbitrate disputes they substitute justice for force because they proposed to have an agreed tribunal settle their controversies according to that body of accepted traditional rights called international law.

International justice took a dramatic forward step when the League of Nations settled a war between Greece and Bulgaria:

"International Disorderly Conduct," to quote an Eastern editor, is the verdict of the League of Nations special inquiry commission against Greece as a result of the recent Greco-Bulgarian border "war." But this is not all; Greece must pay a fine of $146,000 for material losses and damages suffered by Bulgarian civilians, and an additional indemnity of $73,000 to the Bulgarian Government. Here, several papers remind us, we have first the prompt action of the League in stopping a border affray which might

eventually have cost thousands of lives; the dispatch of a commission to fix responsibility and devise means to prevent similar outbreaks in future, and — most amazing of all — the acceptance by both Greece and Bulgaria of the League's decision.[1]

Democracy. Out of the aspirations for liberty, equality, and fraternity has grown up the ideal of democracy. The unsoundness of coercion, and the vital necessity for freedom, are the aspects of democracy emphasized by John R. Commons in the following:

No class can be trusted to decide for itself. No class, either aristocrats, capitalists, educators, or workers, can see the needs, or rights, or duties, of others as vividly as its own. Democracy in education, like democracy in politics or industry, is not a philosophy or a theory or even a "science" of education — it is joint control over the teachers.[2]

Graham Taylor, founder and resident warden of Chicago Commons, and professor of social economy at Chicago Theological Seminary, is another who has founded his faith in democracy upon the study of instances:

Referring to his determination "to teach from the ground up and not from the clouds down," he told how Chicago Commons were established as an observation center where students could come into first-hand contacts with the life of the city. The settlement was founded and "has ever been maintained in loyal allegiance to a democratic faith in all fellow men."

"Standing between these retrospects and far further prospects, and still taking my observation at Chicago Commons, where they appear to me in sharper outline, I now affirm that this democratic faith in fellow men, which I followed hither, falters not. No class consciousness of either class in conflict; no aristocracy of any claimants, except those who possess worth and attest it by service; no dictatorship, either beneficent or cruelly despotic, has ever caused me to waver a hair-breadth from my faith in the supremacy of the democratic order of government and social justice. That faith still stands undaunted and undimmed by any cynical default from democracy or any disclaimers of loyalty to social and religious ideals."[3]

Geddes Smith thus comments on Thomas Vernon Smith's *The Democratic Way of Life:*

He takes certain ethical habits of the race — the persistent feeling that liberty, fraternity, equality are good things — and looks them over to see

[1] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 19, '25, p. 14. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 139.
[3] *Survey*, Dec. 15, '26, p. 362.

how they fit our 1926 world. He still feels that they are good, and he justifies that feeling by testing them against psychological experience. He admits that they have not worked very well in practice, but instead of arguing from our failure to realize them that they should now be discarded, he makes the tonic proposal that we deliberately bend the resources of civilization, increasingly in command as it is of power and of machinery, to seeing whether they can be made to work.

At two points we have here a distinguished contribution to American thought about democracy. One is the rescuing of the term from the merely political connotations which have long been overstressed, and its identification with the freshest concepts of social and individual health:

"The equality ideal must mean this highly important thing, that every man shall be entitled to understand and progressively to create the ends for which his energy goes. And this means of course that he is entitled to the kind of character that can create and appreciate purposes that outrun the moment. . . . A unified personality in a harmonious world — this is a psychological statement of the democratic objective."

The other is the frank, deliberate, ethical challenge to a society that calls itself democratic: to stop whining about inferiority, to accept and use the fact of growth, to invest every scrap of energy that science can wring from nature in the enterprise of giving human personality a chance to create itself.

Mr. Mencken to the contrary, some of us are still proud to be democrats while such purposes are felt among us.[1]

How vitally is the idealism of democracy linked up with the conception of equality? If, as the trend of the above quotations would indicate, the essential element in the aspiration for democracy is the insistence that every individual shall have the fullest possible opportunity to express his purposes and possibilities, then the attainment of democracy becomes identical with the problem of attaining ideal social relations, in which human purposes shall stimulate, reinforce and develop one another instead of thwarting each other.

Limitations of Justice. Justice does not ordinarily avoid completely the thwarting of one or both of two conflicting purposes. It simply fits the purposes together according to rules. Two men both claim to own the same farm. The judge decides that one is the true owner. The purpose of the other is thwarted. A man attempts to steal the automobile of another. The police and judge may succeed in thwarting the purpose of the thief.

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 164.

Sometimes justice is reached by compromise. During the war Herbert Hoover was trying to arrive at a fair price for wheat. The farmers wanted $2.50 per bushel. Labor thought $1.84 was enough. Mr. Hoover wanted the wheat in large quantities. After several days they compromised on $2.20. In compromises, the purpose of each party is partly thwarted and partly fulfilled. These complete or partial thwartings are apt to generate antagonism and so lead back into conflict.

Justice is better than force or fraud because it prevents the extra destruction of values and thwarting of purposes involved when conflicting parties fight it out, and because justice on the whole thwarts the more destructive and evil purposes and releases the purposes which are socially more wholesome and constructive.

In the following chapters we shall find that, while no sound solution of social conflict can be built upon a sense of injustice, the really creative solution calls for justice plus certain other even more vital factors.

Summary

A. The tendency to put oneself in the place of others is a foundation of equality, reciprocity, justice, and democracy.

1. The self is interpreted in terms of others; others in terms of the self.

2. The idea of equality arises from the impulse to demand that oneself be treated as others are, and that others be treated as oneself is treated.

3. Reciprocity is the phase of this idea which develops into treating others the way they treat us.

4. Attempts have been made to apply the equality ideal politically, religiously, and economically.

B. The facts of actual *inequality* are increasingly inescapable.

5. Statistical studies of wealth and income have brought sharply to attention the huge inequalities which exist.

6. Mental tests, and the increasing numbers of people who are seeking a higher education are forcing recognition of inequalities in mental abilities.

C. Justice means a recognition of differences.

7. It modifies the crude idea of absolute equality into an ideal of proportionality — of adjustment of differences.

8. As ideas of justice come to be absorbed into the culture fabric they increasingly take the form of traditional rights and duties.
9. Regulated competition is a combination of justice and creative conflict, attempting to secure the stimulus of conflict while avoiding antagonism by making the contest just.
10. Discipline is voluntary submission to the stimulation of coercion.
11. The ideal of democracy has grown up out of the aspirations for liberty, equality, and fraternity.

D. Sound solutions of social relations demand justice plus.
12. The sense of injustice destroys social coöperation.
13. Mere justice does not sufficiently avoid thwarting nor its resulting antagonism.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

14D1. Do other people have the same sort of experience that you have when they taste a pineapple or look at a violet? How do you know?

14D2. How do most people react when others apply to them the attitude of avoidance? Why?

14D3. What relations have existed between social settlements and movements for social justice? Why?

14D4. If the notion of equality rises spontaneously in human relations, why was inequality so prevalent from Neolithic times up through the Middle Ages?

14D5. What is the attitude of the average American toward the ideal of economic equality?

14D6. What instances can you cite where you have seen people side with the "under dog"? Give details and discuss why they took this stand.

14D7. What relationship is there between the Golden Rule and the ideals discussed in this chapter? To what extent is the Golden Rule a practicable and desirable guide to conduct? What is the relation between it and the command to love one's neighbor as oneself?

14D8. Paul Blanshard writes as follows in the *Survey* for October 15, 1926, p. 79, on the topic "College Insurgents":

The widely advertised "revolt of Youth" in our colleges is bearing fruit in a new attitude toward industrial justice on the part of an intelligent

minority. The great majority of our college students are like their parents, bent on making good in the highest social class that they can clamber into. They reflect the philosophy of the hinterland. But a minority, fortunately the most brilliant minority, is questioning the prevailing Babbittesque outlook.

What does this insurgent minority think about American capitalism, socialism, and the labor movement? Usually the opinion of the group is anti-capitalist without being intelligently pro-labor, that is to say, the ablest students on our campuses are pretty well convinced that capital has relatively too much power in the industrial system and that labor should somehow have more power, but there are few who have an intense loyalty to the labor movement. They are closer to Mencken than Moscow. Their attitude is cynical, inquiring, distrustful without loyalty to anything in particular. They have thrown overboard the old worship of economic laws as automatically creating social justice; they have no system to substitute. Their radicalism is a piece-meal radicalism, feeling its way. What has been lost in utopian ardor is often made up in scientific knowledge.

Give your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with Blanshard's diagnosis.

14D9. William B. Munro, Professor of American History and Government at Harvard, Major in the U. S. Army during the World War, says:

Every biologist knows that men are not created equal in body; every educator knows that they are not created equal in mind. And any one who observes the course of our politics knows that all men are not equal in their influence upon government — never were so and never can be. Yet the man who would venture to advocate a system of government based upon the demonstrable inequality of men would promptly find his teachings stigmatized as un-American, undemocratic, and a menace to our institutions.

This doctrine of human equality has done a lot of harm in government. By its implications it has afforded good soil for the growth of the spoils system and the practice of rotation in office, two of the most noxious weeds in the garden of American politics. If all citizens are equally competent to govern their fellow men, why should we endeavor to choose among them on the basis of their special qualifications? Why let any one stay in office very long? Our reluctance to make use of experts in any branch of public administration is in large measure a by-product of this national obsession. The most formidable obstacle in the path of civil-service reform is the deep-seated popular conviction that any able-bodied citizen has an equal and indefeasible right to a place on the public pay roll. Civil-service reform is deemed by many to be undemocratic because it throws public employment

open to competition, and there is nothing like an open competition to demonstrate the essential inequality of men.

The justification of elections, referenda, and majority rule is not the wisdom of the multitude, but the pressing necessity of devising some crude makeshift whereby decisions can be reached which the people will accept. A presidential election is merely our modern and highly refined substitute for the ancient revolution, a mobilization of opposing forces, a battle of the ins against the outs, with leaders and strategy and all the other paraphernalia of civil war, but without bodily violence to the warriors. This refinement of the struggle for political control, this transition from bullets to ballots, is perhaps the greatest contribution of modern times to the progress of civilization.[1]

What are your reactions to these statements?

14D10. Fern Babcock, writing of her experiences as a worker in industry, in the *Survey* for December 15, 1926, p. 384, says:

After getting a job, one must find a room. The Y. W. C. A. was very helpful in locating me in a church-supported home for young working women. In many respects, life there was similar to that in college dormitories. One difference was that the caste system that pervades the industrial world, as well as the rest of our American life, kept us from enjoying each other. Two students were living in the club to get "Bohemian atmosphere." Below them were the stenographers, who, although they earn less than many factory workers, are potential capitalists. Almost on a par with the stenographers but in a different group were the clerks. Last in line were the factory workers. All looked down upon the Italians who lived in the neighborhood around us.

According to Whiting Williams and other observers, this social stratification is widely prevalent in America. What evidence have you on the subject? Do you agree that the condition exists? If so, how desirable or undesirable do you regard it, and why?

14D11. The *Christian Century* for August 26, 1926, p. 1054, published an editorial containing the following:

Small groups of ministers, mainly Methodists up to this point, have begun to consider seriously the proposal to pool their salaries. The urge which is driving them to this step, which will seem foolhardy to all practical people is, on the one hand the desire to exhibit more effectively in their own lives the ideals of brotherhood which they profess to believe, and on the other to reduce the evils of a professional ministry to a minimum.

[1] *Atlantic Monthly*, October, 1926. Later included in Munro's "*The Invisible Government*," Macmillan, 1927.

The evils are obvious. Pride on the one hand and envy on the other corrupt the relations of ministers to each other. Preaching the gospel becomes a profession in which eloquence is established as a prime desideratum and paid for according to commercial standards. There is a subtle cynicism in the attitude of most congregations, which assume that a high enough salary will finally secure the man of their choice for their pulpit. Meanwhile the standards of living which are supposed to be strategically necessary for the minister of the wealthy become a part of the whole system of luxurious living by which America outrages the conscience of the world.

The consequences of the whole system are so inevitable and so dangerous to spiritual life that the question must be raised whether the professional ministry as such ought not to be regarded as a necessary evil. It makes the ministry dependent upon and enmeshes it with the whole economic order in which it functions, with all its evils and limitations, in a way which inevitably tends to destroy its spiritual force.

Through all the ages, religion has been generated by God-intoxicated amateurs and corrupted by professionals who made a living out of its resources. Organized religion can never attain the fullest measure of spiritual power if it is not anxious to reduce to a minimum the spiritual and moral limitations which are inherent in organization itself.

Pooling salaries would not remove all the difficulties, but it might prove a next step that ought to be taken to release the latent spiritual resources of Christianity for the redemption of society.

What arguments can you see for and against this proposal?

14D12. Miss Alice Paul is quoted by the *Literary Digest* for June 12, 1926, p. 10, as having made the following statement:

The achievement of equal rights in industry will assure women workers five things:

1. Free choice among all occupations, at present denied by restrictive legislation in regard to hours, time, and conditions of work.
2. Equal opportunity for training in the professions.
3. Equal opportunity for advancement in the professions and industries at present denied by restrictive legislation in regard to hours, time, and conditions of work.
4. It will mean the basing of protective legislation upon the character of the work and not upon the sex of the worker, thus putting men and women, competitors by the necessity of present economic conditions, on an equal basis.
5. It will remove women from the class of children and tend to further legislation in the interest of childhood by concentrating effort on its special problems.

Discuss the wisdom of these goals from the standpoint of social justice.

14D13. Relative to the campaign of the National Woman's Party for an "equal rights" amendment, G. Gould Lincoln says, as quoted by the *Literary Digest* for June 12, 1926:

Of course, their campaign is waged not alone against the so-called protective labor laws now militating against the employment of women, but against other legal discrimination, such as the power of the father to will away the custody of a child from its mother, which exists in three States; laws making the father the sole natural guardian of minor children, entitling the father alone to the services and earnings of a child — as Massachusetts and New York; laws in forty States which declare that the services of the wife belong to the husband.

In one State the common law rule that the earnings of a married woman belong to her husband is still in force. In many States a married woman is limited in her power to contract and assume business liabilities and obligations. In some, the husband is entitled to manage and control his wife's separate property or to manage and dispose of joint property, or enjoy its rents and profits even though the wife may have paid the entire purchase price. In one State, only male citizens are permitted to be members of the Legislature, in more than half of the States women are denied the right to serve on juries.

Some other comments quoted in the *Literary Digest* are the following:

It seems "an inescapable fact" to the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, that the emancipation program of the Woman's Party "has found the great body of American women strangely indifferent." The Detroit *Free Press* goes so far as to say that this program "is in direct opposition to the immensely predominant sentiment of American womanhood," and it unsympathetically states the Party's position as follows:

Its members are protestants against the order of nature, and decline to recognize the biological difference between the sexes which make it necessary specially to safeguard the physical well-being of women who work for a living. In this country it has been their main aim to break down the system of protective laws that women of better insight have been laboring for years to build up, and that at present throw an invaluable safeguard about members of the sex who are employed, particularly about growing girls.

Discuss these comments.

14D14. Do you believe in fraternities and sororities in high school? In college? Why? What has this chapter to do with the subject?

14D15. Just what did the founders of our republic have in mind when they asserted that "All men are created equal"? How fully was the ideal of equality carried out in their times? Discuss any inconsistencies which you find in their conduct as compared with their ideals. To what extent does democracy necessarily involve the idea of equality?

14D16. In our American jury system, what account is taken of the fact of mental inequalities in persons eligible for jury duty? What account should be taken?

14D17. In what sense is or is not America justified in advertising herself as a land of "equal opportunity for all"?

14D18. Is the present distribution of income in the United States just or unjust? Why? If you do not consider it perfectly just, in what ways should it be modified? How much inequality of income is desirable?

14D19. What policy should the government adopt toward the inheritance of large fortunes? Why?

14D20. In laws regulating child labor and compulsory school attendance, what account is taken of mental inequalities between children? What account should be taken?

14D21. What trends are carrying social thinking away from the idea of equality? What toward it? Which of these tendencies are Christian?

14D22. What forces are working toward the development of a peasant class in the rural districts of America? What forces are working in the opposite direction?

14D23. What arguments are there for and against an hereditary aristocracy?

14D24. Discuss the following statement: "What is wrong for one person to do may be right for another person." What has this statement to do with the idea of equality? It is true or false? Why?

14D25. A nine-year-old child whom I know was offered 25 cents if she would collect and stack up a pile of kindling as high as her shoulder. She was unable to complete the task, but got it up as high as her knee. Her father offered her 10 cents for the part completed. She said that this would not be fair; that she ought to get 9, 8, or 5. A satisfactory compromise was reached at 8 cents. Why did the child

act in this way? What would you have done if you had been the parent? Why?

14D26. Jane Addams says:

A conscientious girl (who works at night) finds it impossible to sleep with her mother washing and scrubbing within a few feet of her bed.[1]

Why does the girl feel that way? What is the just solution? Why?

14D27. At a picnic dinner there are present an 18-months-old baby, an athlete in training, a farm hand, a clerk, and an old lady. The dessert consists of one pie. How would you divide it? In what sense would the principle of equality apply to this division?

14D28. Two boys are equally crippled for life in an accident due to the negligence of a railway company. One is the son of a day laborer, and the other the son of a successful business man. Should the damages awarded be equal or unequal? If unequal, which should receive the most? Why? (Ross)

14D29. A college professor with young children moves into a town where the public schools are occupied chiefly by children from colored families and from families of ignorant and poverty-stricken immigrants. A good private school is available. Should the parent send his children to the public or the private school? Why?

14D30. In discussing scholarships to enable children of poor parents to remain in school after the time when they would otherwise need to go to work, Lillian Wald says:

The children who show talent and those whose immaturity or poverty of intellect makes their early venture into the world more pitiful, have equal claim upon these scholarships.[2]

Give your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with Miss Wald.

14D31. Trial by jury is related in at least two important ways to the ideal of equality. Discuss these relations.

14D32. What are the justice substitutes for the following forms of conflict: strikes; race riots; family quarrels; feuds; duels; disputes; war?

14D33. A man has confessed to having committed a criminal assault on an innocent and dearly loved woman and then murdered her. The man has a huge fortune and powerful political connections. The

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 203. [2] *House on Henry Street*, p. 139.

courts in that community are noted for letting off rich and influential criminals. While this murderer is being taken by the sheriff from the depot to the jail, a large crowd of friends of the victim surround the automobile. A leader in the crowd gets its attention. What should the leader do? What should the sheriff do? What should disinterested bystanders do? Why in each case?

14D34. Roosevelt used to talk a great deal about the "square deal." Where does this fit into our present discussion?

14D35. Was the Treaty of Versailles an instance of the justice solution of conflict? Give reasons for your answer.

14D36. The *New York Times* for December 26, 1926, carried the following item:

> Elephantine stockings were required to-day to hold the Christmas presents exchanged among the Osage Indians, the wealthiest race per capita on earth. Each Indian on the tribal rolls was allowed $2,300 with which to do his or her Yuletide shopping.
>
> The Osages, despite their affluence, which would give them entrée into any of the white man's restaurants or gilded ballrooms, prefer their feasts of beef and buffalo meat, barbecued over smoky camp fires, or "jerked" and allowed to dry in the sun. Likewise they cling to their weird tribal dances, accompanied by tom toms and the monotonous chanting of their patriarchs. Civilized dress, with leather shoes, is discarded in favor of gay blankets and moccasins.

What problems related to justice do you see involved in this item?

14D37. When the Soviet government was first established in Russia it became the practice for the workmen in each factory, whenever any problem of management came up, to hold a mass meeting to discuss the matter. Was this a democratic procedure? Do you approve of it? Why or why not?

14D38. In a certain penitentiary, whenever two prisoners get into a dispute the guards give boxing gloves to the men, have them fight it out to a finish, and then have them shake hands and make up. Discuss the justice of this procedure. Discuss its wisdom as a disciplinary policy.

14D39. If "all's fair in love and war," are these forms of competition or of conflict? Why?

14D40. What is the significance of the following item, taken from an article by John Langdon-Davies in *Harper's* for October, 1926?

If there is one place in which we might expect competition to be an absolute necessity it is in sport; it is certainly human nature, we assume, to want to win. Consider, however, the Nicobar Islanders, who delight in regattas. An observer has described a race between two village crews. "Before the race I asked the chief of one of the competing villages which he considered the stronger team. I was told that there was no difference in skill between the two teams — neither could be bettered. I also found out that whilst they competed side by side, struggling for all they were worth, if one side gets a little ahead of the other it will very soon slacken off a bit and let the others get ahead, that neither the hosts nor the guests may shame one another.

14D41. In the light of individual differences, which of the following types of social organization seems most promising as a means of achieving a social state in which the resources of society are used to maximum effect for the development and fulfillment of the purposes and possibilities of all: communism; equality of opportunity; brotherly inequality; some other system?

Describe the outstanding features of the system which you advocate, and give reasons for your advocacy.

14D42. The *New York Times* for October 24, 1926, carried this item:

One-third of the Yale student body have become self-supporting, either wholly or in part, according to Albert Beecher Crawford, director of the Bureau of Appointments, and the workers earned $590,359.70 during the year.

Such features as the summer industrial group, especially in automobile plants; undergraduate agencies, with such unique specialties as clothing sales, playing in orchestras, serving as chauffeurs, acting as donors of blood transfusion, serving as artists' models, and shoveling snow, indicate the expansion of the self-help activities.

What is the attitude in your school toward the individual who is working his way through? Why?

14D43. Do you agree with the following statement by Jerome Davis in the *Christian Century* for November 11, 1926, p. 1387? What is its significance for the theory of social relations?

Even if the bolsheviks would like to carry on extensive agitation in this country, what of it? There is hardly a single scientific student of our society who really fears a bolshevik revolution in America. If propaganda could circulate freely in every state in the union, there is no more danger of our

country adopting bolshevism than that we should accept a German kaiser or Japanese emperor. Propaganda can only have success when it can play on actual injustice. Even a report of the communist internationale for 1925 says that in lands where there is liberty and justice their work is useless.

14D44. Lillian Wald cites an instance in which a doctor was called to attend a woman in a difficult case of childbirth which a midwife had bungled. The physician refused to complete the treatment, and left the woman lacerated and agonizing, because the expected fee had been paid only in part. What would be the just course for a doctor to take under such circumstances? Why?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

14F1. Get permission to attend a hearing before some arbitration board. Make careful note of the method used to achieve justice between the disputants. (Four hours)

14F2. If you live near an experiment where people are trying to live in absolute equality, visit it and try to find out just how fully the ideal of equality is applied, and how it works out. (Three hours)

14K3. Read the story of Bathsheba in II Samuel 11 : 1 to 12 : 25. In what ways does the idea of justice enter into this account? (One hour)

14K4. How did the idea of equality work out in the French Revolution? (Three to ten hours)

14K5. Read the account of blood revenge and primitive justice in Sumner's *Folkways* (1907), pp. 493–508. (One hour)

14K6. Study the relationship between social welfare and poverty as shown in the following:

Robert Morse Woodbury, *Causal Factors in Infant Mortality*, U. S. Children's Bureau, 1925.

Anna E. Rude, *Physical Status of Pre-School Children in Gary, Indiana*, U. S. Children's Bureau, 1922.

Louis Dublin, *Mortality Statistics of Insured Wage-Earners and Their Families*, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, 1919.

From the above studies what conclusions, if any, can be drawn as to the social desirability of the present inequality of income? (Time credit to be arranged)

14K7. Write a paper on "The Ideals of Justice Developed in *The Merchant of Venice*." (Two to three hours)

14K8. The following books and articles take up statistically some of the social causes and effects of mental inequalities. Without quoting the statistics except in the briefest way, summarize the conclusions reached:

William F. Book, *Intelligence of High School Seniors*, Macmillan, 1922.

George S. Counts, *The Selective Character of American Secondary Education*, University of Chicago Press, 1922.

Hornell Hart, "Occupational Differential Fecundity," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. 19 (1924), pp. 527–32; "Familial Differential Fecundity," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. 20 (1925), pp. 25–30; "Children of the Poor." *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, Vol. 19 (1925), pp. 168–71.

Eleanore Hope Johnson, "The Relation of the Conduct Difficulties of a Group of Public School Boys to Their Mental Status and Home Environment," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 6 (1921), pp. 549–75.

Glenn R. Johnson, "Unemployment and Feeble-Mindedness," *Journal of Delinquency*, Vol. 2 (1917), pp. 59–73.

Pintner and Toops, "Mental Tests of Unemployed Men," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 1 (1917), pp. 325–41; 2 (1918), pp. 15–25.

A. S. Otis, "Selection of Mill Workers by Mental Tests," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, Vol. 4 (1920), pp. 339–341.

Carl A. Murchison, "American White Criminal Intelligence," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, Vol. 15 (1924), pp. 239–316, and 435–94. (Also reprinted as a booklet)

(Time credit to be arranged)

14K9. What part does heredity play in the problem of the feeble-minded? (See Goddard, *Feeble-mindedness*) Illustrate and discuss. (Two to five hours)

14K10. What are the social consequences of feeble-mindedness? How are they affected by existing charity and state policies? (Two to six hours)

14K11. Discuss the various possible treatments of the feeble-minded with reference to the expense to society, the happiness of the defectives, and the benefits to society. (Two to six hours)

14K12. Read and discuss the statement on "Inequalities of Consumption" in *The Decay of Capitalistic Civilization*, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb, pp. 22–27 (quoted also in Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*, pp. 776–9). See also Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*, pp. 103–108; Robert Hunter, *Poverty;* Scott

Nearing, *Income*, pp. 185–199; Upton Sinclair, *The Cry for Justice.* (One to five hours)

14K13. Read and discuss in a brief paper the history of some communistic experiment in America, such as Brook Farm, the Amana Community, the Harmonists at Economy, the Separatists of Zoar, the Shakers, the Oneida and Wallingford Perfectionists, the Aurora and Bethel Communes, the Dukhobors, and the like. What successes have they had? What failures? What conflicts have arisen in them? Why? (Two to ten hours)

14K14. Norman E. Himes, reviewing in the *American Journal of Sociology* T. N. Carver's *The Present Economic Revolution in the United States*, summarized it as follows:

> Forces are now operating, especially in America, tending to bring about a radical change in the distribution of wealth. It is the thesis of this volume that this change will ultimately wipe out the distinction between laborers and capitalists, blend economic classes, and bring about a "balanced economic system" in which we shall have approximate occupational equality and realize the "American ideal" of economic equality under liberty.

Upon what evidence does Carver base this conclusion? (Three to five hours)

14K15. Summarize and comment on Mary S. Brisley's "The Meaning of Social Equality" in the *Family* for April, 1926, pp. 35–9. (One hour)

14K16. Franklin Bobbitt, in reviewing in the *American Journal of Sociology* William C. Bagley's *Determinism in Education*, says:

> In this volume, as in much previous work, he conceives his task to be to defend the traditions of time-tested democracy against the threats of our developing educational science, and of practices growing out of that science. His weapons are the familiar phrases, slogans, denunciatory manner, and method of specially selecting his statistics, which the politicians have long used to sway the crowd. He thus described his attitude (p. 156): "The present writer does not for a moment pretend that he is unprejudiced with regard to the issues discussed in these papers. He has a very definite 'axe to grind' — a very real and intense desire to establish an hypothesis." This hypothesis is that men are relatively equal by nature, and that the wide differences in actual ability are mainly due to nurture, and particularly to schooling. He calls himself a "rational equalitarian," that is to say, one who admits that there is some difference due to nature, but a difference so small that it can be mostly ignored.

Upon what evidence does Bagley justify this position? How scientific is his treatment of the subject? (Three to five hours)

14K17. Samuel H. Chang writes in the Shanghai *China Weekly Review* as follows:

> That the comparatively ignorant Chinese laborers realize the significance of communism is open to question, but that they are obsessed with the idea of their power and are certain of the special excellence of the equality principle is evidenced by their well-organized unions and their unreasonable demands, accompanied by the effective weapon of the strike.

Make a study of the operation of the idea of equality in connection with the recent unrest in China. (Two to five hours)

14K18. To what extent and in what ways has the idea of equality been a factor in the Russian Revolution? (Two to five hours)

14K19. Write a brief history of the National Consumers' League, indicating the significant points bearing on the sense of social justice. (Two to four hours)

14K20. Study Case 18 in the *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies, Series 1*, and point out its bearings upon the problem of equality.

14K21. Study the material submitted in the *Report of the Iowa Child Welfare Commission*, pp. 43–58. These pages contain the case materials from which the following conclusions were drawn:

> Feeble-minded and otherwise degenerate stock is rapidly reproducing its kind. Instead of discouraging this tendency, the administration of poor relief and institutional care in Iowa has in many cases unconsciously encouraged it by repeated aid to degenerate families and mothers during the reproductive period in such a way as to make it easy for them to multiply.

The report was published by the State of Iowa in 1924.

14K22. Make a study of the question as to what proportion of American young people of school age are capable of doing the work required for graduation from college, what proportion are capable of mastering the subjects required for graduation from high school, and what proportion are not mentally able to complete the grades. After reaching your conclusions, interpret them in their applications to the problem of democracy. (Four hours)

14K23. Read the selection on "Hospitality of the American Indians" in Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 835–55. What new points on our present chapter do you find in this account? (One hour and a half)

14K24. What contributions did Martin Luther make toward religious equality? (Time credit to be arranged)

14X25. Look up the amount of play-space per child in various parts of your city. Is the arrangement just or unjust? Why? (Two to four hours)

14X26. Purchase two bags of candy, one containing only large pieces and one only small pieces — *e.g.* one bag of large gum drops and one of small gum drops. Get an opportunity to talk at the same time to two or more children whom you already know, or if the children are not available try friends who are not taking this course. Offer to one individual a piece of candy from one bag and to another individual a piece from the other bag. Note carefully just what each of them says, just how they act, and what facial expressions they show when they see the difference in the sizes of the pieces. Write up the experiment, being careful to note the ages and sexes of the individuals and all the significant circumstances of the experiment. (Two hours)

14X27. Ask at least 50 of your schoolmates to answer the following two questions: 1. Which of the following phrases best describes the present economic system: perfectly just? as good as any ever achieved? about as good as could be expected? capable of improvement? in need of great changes to make it just? absolutely unjust and unfair? 2. What is your father's occupation?

Classify the opinions about our economic system into three groups: 1. Those given by sons or daughters of bankers, manufacturers, managers and officials, corporation lawyers, engineers, and such occupations; 2. Those given by sons or daughters of teachers, ministers, artists, authors, and the like; and 3. Those given by sons or daughters of artisans, helpers, factory operatives, clerks, laborers, teamsters, and the like. What differences do you note in the opinions of these three groups about the justice of our economic system? How do you explain these differences? (Three to ten hours)

14L28. Collect from your own experience or reading further instances in which people have put themselves into the place of others. (One to three hours)

14L29. Write out, with as accurate detail as you can, instances of reciprocity, or of the desire for revenge, which have come to your personal notice. (Two hours)

14W30. Make a study of the ideals of justice in the Ten Commandments, and in other ancient Hebrew documents. (One to ten hours)

14W31. Study the ideals of justice of the Hammurabi Code. (Two to four hours)

14W32. Summarize Plato's theories as to the nature of justice. How do they differ from the position suggested in this chapter? (Three to five hours)

14W33. Discuss in relation to this chapter the quotations from Smith and Bastiat on "Competition" in Park and Burgess, pp. 550–3. (One hour)

14W34. Study the philosophy of justice as presented in some modern elementary textbook on law, and make a summary in comparison with the approach suggested in our text. (Time credit to be arranged)

14W35. Write a paper on the ideals of Tolstoy, of St. Francis of Assisi, of William Morris, or of the Russian Communists, as to equality in standards of living. (Two to ten hours)

14W36. Summarize in writing the ideas of James Mark Baldwin's *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development* (1897), pp. 7–56. (Two hours)

14W37. Discuss Comte's attitude toward the idea of equality. (One to four hours)

14W38. Read Thorndike's treatment of "Individual Differences" as summarized by Park and Burgess (1924), pp. 95–7. Compare with the treatment in this chapter. (One hour)

14W39. What do New Testament writers teach on the subject of social equality? In answering this question, look up in a large concordance such words as "authority," "brother," "common," "love," "master," "ruler," "servant," "slave," "wife," "women," and any others which suggest themselves as appropriate. Select the verses which prove to be pertinent, and draw your conclusions, giving detailed citations. (Four hours)

14W40. Dean Inge, in his *Outspoken Essays* (1920), pp. 7–12, presents an "indictment against democracy" containing six counts. Discuss critically, advancing case materials as far as possible. (Time credit to be arranged)

14W41. Read the sections in Park and Burgess, pp. 841–846, on the mores and common law. What relation have they to the present chapter? (One hour)

14W42. Read Ross's chapter on "Personal Competition" in his *Outlines*, pp. 143–52, and read also the discussion of the same topic in

Park and Burgess, pp. 708–14. To what extent is personal competition a form of creative conflict? To what extent a form of the justice solution of conflict? (One hour)

14W43. Read Ross on "Class and Caste," *Outlines*, pp. 237–76. Make an outline list of important points which he develops which are not touched in our text. What points developed in our chapter has he missed, if any? (Two hours)

14W44. In what ways did the ideal of equality express itself in the economic theories of Saint-Simon? Why did he take the position he did on this subject? (Time credit to be arranged)

14W45. Compare the conclusions of Auguste Comte and of Lester F. Ward upon the proper social status of women. In what ways did their sociological theories help to guide them to correct positions on this question? Why? (Two hours)

14W46. What part did the ideals of equality and justice play in the social theories of Karl Marx? Data for an answer to this question will be found in Bogardus' *History of Social Thought*, pp. 234–8. (One hour)

14W47. Review Hobhouse's *Elements of Social Justice.* (Four hours)

14W48. What theories did Aristotle have as to communism, aristocracy, slavery, and other matters related to social equality? (Three hours)

14W49. What has Christianity contributed toward the promotion of sympathy, freedom, equality, and social justice? Material for an answer will be found in Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis.* What facts and opinions can you locate which suggest different conclusions? (Time credit to be arranged)

14W50. Thomas Hobbes, in the middle of the 17th century, worked out a social philosophy based on the proposition that man was originally egoistic, self-centered, and pleasure loving, but that he developed the state as a means of self-protection against the horrors of social conflict. Study the philosophy of Hobbes, as summarized in encyclopedias or histories of social thought, and present a critical analysis of this phase of his system. (Three hours)

14W51. Make a similar study of the social philosophy of John Locke. (Three hours)

CHAPTER XV

SOLVING CONFLICT BY ACCOMMODATION

Accommodation Contrasted with Coercion, Avoidance, and Justice. In discussing how human personalities may stimulate, aid, and reinforce each other's functioning instead of thwarting each other we have taken up a series of purpose relationships. When purposes clash with one another the solution of the conflict may be coercion, where the stronger overrides the weaker; it may be avoidance, where the purposes interfere with each other as little as possible; or it may be justice, in which the purposes are trimmed down to fit each other according to accepted rules. All of these solutions, however, are built upon the assumption that purposes are rigid and inflexible, instead of living and plastic. They assume a stiff, mechanical relationship between personalities instead of a growing, developing relationship. They assume a maximum of blind and headstrong force with a minimum of intelligence and adaptability.

An outstanding characteristic of purpose, as we have seen it in the analyses of previous chapters, is its inherent plasticity. The motive of life is to function. Action patterns are adopted chiefly as excuses for functioning. The inherent drives of the personality can find outlets in a great variety of ways. In our study of the dynamics of personality we have seen that emotional energy is generated whenever the personality is disturbed, but that the character of this emotion and of the resulting functioning depends upon the mental attitude of the personality disturbed, and is capable of being transformed by changing that attitude.

Two attitudes useful in turning emotional energy from destructive into constructive channels — sportsmanship and faith — have already been discussed. A third attitude for transforming social relations from abortive into creative phases, is accommodation — the substitution of experiment and intelligence for rigidity and blind impulse.

Sub-Social Accommodation. Accommodation may best be understood by starting with the process as it appears on the sub-social level. Stimulation and thwarting are not peculiarly social phenomena; rather, social stimulation and social thwarting are mere special cases of the effects of the environment in general, both social and sub-social.

Any of the surroundings of the personality may stimulate, or may limit the development of purposes. The environment suggests ways of functioning — the tree suggests climbing, the pool suggests going swimming, the freezer suggests making frozen desserts; the automobile suggests going driving, camping, and tinkering with the engine. The healthy person who has no other purpose conflicting with such activities is apt to seize upon these suggestions eagerly. Until trained not to do so, the vigorous individual who is at leisure explores all the possibilities that he can find in his environment. The environment thus stimulates, develops, and directs purposes.

But the environment also limits and restricts purposes. The child who tries to slide down the slide standing up is likely to fall and get hurt. The child or chimpanzee who tries to eat mud finds that it is not adapted for that sort of functioning. The driver who tries to go into reverse when the car is moving forward comes to grief. The environment suggests to the individual: "You can do this," but it also says emphatically: "You can*not* do that."

When the environment thwarts a purpose the thwarted person may give the reactions which, as we have already seen, are typical responses to a menacing stimulus; he may burst into rage and attack the thwarting thing; he may show fear and seek to avoid it; he may accept defeat and react with grief or dejection. These, however, do not exhaust the possibilities. Aggressive purposes, when the environment seems to refuse to let them function as they want to, may make the environment over to suit their own ends, or may merely change themselves so as to fit the environment, or more often, may do both.

Invention Involves Accommodation. This interaction between purposes and the environment becomes a central factor in the history of inventions. For instance, some men in England discovered that coal can be burned. This opened up a new way of functioning. Mines were dug. The purpose of getting coal had modified the environment. But the environment set limits to this new sort of functioning; water kept seeping into the mines and interfering with getting out the coal. So men set to work and invented a steam pump to get the water out

of the mines. Purpose had thus again modified the environment, and had developed new forms of functioning connected with steam pumps. But the engines connected with these pumps suggested new ways of functioning: people began to use them to drive wagons. The environment thereupon raised new difficulties: the roads were too bumpy for speed with steam wagons. So the developing set of purposes again modified the environment; wooden rails were tried, then iron, and finally steel rails were invented. This modification of the environment opened the way for new functioning. Railroads were built. Great locomotives were invented. More and more speed was developed. But new difficulties arose: trains collided with each other and smashed up engines and people. So the growing set of purposes developed automatic safety devices.

Of course this is a greatly simplified account of a very long and complicated series of functionings in which the environment stimulated and developed purposes, but limited them until the purposes changed and developed the environment, whereupon the environment again stimulated and developed the purposes. This process of interaction, of mutual modification and stimulation between the environment and purpose, goes on all the time, everywhere. We call it "accommodation."

Mental Accommodation. The relationship between the functioning personality and the sub-social environment must, then, be worked out by a series of adjustments of each to the other. In this process there must be accommodation not only between organism and environment but also between the idea or the *conception* of the process and the *actual* process. The invention of the steam engine involved not only accommodation between the purposes of the inventors and the environment, but also between *ideas*, purposes, and environment. That steam has expansive power was an idea known even to the early Greeks. They did not succeed, however, in getting the idea to function in the real environment by creating a useful steam engine. As later inventors succeeded with the first crude engines their ideas began to be modified by the functioning of the invention. First the power of expanding steam to push out a piston was recognized. Engines were built to use that power. Then it was discovered that, if suddenly chilled after it had pushed out the piston, the steam would condense, leaving a vacuum and then the outside air would push the piston back in. Engines were built to embody this new development of the idea of the process.

Then Watt found out that when the steam was condensed by being chilled inside the engines a great deal of valuable heat was lost. So he invented a condenser outside of the main engine. This embodied a further development of ideas about steam and it opened the way for still further growth. Through the whole history since then these ideas have gone on growing and changing in their accommodation with purposes and the environment. Engineering students now study thick books in which these growing ideas have been written down.

The Essence of Social Accommodation. Coercion seeks to attain its ends by attacking, injuring, thwarting, or destroying the expanded personality whose purposes obstruct it. Social accommodation seeks to attain *its* ends through stimulation and facilitation of the functioning of the expanded personalities with which it deals. Coercion smashes — accommodation uses — the purposes of others. Successful accommodation depends, then, upon two primary factors: comprehension (or at least intuitive understanding) of the purposes involved, and adaptation of one's own purposes so that they attain their fulfillment by fulfilling the purposes of the other.

While accommodation is certainly more intelligent and rational than coercion, it is not necessarily more altruistic. It may be used for purposes of exploitation as well as for the promotion of social welfare. Arranged in the order of their degrees of socialization, four phases of social accommodation may be recognized: first fraudulent or treacherous accommodation; second, objective utilization of other personalities by facilitating their functioning; third, discovery of common interests — of areas of agreement in purpose wherein coöperation will enhance the functioning of all the coöperators; and fourth, finding one's own opportunity to function by dedication to social service. While these four phases have no precise dividing lines, it is convenient to discuss social accommodation under these general headings.

Fraud Exploits Others by Playing on Their Purposes. Fraud, like coercion, involves the thwarting of purpose, but in fraudulent thwarting the method is deception rather than force. The person who is being coerced knows that he is being thwarted or his expanded personality injured; the person who is being defrauded does not realize what is happening until after the damage is done.

The one who is practicing fraud achieves his ends by understanding the desires, needs, weaknesses, hates, and loves of the people whom he wishes to use for his own ends. He is able to defeat their purposes

or interests because he understands their expanded and their anti-personalities.

A favorite method of defeating an enemy is to make use of his antagonisms. This is a very ancient practice. The Greek myth of Cadmus, who sowed the dragon's teeth, and, having reaped a crop of menacing warriors, slyly threw among them a rock so that the one who was hit attacked a fellow who he thought had thrown it, thus starting a fight which quickly eliminated the surplus warrior population, shows that near the dawn of written history this method of exploiting others through their enmities was well understood. In the ancient empires of Alexander and his successors one of the standard techniques of managing troublesome subjects who showed tendencies to rebel was to stir up their suspicions of their neighbors, and let them use their energies fighting each other instead of fighting the emperor.

This ancient practice has flourished down to modern times. The political boss in the American city of to-day skillfully stirs up trouble between Catholics and Protestants, or Jews and Gentiles, or Negroes and whites, as serves his purpose. In labor conflicts a favorite method of attacking the labor unions or of frustrating attempts to organize non-union workers has been to incite Italians against Polish, or native white workers against foreigners, or to stir up personal jealousies and animosities among leaders.

Even in international conflict fraudulent propaganda has been used to play upon the emotions and antagonisms of the people. For example, in the *New Leader*, a British labor weekly, Henry W. Nevinson speaks of the " infernal rumor " about the German " corpse factory " as a lie from start to finish. The purpose of such lies, he avers, may sometimes be an excuse for running away, and that is common in the Balkans, but, he tells us:

> Between countries like ourselves, the French, and the Germans, the sole purpose is to stimulate hatred, which otherwise might not be strong enough to induce kindly and civilized men to kill and be killed.
>
> That was why, at the beginning of the war, the lie was spread that Belgian babies were to be seen in our London hospitals with their hands cut off by Germans. "Oh! lots of people have seen them!" That was why the Canadians were told that one of their comrades had been crucified by Germans on a door. That was why we were told that German airplanes had purposely selected the hospitals at Etaples for bombing, and the lie would have done its appointed work if our own airmen had not protested. That

was why the lie about the German dead being boiled down into glycerin was invented and gluttonously swallowed.[1]

In our national politics shrewd manipulation to make a purpose defeat itself has been regarded as clever. The *New York Times* for December 19, 1926, under the title "One Way of Stifling an Inquiry" says:

> At odd times for several years past motions were made toward an investigation of the aluminum monopoly. In the Presidential campaign of 1924 the Democratic candidate had something to say about it, but as he was not elected the matter did not get beyond talk. After a while, however, the matter was taken up by the United States Senate in the form of a resolution to investigate. It was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor. But, in order to bedevil the issue, there were coupled two other investigations. One of these was for an exhaustive inquiry into the textile industries and the other was for a similar probe of the steel industry. This joinder of dissimilar things appears to have produced the desired result. The cost of such work would run into the tens of thousands of dollars and it would take much time to gather the necessary data. So the committee reported to the Senate, which thereupon postponed indefinitely the consideration of the matter. The subject will now be allowed to slumber until it is resurrected in some other form in the future.

The shrewd exploiter makes use of keen insight into the nature, the needs, the prejudices, and the hopes of his victim. He is like the fugitive who let his howling pursuers overtake him, and then, because he knew bloodhounds, *played* with them — before he tied them up securely and went upon his way![2] To defeat an opponent by making use of his kind impulses is not infrequently applied to human beings by their fellows. Jane Addams once called upon the mayor to urge that the editor of an anarchist paper, who had been arrested after the assassination of President McKinley, should no longer be deprived of his right to consult with an attorney. The mayor gave her a permit to visit the man, but also tipped off the reporters. The resulting publicity brought down on her head sharp public censure for aiding an anarchist.[3]

The mayor had used Miss Addams' sense of justice as a means to damage her. Playing upon people's fears is another method of fraudulent accommodation. Not long ago the writer received a leaflet

[1] *Literary Digest*, Dec. 5, '25, p. 18. [2] Whiting Williams.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 406–7.

containing the following statements: "Cancer is the arch enemy. There is a cure simple and easy. No operations, serums, plasters, or poisons of any kind, only simple medicines, to take internally, which can and do absolutely cure the disease we call Cancer." The "doctor" who circulated this falsehood was attempting to enrich himself at the expense of helpless victims. He was exploiting others to promote his own purposes regardless of theirs. Similarly, an insurance agent told of coming into contact with a boy who had gotten into the clutches of a quack doctor. This doctor had made the boy believe that perfectly natural developments in the functioning of his body were signs of venereal disease. When threatened with disclosure the doctor immediately withdrew from the case. Such instances could be duplicated in great numbers.

Stock swindlers are another group who succeed by understanding the personalities of others and playing upon their cravings and weaknesses. The *London Evening News* says:

These swindlers know the people who are most likely to believe their stories of shares by which they can get rich quickly, and the times at which they are most prone to fall.

They know, for example, that the man who holds shares in a company which has gone bankrupt is very ready to take up a scheme which professes to put the wrong right, to help him to save something from a wreck. So they obtain lists of such people and offer them shares at low prices which are supposed to be some sort of restitution, but are only a further swindle.

They have a dozen such tricks, and they are all worked by men of proved ability. They are men of the world, of impressive appearance, who have all the persuasive talk, perfectly adapted to the victim of the moment, which is the mark of skillful salesmanship.

Most of their victims are the unwary, the inexperienced, the foolish — but not all of them. The men who become victims of the confidence trick are often men wary enough in other directions, but with a blind spot in their defenses. Their fall, in fact, may be due to the confidence bred by their experience in one class of transaction making them insufficiently cautious in another. The man who is suspicious in the cattle market may become unsuspicious on the money market. Few investors can treat with contempt the astute and deep-laid plans of modern swindlers.[1]

Another phase of fraudulent accommodation by swindlers is their utilization of waves of popular interest. The *Scientific American* for December, 1926, warns:

[1] *Literary Digest*, May 29, '26, p. 66.

Those human blood-suckers, the promoters of worthless stock-jobbing corporations, are now said to be getting ready to capitalize the unusually great volume of recent newspaper talk concerning American rubber-growing potentialities. Guayale, a Mexican shrub, is to be the bait, thinks the India Rubber World.

Social Effects of Fraud. It need not be argued that fraud is a menace to social order as a whole. But is it so profitable to individuals that it is likely to drive out honest methods of adjusting purposes to one another? Recent movements in the business world indicate that fraud is rapidly on the decline. As the *New York Commercial* says:

Sly tricks are falling into disrepute. It is no longer considered good business to defraud the customer. There is something peculiar about the practice which always reverts to the disadvantage of the hypocrite and defrauder in the end.

The evil effects of using fraud even for the best ends imaginable is illustrated by the following incident:

Emily B. Moores, director of social service in the Miami Valley Hospital at Dayton, Ohio, sends, with the speaker's permission, this transcript of a talk with a prostitute who had refused for more than a week to say anything about herself, and spoke finally only when death was about to close her score with the unknown social worker who once had "gypped" her in an unknown city.

"I hate social workers. I trusted one once. She gypped me, and so now I leave them be. If they treat me good, I like them all right, only when they ask me questions they don't get nothing. I don't lie — not much — I just keep still. That makes 'em feel funnier than if I'd talk straight ahead a string of lies.

"You see, it was this way. When I was seventeen, I wasn't so good, but I was still a greenhorn; I was in a strange town, and I was sick. I couldn't work, and I had no place to go. So I heard of a social worker, and I went and asked her about a hospital to go to.

"She said, 'Yes, we have a good hospital where you can stay for nothing and have your treatments. They have movies once a week, and you will find other girls there for company.' So then she said she'd take me there.

"She took me all right — to the Detention Home. And they sent me to a convent. They had nothing on me, either, except my disease. And I had the money to pay for the hospital too. I didn't tell nothing more about myself to the Detention Home or the convent, either.

"What should she have done? Well, I guess I don't know. Maybe she thought she'd reform me or something. But tricking me like that was no way to do it. And I've worked in lots of towns since I got out of that place,

and I've learned lots worse things than I knew then. I played square that time. I laid all my cards on the table, and because they were dirty cards, she played me dirty. So now, when a social worker asks me about my past, or anything, I just don't answer, or maybe I lie a little. Never again! I trusted one once!" [1]

The most cold-blooded and unscrupulous schemer, if he is intelligent and if he wishes to establish permanent coöperative relations with another personality, will avoid fraud because, once discovered, it destroys the vital basis of further coöperation. It creates a shock which instantly places the perpetrator in the anti-personality of the victim. Fraud by a store-keeper alienates customers. Fraud by an employer on his employees makes them seek his failure instead of his success. Fraud by wife on husband or by husband on wife makes them suspicious and antagonistic. Fraud between nations cuts into international good-will and international trade. Fraud is bad business, and in the keen competition of modern life only the fit survive.

So much for treacherous or fraudulent accommodation. Now what of the other three forms?

Leadership Depends on Facilitating the Functioning of One's Followers. Despotism and leadership are both expressions of the desire to function through other people. Despotism carries out this purpose by coercion; leadership attains essentially the same ends by providing opportunities for followers to function in a satisfying way.

The success of the leader in getting voluntary followers depends most of all upon his ability to organize and keep going an activity which gives others a chance for interesting and profitable functioning. Miss Verry's study shows that the desire to be a leader cropped up often in children who at the moment were not able to offer any interesting action patterns to their fellows: but in such cases the attempt to lead failed. The following is a typical instance:

Gertrude walked vaguely about, then suddenly caught Sylvester by the hand and called: "All the children get in a circle." Her words, tone of voice, and manner were an almost exact imitation of those of the recreation teacher. No one noticed her. After several calls she got Belle's hand and ran to the sand table, catching hold of Myrle and saying, "Come and get in a circle." Myrle shook her off, so, running back, she took Sylvester's and Belle's hands and the three ran around once or twice, but Sylvester shook himself free and ran to the slide.[2]

[1] *Survey*, Jan. 15, '27, p. 501. [2] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* p. 45.

It will be noted that Gertrude, in her attempt at leadership, was imitating the recreation teacher; her leadership pattern was a product of contagious behavior. Similarly:

Genevieve was much more interested in seeing that every one else did the thing required than in doing it. She jumped off her chair in the circle and caught Fred's hands, trying to make him clap as she had seen the teacher do. When he did not move with the rest of the children to the bubble pan, she caught his arm and tried to pull him away vigorously. The next day she pulled the children's chairs carefully into place, and tried to show Dorothy how to clap, whereat Dorothy almost cried. . . .

The teacher had at the beginning of the period asked the children not to spill sand on the floor. Gertrude walked around the sand table, twisting herself with little affected jerks, saying, "Be careful. You must not spill sand." She was intent and serious about it. The other children disregarded her entirely.[1]

The Inventor as Leader. Successful leadership among these children was usually gained by inventing or starting a new activity. The following is an instance:

Sam began to arrange the chairs in a row in the middle of the floor. Apparently by accident the last chair in his row reached the foot of the slide; the seats of the chairs made a raised platform at right angles to the first step of the slide ladder. With a shout, Sam ran to the first chair, walked upon the chair seats to the slide, jumped on to the slide ladder, and went down the slide. Then he ran back to the first chair to repeat the process. After two trials he called to Thomas and Helen, who were walking idly about, "Come and slide this way!" He demonstrated and they followed him at once. Wilma, who was also absently wandering around, went to the slide and started to climb up. Sam was already upon the top of the slide, but he climbed back, saying in his most firm and argumentative voice, "Not that way, Wilma. I want you to do it the way I do." He repeated this but Wilma looked at him blankly. "I'll show you," urged Sam, and putting his arm around Wilma's shoulders he led her to the end chair, explaining each step of the proceeding as he did it. When she followed him he said, very much pleased, "Now that's what I want you to do." Albert, who all this time had been sitting on a table pounding clay with Bert and Thelma, jumped off and went to the slide. He followed Sam's routine once, without being asked or noticed, and then went back to the table. Bert came in from the test rooms and joined the game at once with no invitation or explanation.

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 36, 38, and 39.

Stanley walked timidly over from the sand table and got up on the chairs. He walked very slowly and painfully. Beth, Henry, James, and Paul were soon lined up on the chairs behind him waiting for him to get to the slide and so out of their path. Sam waited a while, then jumped off his chair, and going to Stanley said, "Can't you hurry?" Stanley did not answer but moved slowly on, trembling. Sam pulled him firmly off the chair, saying, "You're so slow, Stanley; you better not play this; you spoil it for us." Stanley went back toward the sand and the game continued. During the game Helen got her foot caught in the slide, and Paul sat down to help her get it out. This blocked the way and Thomas and Will drifted over to the sand, leaving Sam, Paul, and Helen, with occasionally Sarah and Peter to play the game.

On the next Monday, as soon as free play began Sam pulled his chairs into place, as on the previous Saturday, and called, "Come on and slide!" Beth, Paul, Helen, Mildred, Sarah, and for a while Margaret, played with him. Sam gave orders as before. Two days later Sam arranged the chairs, but only Beth joined his game and she half-heartedly and for only a little while. Five days later, as soon as free play began, Sam arranged the chairs again for his slide game, but no one would play with him.[1]

Sam's leadership in the above series of incidents arose out of an apparently accidental invention on his part of a fascinating new activity. Note the shout with which he recognized his own invention. He invited others to join, and they responded eagerly. A number came in without being asked. He undertook the instruction and direction of new recruits. He dealt with the complications which arose, such as the slow child whom he put out of the game. His authority was accepted unquestioningly by most of the children, but they stayed only as long as they were interested. Sam developed a strong sense of ownership in the activity which kept him devoted to it after it had lost interest for the others.

Adults also seek leadership through invention. The *New York Times* for August 15, 1926, discusses as follows conditions at Deauville, a European gambling resort:

The flamboyancy of masculine as well as feminine attire is becoming comical. Men now appear on the Boardwalk in delicately embroidered jumpers, while several have entered the gaming rooms in colored dinner jackets. Maurice Rostand, who also uses cosmetics freely, is in the van of this dress movement.

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 70–3.

Sometimes Ownership Brings Leadership. In many cases the coveted leadership among the pre-school children was achieved by means of some interesting toy brought to school by the child. By virtue of his property rights in this toy he could direct the purposes functioning around it. Miss Verry observes:

> The children seemed to get a very positive satisfaction from walking about the room with a balloon or doll, followed by a troop of children, asking "let me have it." As soon as the attention of the group turned to other interests, the child would leave his toy and follow the group.[1]

Sam brought a toy engine to school, and he, Albert, and Peter were playing with it.

> Sam would push it about the room, followed by an envious Peter and Albert, shouting at short intervals, "Now, let me play with it!" Finally Sam said "All right," handed it to Peter, and went down the slide. Albert kept up his shouting and after a while Peter very slowly gave it to him. (Apparently he felt that he ought to as he had just noticed the teacher watching him.) He watched Albert carefully, however, and as soon as he tired of the engine and ran to the sand, Peter picked it up and played with it the rest of the morning. . . .
>
> A few days later Sam brought his engine again. As soon as play period began, David, Mildred, Bert, Peter, and Albert ran for it. They pushed one another about, and kept saying, "Sam, let me play with it." Sam seemed inclined to share his engine, while at the same time keeping control of it. "You may if you do it this way"; "You must wind it up this way"; and "Now give it to Mildred" were the sort of orders he gave while letting the others manipulate the toy. The response to this was obedience until David got the engine. He refused to give it up or run it as Sam directed. Ignoring Sam entirely he began to push the toy briskly across the room. After repeating his orders several times Sam grabbed the engine away from David, saying, "It's mine." David came crying to the teacher saying, "He won't let me have it." The other children, after a turn or two with the engine, went to various other play materials.[2]

The Technique of Political Leadership. The childish leaders described above obtained their coveted opportunities to dominate the group by offering opportunities to function. Political leadership, among adults, is obtained in essentially the same way, only that the political boss, instead of giving his followers chances to play with toys, offers them opportunities to function in the larger games of life.

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 55. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 62.

The difference between the skillful politician and the reformer may be said to be chiefly that the politician attains leadership by expanding the personalities of his followers, while the reformer attempts to control affairs by attacking the expanded personalities of the politicians. The motive of the politician too often is anti-social, but he proceeds by essentially social methods. He has learned the art of building up loyalties by giving opportunities to function, by relieving tragic strains and pressures, by sharing the interests and activities of his constituents. The reformer, on the other hand, while his motives are likely to be highly altruistic, is apt to proceed by the method of attack, generating antagonism instead of building loyalty. When the altruist learns to attain his ends by methods which expand the personalities of the people with whom he deals — when, in other words, he uses creative accommodation — political reform may be expected to advance with giant strides.

The actual technique of political bosses as observed by social workers and others in various cities is worthy of somewhat detailed presentation. It is reported, by one who has known him for years, that a famous political boss in a large eastern city gets his power and prestige by finding out when families in his district are in trouble and then doing a first-class job of getting them back on to their feet. If the family finances are depleted through illness, he arranges a loan to tide them over. If unemployment is the essential problem he finds work for the head of the family. Through the granting of such favors as franchises he has gotten complete control of positions on one of the transportation lines in the city — no one would be hired by the management of this line except on the personal recommendation of this boss. One of the large department stores in the city similarly gave him control over all of the jobs in its shipping room.

This boss has made a practice of visiting families in his district about the time when the children came to the age to go to work, and he would say, " Jim's about ready for a good job now, isn't he? Send him around Monday and I'll fix him up." Nothing is said in connection with any of these favors about obligation to the boss or the party, nor is it even implied. What the boss wants is spontaneous loyalty. He wants to be taken into the expanded personalities of these families, and he proceeds soundly by linking himself up in their lives with getting good jobs, being helped out of trouble, and friendly sharing of human interests.

Whenever a wedding or a funeral takes place in the district, this boss is on the spot. Arrests, illnesses, births — any crisis in the life of the family brings his sympathetic and if need be, powerful aid.

It would not be accurate to ignore the fact that this leader uses also, when occasion arises, the most vigorous forms of coercion. If he fails to get the quota of votes which has been agreed on in advance of an election, he discharges ruthlessly from positions which he controls 50 or 100 men who were supposed to deliver the votes in the delinquent territory. When it comes to a place where he needs the services of any one whom he has placed in a position he gets these services or has the man put out of the job.

This boss also uses fraud whenever necessary or convenient. His objective is to build up power and riches, and he drives ruthlessly toward that goal. His political henchmen not only take in rake-offs on all public contracts in his district, but also levy blackmail and collect protection money from gambling dens, disorderly houses, and speak-easies. Indeed, in many cases bosses have been known to collect money on the promise of protection which they have had no power to give.

Conditions in Chicago have been strikingly similar. Jane Addams found that one out of every five voters in her ward held a job dependent upon the good-will of the alderman — a politician who was still powerfully intrenched after twenty years of notoriously corrupt office-holding. Street sweepers, sewer diggers, bridge tenders, city-hall office holders, street car employees, and telephone girls held their positions with gratitude for his kindness in finding them employment. Constituents who broke the peace and boys taken into Juvenile Court found him a friend in need. Peddlers thanked him for free licenses, business men for free railroad passes. The Hull-House campaign against him was opposed with the intense hostility which people show against those who attack their expanded personalities.[1]

That methods of successful political bosses vary but little from city to city is suggested by comparing with the above summaries the following account of the technique of " Bill " Vare:

It can be said that no boss in control of a political organization in the City of Philadelphia from the time of William Penn to the present day has ever held such undisputed power as has William Scott Vare, familiarly known as Bill Vare.

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 316–7.

This can be explained by a study of the "band of brothers" — the combination of ward leaders, once called The Plunderbund, which has shown the possibilities of the "cohesive power of self-interest."

There are forty-eight wards in Philadelphia. These in turn are divided into 1,492 divisions or election precincts. Each ward and each precinct has its own leader, who is absolutely supreme in his own bailiwick. The precinct leaders are answerable only to the ward boss, and the ward boss in turn pays tribute to the supreme leader, who is now Bill Vare.

This machine of the dominant party controls nearly every appointive and elective office in the city. No man can be appointed to any one of the thousands of appointive offices who does not have the endorsement and support of the division and ward leaders. The exceptions to this rule are so few that they are meaningless.

The precinct leader is an autocrat in his domain, and it is his business to know every voter who lives within its confines. He is taught that "service" is one of the most important words in the dictionary. It is his business to be helpful — "and that does not mean maybe." In the poorer precincts of the city some one is always in trouble, financial or otherwise, and the one person he knows he can depend upon is the precinct leader.

During the coal strike many persons in the poorer part of Philadelphia found themselves without coal, and the man who helped them to get it was usually the precinct leader. When they were able they paid him back, but if they happened to be in hard luck they were told to "forget it." This precinct boss has easy access to all of the police station houses and to the Magistrates' offices; and persons arrested for violations of petty city ordinances are released upon his say-so.

This sort of help is not confined to the poor and the helpless. After a heavy snowstorm last winter the wife of a distinguished citizen who lives in one of the fashionable sections of West Philadelphia was served with a summons by an officer on the beat for failing to have the sidewalk cleaned off, as required by law. She was in a dilemma. Her husband happened to be out of the city and she dreaded the ordeal of going before a Magistrate to explain the neglect. The division boss heard of this, voluntarily took the summons, and had it dismissed.

She was told that she was not under any obligation whatever for this act of courtesy. She was not asked for anything in return. But when the next election day came around she insisted upon going to the polls and voting for the ticket that had the backing of "that gentleman who was so nice to me." It was a case of bread cast upon the waters returning in full measure.

If the big bosses make big money they are not slow to divide their winnings with the smaller fellows. Some years ago an eminent Philadelphian who is not in "the political game" happened to be in the office of Ed Vare in what was then called the Betz Building. It was the day before Christmas, and a

force of clerks was engaged in putting five, ten, and twenty dollar gold pieces into envelopes. These envelopes contained the names of probably a thousand partisan workers in different parts of the city. No campaign was in progress. None of any importance was in prospect. The visitor wanted to know why Mr. Vare was engaged in such a display of unnecessary generosity. The reply was characteristic:

"The boys like to be remembered. They work hard all the year around, and they deserve consideration. They help me; why shouldn't I help them? Besides, I have the money and can afford to do it, and it makes me feel good too." [1]

While leadership is a highly complex phenomenon and may utilize all the four phases of accommodation, its essential factors come chiefly under our second type — objective utilization of other personalities by facilitating their functioning.

The New American Revolution: Creative Accommodation in Industry. In 1926 two English investigators, Bertram H. Austin and W. F. Lloyd, who had been studying industrial conditions in America, published their findings in a book called *The Secret of High Wages*. In reviewing this book in the *New York Times* (May 16, 1926), Evans Clark said:

For those who want to know why Great Britain has been paralyzed by industrial stagnation, culminating in the most extensive engagement in the struggle of the classes since Russia went over to the proletarian dictatorship, while the United States — comparatively speaking — simply oozes prosperity and contentment, this book will give answer. Out of their experience the authors have formulated nine "fundamental principles of management" which, applied to American industry, have produced these incredible results.

These nine principles are just as different from American practice a generation or two ago as they are from foreign practice to-day. Judged by the standards of the substantial business man of thirty years ago, they are at best "unsound" and, at the worst, downright revolutionary. Yet the application of these principles has done more to prevent the possibility of revolution in this country than all the speeches of all the anti-Socialist orators who have ever viewed the radical with alarm — and without loss of power or prestige to the property-owning class. On the contrary, it has brought the property owners profit beyond imagination, and at the same time has gone far to accomplish the radical's aim; more wealth and leisure for the masses.

This new and revolutionary business technique consists in social accommodation.

[1] George Barton, *N. Y. Times*.

Social Accommodation in Industry Founded on Sub-Social. Social accommodation, as American industrialists have practiced it, includes and builds on sub-social accommodation. First and foremost comes research. Herbert Hoover has said:

> We have increased the technical personnel in every avenue of production upon a scale vastly larger than any other nation. We are reaping the benefits of some 600 industrial research laboratories, mostly established in the last 12 years. They are ceaselessly searching for invention and for every economy in methods and use of materials.

One aspect of the sub-social accommodation underlying the new efficiency of American business has been standardization. Here are three striking instances:

> A shoe manufacturer found that he had three grades and 2,500 styles in each grade. He cut this to one grade and 100 styles. He thereby cut his production cost 31 per cent, overhead 28 per cent, inventories 26 per cent, and cost to consumer 27 per cent. He was selling 22 per cent more of women's shoes and 80 per cent more of men's.
>
> A food manufacturer compared his sales and cut his varieties 89 per cent. He found as a result that he could cut his selling force 73 per cent, his advertising 78 per cent, his overhead 80 per cent, while his volume of sales increased 600 per cent. His customers did not get so many varieties of apricot jam, but what they got cost them and the maker less.
>
> A company that operates a chain of hotels cut 30 styles of glassware to ten, 15 designs of carpets to three, all patterns of table linen to one, and simplified nearly 200 other items. Thus it released from former inventories $350,000 and saved $100,000. And the guest never missed any of these retrenchments.
>
> A new fashion set in. When the change was well started it began to go of itself. Up to January 15, 1926, 50 industries had adopted the new methods through and through, about 200 more had committees at work, and another 200 were studying the subject.[1]

Accommodation toward Customers. But while American industrial progress has been built upon *sub-social* accommodation, its most significant achievements have been in the field of *social* accommodation. This is evident in four relationships of the business man: namely, to his customers, to his competitors, to his employees, and to humanity at large.

[1] Charles Edward Russell, "The New Industrial Era," *Century*, May, 1926.

The customer needs to be regarded by the producer with at least as much keen intelligence and scientific study as he gives to his machinery or to the raw materials of his industry. Customers have to be studied, treated, and accommodated to, with at least the degree of intelligence used in dealing with the sub-social environment. An instance of the disaster which follows from failure to make this accommodation to the changing needs and desires of customers has been furnished by the wool industry. Wool mill executives in Passaic felt, in 1926, according to J. C. Royle of the Consolidated Press, that irrespective of what happened in their mills, the whole industry was " sick " and that even the elimination of labor troubles would by no means restore it to a normal condition:

> The industry has failed to keep up with the march of progress.
>
> People no longer buy heavy winter suits because heating of houses, offices, and public conveyances has so improved that the heavyweight fabrics have become a burden rather than a necessity. The population has become accustomed in recent years to move with the climate, hence extreme degrees of heat or cold need not be provided against.
>
> Women have turned to dresses and to the lighter fabrics included in cotton, rayon, silk, silk and woolen mixtures and wool and rayon combinations.
>
> The trend toward furs has put a tremendous dent in the cutting of woolen cloth. It is possible to-day to buy a fur coat, either of natural muskrat or the cheaper domestic furs which simulate the wild varieties, for less money than a high-grade woolen coat will cost. It is no longer necessary to depend on the trappers in the wilds for furs. They are being produced on farms near the consuming markets. Many of the woolen mills are equipped with machinery to turn out half-inch-thick fabrics which now are salable in a constantly lessening territory of the North. Much of this machinery is antiquated. The quantity production of the woolen mills is now ahead of consumption. The change to quality production must be at the expense of a change of both policy and machinery.[1]

Ideally, the intelligent producer not only keeps informed as to the conscious wants of his customers, but even finds out their potential wants — discovers some real but unrealized need of the public, and proceeds to educate his prospective customers as to their own welfare. For example, a company which manufactures fly poison spends large

[1] *Literary Digest*, June 26, '26, p. 60.

sums of money telling people the truth about the disease dangers to which flies expose them.

The process in which the purposes of the seller accommodate themselves to the actual and potential purposes of the customer, is often used as a resource in competitive attempts to get patronage. An instance is summarized from the *Railway Age:*

That it is possible for a railroad to put up a good fight to regain some of the local traffic that the motor-car, public and private, has filched from it, is indicated by what the Boston & Maine Railroad is now doing in northern New England. This road has recently, by quickening schedules and cutting out stops, by improving equipment and using buses and rail motor-cars as auxiliaries; and, above all, by well-considered publicity, succeeded so well in its attempt that automobile owners now actually leave their cars at home, in certain instances, to use instead the attractive new fast trains of this line.[1]

Good-Will Builds Good Business. The success of the producer in securing and holding customers depends not merely upon his understanding of their actual and potential needs for their products, but also upon keeping himself in the customer's expanded personality and out of his anti-personality — keeping good-will rather than building ill-will. This achievement is quite likely to depend upon auxiliary services and courtesies quite as much as on the main service rendered. One of our great railroad systems prints in a prominent position on its dining car literature this statement: "Our dining cars are not dedicated to profit, but to that important though intangible asset — GOOD-WILL."

An instance of methods used to build up friendly feeling with prospective customers is the following letter, sent out by a large publisher (Prentice-Hall) during the summer to teachers likely to be using its texts in the fall:

WARM WEATHER GREETINGS:

May this find you enjoying a pleasant summer.

Here we are working with great interest on the most important problem of the year — getting ready to have the text books in stock at your bookstore when your fall classes open.

We shall appreciate it — and your bookstore will, too — if you will kindly inform them of your requirements. For your convenience, we are inclosing

[1] *Literary Digest*, June 19, '26, p. 19.

a little slip to send to them, in case you haven't already told them of your wishes.

And if, furthermore, you want to see some books of the early summer crop, just pass word to us on the card inclosed.

Here is the latest news: . . .

With all good wishes,

Yours very truly, . . .

This friendly interest in the customer needs to be sincere, if it is to be effective over any length of time. A Catholic priest tells of an insurance agent who crossed himself as he opened the door, but after getting the priest's order went out slamming the door and spitting on the porch. Such methods are classed properly with treacherous or fraudulent accommodation, and rapidly generate antagonism rather than good-will.

Not only courteous and friendly methods but also much more substantial extra services are rendered by many large firms to their prospective customers in order to generate good-will. One of our huge modern American corporations published recently the following advertisement:

For nearly half a century The National Cash Register Company has been gathering information on retail problems.

Their representatives have talked to almost every merchant in the civilized world.

To make this vast source of information available to business men, a great clearing house, or "Merchant Bureau," was established at our factory. Here any merchant may write or call and discuss his particular problems. Here each inquiry is studied and answered individually. This service is gratis and welcome to all.

During the last year 108,000 questions regarding business problems were asked and answered.

Merchants have found our 112-page booklet, "Better Retailing," of great help in solving their problems and conducting their business. 300,000 copies have already been published. It will be sent free, at your request.

A large home furnishing company which sells goods on the installment plan found that a certain proportion of its customers were getting into difficulty because illness, unemployment, or death made it impossible to continue payments on goods which they had bought. These catastrophes were damaging the good-will of actual and potential customers. The company therefore devised a plan under which the

buyer is protected in case of illness or unemployment, and a paid-in-full receipt is given to the family for any unmatured balance in the event of the death of the bread-winner-purchaser.

Service First. Sometimes the policy of building up good-will by looking out for the interests of the customer goes so far that it seems to involve a direct sacrifice of the immediate interests of the seller. On the carton in which is sold a standard medicine, used for clearing out the system, is printed the following statement:

> One tablet at bedtime will generally produce the desired effect. It is not advisable in any case to take more than two except when the dose is not to be repeated. Open air exercise and rational habits of eating and drinking should enable the patient to discontinue the use of these or any other tablets of the sort after a few weeks.

Not long ago the writer found it necessary to discontinue an insurance policy which he had carried for some years. He wrote to the office of the company announcing his intention. In reply he received a letter pointing out the fact that if he would hold the policy for one more quarter, its cash value would increase about $30 more than the extra quarterly payment which he would make. Companies that do things like these have adopted as a genuine part of their business policy the principle that their customers' interests come first.

Avoiding Public Antagonism. Accommodation to the interests of customers applies not only to facilitating the expansion of their personalities, but also to avoiding incurring their displeasure. The National Board of Censorship was established coöperatively and voluntarily by the moving picture producers in order to avoid incurring the hostility of possible patrons.

Another instance of the necessity for guarding against getting into the anti-personality of the public is afforded by newspapers. William Allen White, famous editor, from Emporia, Kansas, told the National Electric Light Association:

> I know of thousands of dollars' worth of advertising my country paper could take and swell my profits 50 per cent. There is no law against taking that advertising. It is crooked, dirty advertising. If I take it, public opinion will so declass me that my profits from every direction will fall and I will be poorer than before I went into the offensive adventure.
>
> I know a lot of ways to deceive the public and sell sensational news. My circulation would jump. If I try it in five years I will be feared, or hated, or both, and known as a liar. The better class of advertisers will shun my

columns and my profits will totter into losses. There is no liberty in the old sense. No man with a dollar to invest has any inalienable rights which his fellows are bound to respect.[1]

So vital has the building of good-will and the elimination of ill-will become in the business world that the attainment of these ends has become the basis of a new profession. Henry F. Pringle cites this instance:

Ivy Lee is not a press agent. He prefers to be termed a public relations counsel. His contribution to civilization is that, as Arthur Brisbane once put it, "he interprets his client to the public and the public to his client." It is 20 years now since, seeing no future in newspaper work, he convinced the Pennsylvania Railroad that larger dividends would be earned if its activities were properly interpreted to the public. Those were the days when the railroads were beginning to deplore the unfortunate frankness of the public-be-damned theory of railroad operation. Mr. Lee suggested that he could do much for them in constructive work.

It is his proud assertion that he never offers for free publication material that belongs in the advertising columns. In the light of this position it is not out of place to examine a document distributed to newspapers, about a year ago, by the Copper and Brass Association.

The article in question contained photographs of the Cathedral of St. John the Divine and of the choir which sings in that edifice. The reading matter described the beauties of the new church, "built to stand for ages." And then: "Its walls are of massive masonry, while the roofs and other important metal parts, such as flashings, gutters, and downspouts *are constructed of copper, a metal whose worthiness has been proved by its centuries of service on churches and cathedrals in England and on the continent. Various water pipes are of brass.*"

It is probably not necessary to point out that the italics were not provided by Mr. Ivy Lee.[2]

Discovering Community of Interest. Thus far the discussion of accommodation has related chiefly to the use of cold-blooded intelligence in understanding the people with whom one must deal, utilizing their wants, interests, possibilities, and personalities in accomplishing one's own ends, and, as far as is necessary, adapting the details of one's purposes so as to fit them scientifically into the real situation. A stage beyond this, however, is the recognition that one's purposes have common areas with the purposes of those with whom one is dealing — that

[1] Associated Press Dispatch, May 20, 1926. [2] *American Mercury*, Oct. '26.

they overlap, and that both parties may achieve their own interests best by coöperating in advancing common interests.

The four-year-old pre-school infant, Sam, made a remarkable achievement in discovering an area of agreement in what appeared to be wholly a field of conflict between him and another child. One source of conflict, as we have already noted, is rivalry between would-be leaders. Sam had a marked tendency to seek and to win leadership. So had Margaret:

She pulled a chair close to the slide and would lightly strike each child as he slid past her. This caused wild laughter. Soon the children sliding each got a chair beside Margaret, and would alternate standing on the chair with sliding down.

It was not long before Margaret began to use destructively this activity which she had originated. The game had been renewed a few days after its first appearance:

Margaret, after a turn or two, began to push the children vigorously. "Don't do that, Margaret!" "Don't push," the other children called, and to Miss S. they protested, "She's pushing too hard." Margaret only laughed and went on pushing. Sam climbed down and getting beside her tried to pull her away from the slide, saying, "You can't play if you push." The other children ran away, one at a time, to the sand or shelves. Finally Margaret shook away from Sam, and went over to the sand.

It was not long after this that Sam invented his game of walking over the row of chairs to the slide. The game had been a huge success, making Sam the leader and director. But on the second day of its use Margaret attempted to upset his leadership and recaptured the center of the stage for herself:

As soon as free play began, Sam pulled his chairs into place, as on the previous Saturday, and called, "Come on and slide." Beth, Bert, Helen, Mildred, Sarah, and for a while Margaret, played with him. Sam gave orders as before. Margaret after following the routine a time or two went directly to the slide. Sam said, "You mustn't," but Margaret paid no attention to him. She then pulled a chair out of the row to the side of the slide and began to push at the children on the slide and strike at them as they went down. "Aw, you spoil it. Put it back," Sam begged, but when she paid no attention to him, he pulled a chair beside hers and began to push at the children on the slide. "Now you slide, Margaret, and I'll hit you,"

he ordered, and she did so. Then he said, "I'll slide and you hit me." He went through the old proceeding, before sliding. The next time, Margaret and the other children did likewise.[1]

This masterly solution of a childish conflict is symbolic of the way in which intelligent patience can substitute coöperation for antagonism by discovering the adjustment which will promote the essence of both of the apparently conflicting purposes.

Common Interests with Customers. Buyer and seller used to be thought of as having diametrically opposed interests — each trying to get as much for as little as possible. *Caveat emptor* — " let the buyer beware "— was a recognized rule of trade. But a revolution is being produced by the discovery that high services for low prices may mean high profits. The British observers, Austin and Lloyd, have this to say on the subject:

The old-fashioned business man, who apparently still dominates the European scene, holds firmly to the notion that profits can only be increased by cutting down wages or raising prices to the consumer — witness the coal operators in Great Britain to-day. But the magic American formula is precisely the reverse: in the long run profits can be substantially increased only by raising wages and reducing prices to the consumer — and it certainly seems to work. The process is this: Every cut in the price of an article allows more people to buy it. That in turn increases the volume of business and creates a double increase in profit by reducing the manufacturing costs.

Henry Ford, of course, has been the high priest of this doctrine in the United States.

In 1908–1909 the production of Ford motor cars was 10,660 at a price of $950. In 1924 the production of the same models was 1,993,419 at a price of $290; that is to say, while the price in 1924 was one-third of the 1908 price the output had increased 200 times.[2]

Henry Ford's own attitude toward customer accommodation is stated in the Ford Company handbook as follows:

Against the current practice of charging all that the traffic will bear, the Ford Motor Company adopted the policy of building the best quality of service for the least money. Whereas, it was commonly held at that time that purchasers of motor cars should be charged exorbitant prices for replacement parts, on the theory that having bought the car the owner had

[1] Ethel Verry, *op. cit.* pp. 62 and 70–3.
[2] Summary by Evans Clark, *N. Y. Times*, May 16, '26.

to buy the parts, the new company was quite revolutionary in holding that it was morally bound to supply the customers with needed parts at lowest prices. What this policy did to establish confidence in a new form of transportation against which the public suspicion was strong, it is impossible to compute. Such a policy could have been conceived only in a mind more intent on helping the public to see the value of the automobile than on making profits. The car itself, as a car, as a helper of the people, has always been the first interest in Henry Ford's mind.

Toward this end all of Mr. Ford's energies were directed to perfect the model which should best serve the people, the model which should be easiest and most dependable to operate, which should best combine the cardinal mechanical virtues of durability, simplicity, and inexpensiveness. That model appeared in 1908 — the famous Model T. Thus standardization was reached, which means finding that combination of qualities which is of most use to most people. And with that point attained, the unparalleled production growth of the Ford Motor Company began.[1]

After stating the positive side of the relation between prices and profits, Austin and Lloyd observe that, conversely, every time the price of an article is raised the size of its market is restricted and production costs increase. This "conversely" is illustrated by an item in the *New York Times* for August 22, 1926:

There is a virtual monopoly of potash by Germany and France, which are in agreement to divide exports between them on the basis of 70 per cent to the former and 30 per cent to the latter. It was considered noteworthy that, despite the existence of the monopoly, no advance in price was made. This was not altogether altruistic. It was rather a matter of shrewd business tactics. By keeping prices down it was felt that more potash could be marketed and, besides, there would be less provocation to search for and obtain supplies from new sources. According to late advices from Germany, there is a possibility that prices will be marked up. It seems that the German industry was put through a drastic re-organization. These measures have proved costly and they have been accompanied by a lowered demand. What is disturbing the producers is that sales will drop if prices are raised, because a number of foreign customers are not in a position to pay an increase.

Producer and customer have other interests in common besides mere price. The following paragraphs from a leaflet printed by the Dunlop Tire and Rubber Co. for operators of Chevrolet cars illustrates a

[1] *The Ford Industries*, p. 2.

three-cornered joint area of purpose between auto manufacturer, tire manufacturer, and consumer:

The Chevrolet Motor Company builds to the highest quality standards. Chevrolet requires similar high value in the tires used as original equipment. Tire manufacturers taking pride in their products are naturally proud of their association with Chevrolet cars.

The tire manufacturer likes to consider himself a partner of the tire user. Partners have definite responsibilities. The maker's job is to build a tire that will give the buyer the most for his money. The tire user's part is to operate the tire so that he will get out of it the mileage that has been built into it.

This is an ideal partnership. The tire user benefits through high mileage at low cost. The tire manufacturer is rewarded through increasing approval of his products.

Some companies have pooled their interests with those of the customer to the extent of profit sharing. An instance is reported in the *Rotarian* by J. R. Sprague:

This company figures its profits at ten per cent above production costs, but stockholders do not get all of this ten per cent. The employees get a share. Moreover, the clients likewise receive a proportion of the yearly earnings.

At the end of each year's business, a statement is prepared that shows the total sales and expenses, and the amounts paid stockholders and employees. Twenty-five per cent of the balance of the profit is divided among the clients.

Fine, one thinks, when business is going good and when each client receives a nice dividend check the first of January. But how about it when the sledding is hard, and there are no dividends to distribute? That is precisely the question I asked Corney Garretson. There was one recent year when the clients received no dividends. In no case was there complaint, but rather an expression of hope that the Company would for its own sake be on the right side of the ledger the following year. Business is not always merely business when there is mutual confidence and respect between seller and buyer and when the carrying out of a contract does not depend on legal documents.[1]

Coöperation Is Conquering Cut-Throat Competition. Not only between producer and customer has social accommodation been going on. A striking development in American business has been the shift from destructive "cut-throat" competition and even from "just"

[1] *Literary Digest*, June 26, '26, p. 62.

competition to an increasing recognition of common areas of purpose. O. N. Cheney says:

The old competitive methods ranged from price-cutting to arson, including slander, bribery, espionage, man-stealing, and fomenting strikes. But nowadays, when two men in the same line meet, they start talking about cooperative advertising or standardizing sizes, eliminating unnecessary styles, uniform cost accounting, or standard terms to the trade. They may even talk of a merger.[1]

The English investigators quoted above said on this point:

Instead of petty superstitions and jealousies and chafferings about "trade-secrets," American manufacturers — even rival firms in the same industry — coöperate by exchanging ideas. Among themselves they gladly teach and gladly learn. In this frankness there is the wisdom of all moral courage.

A concrete instance is described by George D. McLaughlin, Director, Research Laboratory of the Tanners' Council of America:

The tanning of leather was one of the first steps of civilized man. Throughout many ages and into the present day tanning was an empirical practice, the "secrets" of which were handed down from father to son. This was the result of an abundant supply of cheap raw material and mild competition. Under the stimulus of diminishing supplies of domestic raw materials and ever-increasing competition, a new view-point was born. Progressive members of the industry realized that if they were to maintain or advance their position, the scientific laws underlying the materials and processes of their industry must be written.

The council wisely turned to a university. A gentlemen's agreement with the University of Cincinnati was reached which was subsequently to become the basis of a formal contract. The agreement is brief and simple, and provides that: (1) no research work shall be undertaken which is not of a strictly fundamental character, which means, of course, that no "hack" work or special problems of particular contributing corporations will be considered; (2) the council will furnish the funds needed for the prosecution of the work; and (3) the results of all research will be freely published in reputable scientific journals.

From the viewpoint of the average industrialist the contract is unbusinesslike; from the standpoints of the really progressive manufacturer and the university it is the only adequate method of meeting the problem, of insuring work of a fundamental quality and of attracting to it men of university caliber.[2]

[1] *Nation's Business*, June, '26. [2] *Scientific Monthly*, Apr. '26, pp. 282–3.

Another instance is in paper manufacturing. A group of the larger companies started exchanging information as to the cost of each step and process in their individual plants. Each manufacturer could then check up his own costs and find out just where he was wasting money and where he was especially efficient. When he discovered a high cost in his plant as compared with other plants, he consulted the others about how he could reduce his costs. At first only a few firms were willing to exchange these "secrets," but the method was so successful that practically all the large companies eventually joined.

In Many Instances Destructive Conflicts Still Survive. It must not be supposed that perfect peace and coöperation have taken possession of American business as a whole. Here is an instance of another sort:

The underlying trouble with the petroleum industry is that the law of supply and demand, which governs all other industries, is inoperative in this. But we must not imagine that any monopoly exists. Far from it. Indeed, such keen competition exists that to-day it is becoming increasingly evident to the oil industry that, for the stabilization of the industry; for the placing of oil recovery upon a practical, scientific basis; for an equitable distribution of the oil based upon surface ownership; for the elimination of the present enormous waste, both of oil and capital; and above all, for the maintenance at all times of a generous reserve of oil, it is necessary that what has come to be known as "unit operation" be established in the industry. In other words, cut-throat, grab-all-you-can competition must give way to mutually coöperative drilling.

In 1924, Marland, writing in the *National Petroleum News*, stated that the American Petroleum industry, since its beginning, has sold its oil for $4,900,000,000 less than it cost to drive the wells and lift the oil.[1]

The Movement toward Coöperation Is Bigger than Business. Herbert Hoover says:

Another marked tendency of the last 25 years is the notable growth of a higher sense of coöperation in the whole community. This period has seen a vast growth of associational activities — chambers of commerce, trade associations, professional associations, labor unions, trade councils, civic associations, farmers' coöperative associations — until there is scarcely an individual in our country who does not belong to more than one of them. Some of the associations are selfish and narrow. But the great majority represent a movement toward a more efficient, more ethical business practice, serviceable not only to themselves but to the public. One reflection of this

[1] J. Bernard Walker, *Scientific American*, Aug. '26.

new spirit of coöperation has been the steady improvement in business ethics through the establishment of business codes and their enforcement. The whole process of eliminating waste through standardizing of dimensions, qualities of goods, and business practice, is only possible by such coöperation. There are to-day literally thousands of such coöperative movements in progress. They were almost unknown a quarter of a century ago.[1]

As Hoover intimates, competitor accommodation has been going on in other lines besides business. Here is an instance:

The American Medical Association was organized primarily to raise the standards of medical education. The Association established the Council of Medical Education, which has promulgated higher standards from time to time, until to-day the number of medical schools has decreased from almost 200, including all sorts of fly-by-night diploma-mills, to less than 80 reputable institutions.

The early nineteen-hundreds revealed the acme of secrecy in proprietary medicines; moreover the publication of inaccurate and misleading formulas was frequent. The association promptly established a chemical laboratory, in which are employed four full-time chemists, to verify the composition of remedies offered to physicians, and of secret nostrums purveyed to the public.

The public has been an easy victim for any sort of claims made for a proprietary medicine. Coincident with the establishment of the Council of Pharmacy, there came into being the Bureau of Investigation. Year by year, medicine makers, quacks, and all sorts of medical mail-order fakers have been investigated and information collected. The card-indexes listing material available contain 125,000 cards devoted to medical quackery. The information collected in this Bureau is made available to the public and to the medical profession through articles in the *Journal*, in *Hygeia*, a magazine of health published by the American Medical Association, and through pamphlets circulating directly to the public.

Moreover, lantern-slides, posters, and charts are made available to physicians who may wish to lecture before schools, or other groups interested in the prevention of quackery.

The Bureau of Medical Legislation informs physicians and lawmakers concerning the status of health legislation. It has concerned itself particularly with such problems as the current lye legislation, in an attempt to protect the housewife against the dangers of caustic substances; it has fought constantly the fanatical opponents of vaccination and animal experimentation, who place personal prejudice above sanity and progress; it

[1] *Nation's Business*, June 5, '26.

has aided in the fight for a minimum standard of education of all those who would treat the sick.

There was a time when medical science was shrouded in mystery and was practiced in secrecy. But times change. To-day the Association disseminates information to thousands of lay newspapers and periodicals. The radio is used from many centers to broadcast medical information.[1]

Another illustration of the recognition of areas of common interest, which can be cultivated vastly better by coöperation, has recently been provided by American legislatures:

A general clearing house has recently been organized for the exchange of information and mutual assistance among the State Legislatures of the country. This organization, known as the American Legislators Association, comprises the 7,500 State legislators in office in all the upper and lower houses of forty-eight States, who in turn elect representatives to serve their common interests. The association has the approval of the American Bar Association and many prominent members of the Federal and State governments.

Lack of coöperation in the past has resulted in an immense amount of lost motion and duplication of effort. The association is the first attempt, it is believed, to provide adequate machinery to enable the State Legislatures to pool their varied interests. It promises to make possible a striking economy, while the expense of organization and maintenance is to be trifling.

It frequently happens that several States carry on simultaneously investigations of an identical nature. Committees are appointed and large sums are expended to obtain information bearing on certain problems, duplicating the work being done by other states. Preliminary investigation has disclosed the fact that millions are expended annually in such duplication. The association is to provide a bureau where knowledge bearing on all sorts of State problems can be pooled, to be drawn on when needed.[2]

International Competitor Accommodation. The idea of competitor accommodation has international aspects. In the fall of 1926, 200 distinguished economists and financiers, representing sixteen different countries, issued a manifesto pleading for the removal of restrictions on European trade. In their statement they said:

There can be no recovery in Europe till politicians in all territories, old and new, realize that trade is not war but a process of exchange, that in time of peace our neighbors are our customers, and that their prosperity is a condition of our well-being. If we check their dealings, their power to pay

[1] Morris Fishbein, *The Century*, Aug. '26. [2] *N. Y. Times*, Nov. 7, '26.

their debts diminishes and their power to purchase our goods is reduced. Restricted imports involve restricted exports, and no nation can afford to lose its export trade.[1]

Another international illustration relates to aërial commerce. Harry Harper expresses the following opinion:

The keynote of European air progress now lies in coöperation on an international basis. In one country after another a series of separate companies have been merged into one national enterprise. This has taken place in Britain with Imperial Airways. It has occurred in France with the Air Union, and Germany has concentrated her efforts in the establishment of the powerful Lufthansa Company. What experts now predict, as a development of the not far distant future in one all-powerful international, is a fusion of national companies' enterprise, operating aërial transport throughout all countries rather on the lines — as applied to railways — of the International Sleeping Car Company.[2]

Employer-Employee Accommodation. The same spirit which has been transforming the social relations between producer and customer and between competitors has been at work between employer and employee. Clark summarizes as follows the conclusions of the two British observers on this point:

Any employer, the authors point out, can pay his workers more without loss to himself if only they produce more — which they are usually perfectly willing to do if it can be done without working either harder or longer. To this end a prodigious amount of time and energy has been directed in the United States. In its imposing industrial research laboratories, in the passion for inventiveness which employers have often imparted even to the workers themselves, in the nation-wide program for standardization, in all that is meant by "American efficiency" the authors have seen a concerted drive to enlarge the productive capacity of the average man.

Because three chapters, later in our text, will be devoted to the employer-employee relationship, this aspect of social accommodation will not be developed further at present.

Wisconsin Industrial Commission — Social Accommodator. A superb instance of the way in which a complex group of conflicting interests can be accommodated to each other, with a minimum of coercion and a maximum of mutual benefit, is the work of the Wis-

[1] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 30, '26.
[2] *N. Y. Times Magazine*, Dec. 19, '26, p. 5.

consin Industrial Commission. The old method of providing for the safety and health of workers in industry has been to pass complicated laws providing for the guarding of certain dangerous machines, the provision of various types of fire exits, the piping away of poisonous fumes, and a vast variety of other detailed provisions. Inspectors were then assigned to visit the factories and to threaten or arrest employers who persistently violated these laws. This method has amounted to legal coercion, with many of the shortcomings which coercion entails. But Wisconsin invented a method of achieving the same purposes chiefly by willing coöperation. The Industrial Commission was given general authority and responsibility for seeing that work-places were safe and healthful. Under the authority thus bestowed, it developed the practice of calling into consultation representatives of the leading manufacturers and labor leaders interested in any given industrial hazard, and of working out in consultation rules which would be of maximum advantage and minimum hardship to all involved. The question of what sort of guards should be placed around wood-working machinery would be decided, not by an outside reformer, or a legislator, or even a theoretical expert, but by representatives of the men who, as owners and workers, had to deal directly with the problem and apply the rules after they are adopted. Expert advice would be taken, and representatives of the public be heard, but the final solution would be an agreement growing out of the actual experience in the industry; progress toward safe and healthful conditions in Wisconsin industries has thus been made a process of accommodation.

This plan does not entirely eliminate coercion. After the great body of interested managers, owners, workers, and consumers has reached an agreement as to certain safety standards, and a rule has been adopted by the Commission, that rule has the effect of law. If then some "black-leg" employer tries to cheapen his costs by violating these rules, and thus gain an unfair competitive advantage, the inspectors of the Commission are on the alert to catch him and bring him to punishment. But these inspectors are regarded, not as enforcers of a body of laws which make the manufacturers their enemies, but as agents of the rules which the industries themselves regard as just and want to see enforced. Coercion is used only against the exceptionally stubborn individual who refuses to coöperate.

It Is Profitable to Make Others Prosperous. Instances already discussed make it clear that from a cold-blooded business standpoint it

is desirable to understand the needs of one's customers, and to gain their good-will by cheerful service. Further instances have shown that it is good sense to seek for the area of common interest in a field of conflict — to try to discover or if necessary invent ways in which the mutual purposes and possibilities of producers and customers or of competitors can be promoted. These principles may be carried even further, however. In certain social relations it has become increasingly evident that one can profit most by seeking to make other people prosperous. This seemingly visionary proposition finds interesting evidence of its soundness in the methods now being worked out in certain rural banks:

The country banker has found that he grows only as the whole community grows and prospers. So he is studying and working to that end.

The sharp contrast between the old and the new methods is brought out by the respective treatments of a young hardware merchant by the two banks in one small town. This young fellow inherited several thousand dollars, and had bought a retail store before he had learned the rudiments of business management. His financial affairs soon went from bad to worse. He had reason to believe that the cashier of the First National Bank, where he kept his account, intended to press him, and knowing what that would do to him at the particular moment, the hardware man called on the president of the Second National Bank and poured out the whole story. For several nights each week the president went to the hardware store and acted in an advisory capacity. Under his careful and tactful tutoring the young man placed himself on a limited weekly budget; started a strenuous campaign to collect his book accounts; and wrote confidential weekly letters reporting his financial progress to all creditors except the other bank. He was delighted by the coöperation he received all around and made rapid progress toward a sound footing. When the disgruntled cashier of the First National Bank served notice a little later, the young merchant's affairs were in such good condition that the Second National Bank was justified in taking over his account, and saving the day for him. But that wasn't the best part of it. The best part is that America has one more young retailer who is capable and successful. That's the national wealth!

A young man with a past experience in several large cities came to a small town of less than 2,000 population, and purchased the weekly newspaper. He transformed the paper and tripled the profits. The cashier of one of the banks kept his eye on him. Finally convinced that this young man was well-schooled in advertising and selling, he asked him to become one of his bank directors, even though he was only 32 years old. In less than four months the young publisher had grappled with one of the pressing risks of

the bank and changed it into an asset. None of the other directors had given such a possibility a thought. Yet it was comparatively easy to do when studied by an experienced man. A small factory in the town was more than $5,000 in permanent debt to the bank. The young publisher was able to reconstruct the factory's selling and advertising policy so as to wipe out its debt, and change the account from a liability into a going business of $50,000 the first year with a balance running to four figures.

The country bank is fast becoming not merely a repository for community funds, but the fountainhead of town business development. In the future its main idea will not be the making of money. It is reorganizing its directorate so as to make it equal to its appointed job of showing every kind of business man how to take advantage of the best methods, and to make and to have more money — not more debts at 6 per cent per annum.[1]

One of the largest insurance companies in America has made money by reducing the death rate among its wage-earning policy holders. This company has on its books millions of Americans whose deaths are costly to the company. It therefore pays out hundreds of thousands of dollars, not only in nursing and health work directly among its policy holders, but in educational advertising to the general public along health lines.

Even in relations between nations we may detect traces of the wisdom which seeks to prosper by making other people prosperous:

In Cairo the Egyptian minister of agriculture had just had word that the United States Department of Agriculture would lend him two experts to supervise a vigorous campaign against the boll-weevil. Egypt's young government appreciates the unselfish willingness of the United States to lend its experts to help Egypt compete more effectively with the cotton farmers of our own South. And yet the agricultural minister's greatest enthusiasm was reserved for the Ford tractor. He sees Egypt's fields enriched, her agricultural methods revolutionized by tractors sold at a price even Egypt can pay.[2]

Social Accommodation as Enlightened Self-Interest. Up to this point our discussion has carried us thus far: Social conflict may be avoided, as far as the world is big enough and simple enough and unaggressive enough, by the plan of keeping purposes isolated from each

[1] Abridged by the *Readers' Digest* from "The Small Town Banker Puts on Knickers," by Will S. Rose, *Scribner's*, April, 1926. Copyright, 1926, by Charles Scribner's Sons.

[2] H. V. Kaltenborn, *Century*, Apr. '26.

other — of letting one another alone. But this method is sterile at its best. It leaves each purpose unsupported, uninspired, unreinforced by the purposes of others. In a crowded and increasingly complex world, moreover, it is less and less possible to let each other alone. When *laissez-faire* becomes impossible, the destructive conflict of purposes may be greatly lessened by fitting those purposes together according to rules — under the principles of equality or of justice, or of compromise. These rules are likely to be mechanical. They get fossilized. Their imperfect use breeds in many instances the bitter sense of injustice which more than any other one thing incites conflict and prevents coöperation. Even at their best, moreover, they are likely to mean that part of the purpose of each party is thwarted.

In contrast to these inadequate remedies for destructive conflict, social accommodation begins to offer a creative solution. It begins to ask: "How can the purposes of both of us be protected?" It goes even beyond this and asks: "How can we add our purposes together so that the total result is greater than the sum of the parts? How can we release, stimulate, and reinforce each other's functioning so that all of us together shall be living a far richer and fuller life than we could any of us live separately?" This aspect of the new American spirit is interpreted as follows by the British observers:

> That is the inner secret of the American industrialist's success: he has hit upon a formula that not only enriches himself but the other fellow, too.

Integration of Purpose. This interpretation puts social accommodation in terms of enlightened self-interest. But that is not the whole of the story. The captains of industry and the social statesmen who have been seized by these new conceptions of social relations are apt to become absorbed in the purposes of the public for the sake of the public. They get to care about public welfare quite apart from its mere reactions on their private purposes. Expansion of personality and integration of purpose develops on a new and higher level.

The fact is that when antagonizers are eliminated the tendencies toward expansion of personality, contagion of purpose, and putting the self in the place of the other, come powerfully into action. Edgar L. Heermance, who has carried out probably the most intensive study thus far made of business ethics by the case method, thus accounts for the recent progress in this field:

The reason there was so little ethics in American business up to the present century, was that there were no social groups through which standards of conduct could develop.

The trade associations, which came into being toward the close of the century, represented an attempt to reduce the evils of free competition while conserving its advantages. Men in the same line of trade were forced by conditions to organize for mutual service. To-day there are probably 1,500 trade associations of national scope, with ten times as many district and local organizations.

A great deal of our modern business ethics is the unconscious result of associated activity. Again and again, men in an industry who were suspicious of one another, who were hardly on speaking terms, who thought their competitors the blackest kind of crooks, have finally been brought together in a trade association. As they came to know one another, suspicion and hostility melted away. They began to share experiences and extend business courtesies; it is rather the rule to-day that you should be ready to show a trade rival through your plant. Business is carried on in an entirely different atmosphere. And men are coming to think in terms of the industry as a whole, rather than in terms of their own particular company. They are taking the long-term view, in place of the short view of immediate advantage.[1]

But this development is not confined to relationships within industry. Increasingly it applies to the attitude of business leaders toward the public at large. Edward W. Bok writes:

One thing is certain: this whole question of man's service to his kind is to-day where it has never been in the public mind. Men are being judged by different standards than in the past. It is not a quarrel with men as to what they shall do. It is simply that the period of "the public be damned" is over, and permanently over, too. The public is rapidly taking its rightful place with the man of ability and means who has a consciousness of personal responsibility. It is upon the public that he has practiced his ability, and brought that ability to its fullest power. It is from that public his means have come. It is to the better interests of that public, proportionately, that his ability and means must flow back, in its service: for its good.[2]

The Zest for Service. But the new spirit is founded on more than enlightened shrewdness and on more than the contagion of decency in social relations. The fundamental motive which can be counted on to

[1] *American Review*, Dec. '26.
[2] Quoted from "Dollars Only" in the *Readers' Digest*.

inspire further developments in social coöperation is the fact that service itself is an intensely delightful form of functioning.

This is well instanced by the behavior of Jeremiah Smith, American lawyer, economist and gentleman, of Boston, who was picked by the League of Nations to put Hungary on its financial feet. When Mr. Smith came to Budapest the sky was fogged by a cloud of suspicion, and in one or two quarters deep rumblings of discontent, almost of hatred, were heard. The Hungarian Government courteously offered him a suite in the magnificent Royal Palace. Commissioner General Smith declined. The Government then offered him a palatial suite in the Dunapalota Hotel. Mr. Smith would have none of it, announcing privately that he would live in two small rooms at the top of the Hotel Hungaria. In two years of unassuming toil he raised Hungary from the swamp of financial catastrophe to the high dry plains of solvency. At the end of that time he refused to accept his $100,000 salary. "Give it to charity," he said; and when told that it had already appeared in the national accounts, he said, "Then reënter it in your books as a gift from the American people to the people of Hungary." "At the very least," they begged, "won't you accept a decoration?" "If you do that I shall never forgive you," was his answer. "Your friendship and gratitude are more precious to me than any decoration." [1]

It was in the grip of this high integration of social purpose that the head of one of our greatest systems of chain stores said in announcing a donation of $23,000,000 for charitable and public welfare purposes, that he can get "a greater thrill out of the idea of serving others than out of anything else on earth." [2]

Summary

A. Accommodation includes all relationships in which purposes seek to attain their ends by the utilization, stimulation, and facilitation of the functioning of the expanded personalities with which they deal.

1. It is thus contrasted with coercion, which seeks to attain its ends by attacking, injuring, thwarting, or destroying personalities whose purposes obstruct it.

2. Avoidance seeks to minimize interference between purposes; justice trims them down to fit each other according to

[1] T. J. C. Martyn, *N. Y. Times*, July 11, '26; *Literary Digest*, July 17, '26, p. 8.
[2] *Literary Digest*, June 12, '26, p. 32.

accepted rules; both regard purposes as rigid and inflexible, while accommodation treats them as living and plastic.

3. Interaction between the personality and the sub-social environment illustrates the process of mutual stimulation and modification which is involved in all accommodation.

4. Ideas are fitted to actual processes by accommodation.

B. Social accommodation may be divided into four phases, according to the degree to which purposes are shared in the process.

5. Fraud exploits others by playing on their purposes.

a. Once discovered, fraud tends to destroy the vital basis for further coöperation.

6. A second phase is objective utilization of other personalities by facilitating their functioning.

7. More advanced is the discovery of common interests — of areas of agreement in purpose wherein coöperation will enhance the functioning of all the coöperators.

8. The highest phase is finding one's own opportunity to function by dedication to social service.

C. Leadership depends on facilitating the functioning of one's followers.

9. Inventing or introducing an interesting action pattern, or offering facilities for desired functioning attracts followers.

10. The political boss attains leadership by expanding the personalities of other people — giving jobs to his followers, helping his constituents out of financial difficulties, assisting them when arrested, and sharing in their joys and sorrows; the reformer is apt to seek his ends by attacking rather than expanding other personalities.

D. American industry is undergoing a new revolution by adopting creative social accommodation.

11. It utilizes sub-social accommodation in research, adoption of labor-saving devices, standardization, etc.

12. Accommodation between customers and producers grows out of the discovery that low prices may win large profits, and that good-will is a vital business asset.

13. Competitors, through friendly association and discussion, are beginning to discover and develop their areas of common purpose, though many destructive conflicts still survive.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

15D1. How is the craving for freedom affected by the process of accommodation?

15D2. In the quotation from William Allen White the following sentences occur: "There is no liberty in the old sense. No man with a dollar to invest has any inalienable rights which his fellows are bound to respect." Discuss.

15D3. Some people think of accommodation in terms of a mechanical fitting together of two fixed purposes, which must each be carved in order to go together. What is wrong with this conception?

15D4. Accommodation can occur only between *living* purposes. Why? What social significance has this fact?

15D5. What is the derivation of the word "accommodation"? What two different uses has it in relation to railroad trains? What use in relation to banking? To courtesy? How are these related to the use of the word in the text?

15D6. Discuss the following suggestion: "Paternalism and *laissez-faire* are cases of arrested development toward accommodation; justice is accommodation crystallized."

15D7. David Starr Jordan, in the *Scientific American* for October, 1926, says:

> The fishes of the surface, in the open sea, are all metallic blue above, colored like the sea itself, as a defense against predatory birds who attack from above. At the same time they are silvery white beneath, invisible to enemies below, to whom they appear to be colored like the sky.

What other instances of protective coloring can you mention? What has protective coloring to do with accommodation?

15D8. Compare the ways of functioning of the Eskimo, the Plains Indian, and the South Sea Islander. In what ways do the environments of these peoples shape their functioning?

15D9. A recent news item says:

> A sharp increase in the American tariff virtually destroyed the straw hat industry in Tuscany, Italy, and threw 100,000 people out of work.

Discuss the tariff as an instance of accommodation — sub-social and social.

15D10. What is the difference between the taming of animals and their domestication?

15D11. Have you ever invented a new way of functioning? If so, tell about it. How much of this new action pattern depended upon the nature of the environment? How much did your invention modify the purposes which created it?

15D12. Miss Follett says: "The automobile does not satisfy wants only, it creates wants; this is the meaning of our formula for sociology." Discuss this statement in relation to the above chapter. Give additional illustrations of her point.

15D13. In *The World of William Clissold* H. G. Wells makes Clissold refer to a university education in England or in America as "this three- or four-year holiday." He charges that undergraduates are "pleasant, easy-going, evasive young men, up to nothing in particular and schooled out of faith, passion, or ambition." As a remedy Clissold suggests that youths as early as 15 or 16 should be brought into contact with realities, and thereafter continue learning for the rest of their lives — not in relation to a curriculum, but in relation to the realities they are attacking. What do you think of the truth of the charges relayed by Mr. Wells through Mr. Clissold? What do you think of his proposed remedy? Just how could it be worked out, if at all? What has all this to do with social accommodation?

15D14. How does the process of accommodation enter into the work of an author who is developing the plot of a story or novel?

15D15. Cite instances to prove or disprove the following statement: "To say that an idea is true means merely that it is well accommodated to the realities with which it deals."

15D16. How would you bring about accommodation between ideas, realities, and behavior if you were teaching some one to drive a car? To wire an electric bell? To cook? To achieve successful social relations?

15D17. How would you account for the similarity between the platforms of the national Republican and Democratic parties?

15D18. St. Paul was on trial before the chief priests:

When Paul perceived that the one part were Sadducees, and the other Pharisees, he cried out in the council, "Brethren, I am a Pharisee, a son of Pharisees: touching the hope and resurrection of the dead I am called in question." And when he had so said, there arose a dissension between the Pharisees and Sadducees: and the assembly was divided. For the Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit: but the Pharisees confess both. And there arose a great clamour: and some of the

scribes of the Pharisees' part stood up, and strove, saying, "We find no evil in this man: and what if a spirit hath spoken to him, or an angel?" (Acts 23:6–9)

Discuss the technique used here by St. Paul.

15D19. What Greek myth about a golden apple illustrates the same point as the preceding instance?

15D20. What place has secrecy in sound social relations? What place has deception?

15D21. Discuss the following extract from the *New York Times* for June 6, 1926:

Many of the schemes to extract money from the pockets of the credulous have long historic records of successes behind them and have been practiced with slight variations since the beginning of history.

One of the oldest and most common of these money-getters is the "Spanish Prisoner." This particular scheme has a long history of success in America. It has been exposed innumerable times; but there seems no end of credulous persons who are willing to believe the tale of the Castilian "Don" who is languishing in a "Spanish" dungeon and has secreted in his portmanteau a valuable chart giving the location of a fabulously rich mine somewhere in the Americas. This chart has always been handed down for centuries. It is usually the work of an illustrious ancestor who aided Cortez in overthrowing the mighty Montezuma. A slight variation is obtained by having the ancestor one of the right-hand men of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru.

What clear inconsistency is there in this newspaper statement? What principles from previous chapters and from the present chapter are illustrated in it?

15D22. The following item appeared in the *New York Times* for August 22, 1926:

Beach Haven, N. J., Aug. 21: A proposed agreement for the pooling of "protection money" to be paid by rum-runners and for the division of this money among some members of the crews at four Coast Guard stations was offered for signature to Coast Guardsmen, it was testified to-day by J. Edward Falkenburg, chief boatswain's mate of the Little Egg Harbor Station.

Does this, or does it not, involve social accommodation? Why or why not?

15D23. What do you think of the practice of some medical specialists who, when a general practitioner refers a case to them, give part of the fee to the doctor who sent them the patient? Why do you feel

that way? How about employment agencies who give part of the fee paid by the worker to the foreman who hires him through the agency?

15D24. Discuss the following item:

Mr. Adolph Ochs, owner of the *New York Times*, says that every issue of his paper costs $50,000, or approximately 14 cents a copy. It is sold for two cents a copy. The difference is more than made up by the advertising sold.

What elements of social accommodation are involved or implied?

15D25. Jane Addams remarks:

Before my School Board experience, I thought that life had taught me at least one hard-earned lesson, that existing arrangements and the hoped-for improvements must be mediated and reconciled to each other, that the new must be dovetailed into the old as it were, if it were to endure; but on the School Board I discerned that all such efforts were looked upon as compromising and unworthy, by both partisans.[1]

What instances can you cite in which people regarded compromise as unworthy? What effect does this attitude have on the possibility of accommodation?

15D26. John Stuart Mill speaks of the "deep slumber of a decided opinion." What has this to do with accommodation?

15D27. What types of purpose relationship may exist between master and slave? What instances from history or literature can you cite? If slavery is accepted by both master and slave as a desirable and matter-of-fact relationship, what are its merits and demerits as a social institution? How does your answer apply to modern industrial relations?

15D28. What methods has social accommodation to offer for the solution of the problem of the talkative person who monopolizes the time in a class, a forum, or a discussion group?

15D29. What comments have you to offer on the following paragraph from the *Literary Digest* for August 21, 1926, p. 36?

Not very long ago the Church was under severe criticism for its alleged neglect of those in the ranks of labor, but now, writes William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, in an article on "The Churches and Labor" in the *Chicago Tribune*, the laboring classes "observe with pleasure the increasing interest which is being manifested by the Christian churches of our land in the social and industrial problems which so vitally affect the well-being and happiness of all the people." Both the

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 336.

Church and Labor, says the workmen's leader, "seek to promote the moral, spiritual, and cultural welfare of the people. Both are seeking to find a solution of social and industrial problems. Both are endeavoring to raise the standard of living and of citizenship." However, there is need of a greater degree of confidence between the masses of the people and church organizations, thinks Mr. Green, for he finds that much misunderstanding has developed out of the clashes between Capital and Labor. As he sees it:

"If working men and women could be made to understand that the Church is sympathetic to their righteous aspirations, and the Church would show an interest in their material welfare corresponding to the interest they show in their spiritual welfare, there would no doubt be a much larger number of working men and women identified with the Church."

15D30. Dr. W. D. Haggard, retiring President of the American Medical Association in 1926, made the following statement:

The major objective of this administration has been the popularization of periodic health examinations.

It is largely the problem of getting the patient in time. The unthinking may say this will make a great deal of business for the doctors.

It is not for the benefit of the medical profession. Unfortunately we get the same person with the same disease at an incurable period; why not at an early period of his disease? That is the point we must make. We are not going to gain patients; the patients are going to gain health. We desire to confer an inestimable boon of prevention or amelioration on the individual before he is hopelessly ill.

It will be the greatest bond of sympathy between the patient and his physician. At present he only comes to the physician when he is sick or when he thinks he is obliged to come.

The people will avail themselves of this incomparable service if we present it properly. We hope that this conference will send every single, solitary man of us back to his constituent medical society so imbued with the importance and magnitude of this idea that he will bring it forcefully and convincingly before his medical society. If it is properly presented and properly executed, it will be the most far-reaching and beneficent step that has been taken by forward-looking American medicine in this century.

What phases of social accommodation are illustrated by this item?

15D31. Compare, in terms of intense, successful, and satisfying functioning, the life of the man who ruthlessly goes after his ends by means of graft, bribery, manipulation, exploitation, and vice, with the life of the man who attempts to attain social accommodation. Be frank and honest in making the comparison. What would you say to the

man who insists that as far as he is concerned he sees more keen satisfaction in the former course than in the latter? In this connection, read *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*, an anonymous autobiography published by Boni & Liveright.

15D32. To what extent must the process of accommodation be taken part in by both sides of the conflict? Discuss in terms of actual instances.

15D33. What does Miss Follett mean by the following statement:

> There is an idea prevalent, which I think is very harmful, that we give up individual power in order to get joint activity.[1]

Do you agree that this idea is "very harmful"? Why or why not?

15D34. Miss Follett summarizes under the terms "invention" and "creative adjustment" part of the process which we have called accommodation:

> We have only to look around us to find many examples of our meeting difficulties by invention, or what I should prefer to call progressive adjustment. . . . Harmony between the individual and the social order must mean changes in both individual and the social order, yet not arbitrary changes, but changes which will come about by a deeper understanding of that relation. The individual is not adjusted to society; there is a creating relation between them.

Compare this statement with the conception which we have been discussing.

15D35. Discuss the following statements from Miss Follett's *Creative Experience*:

> The question psychology asks in regard to democracy is: *Can* you do things for people? (p. 237)
>
> We cannot really carry out the will of another, for we can use only our own behavior patterns. (p. 198)

15D36. In what instances that you know have adults used their possession of property as a means of getting leadership? In what instances have they used invention? What other ways do adults have of getting to be leaders?

15D37. What effect has it had upon places like rural New England when the leaders have moved West or to the cities? Why?

[1] *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., '24, p. 191.

15D38. If a group suffers through lack of leadership, by what methods, if any, can leaders be supplied from outside the group? How does this actually work out — in rural communities? In immigrant communities? Among students? Among children in congested city districts? What drawbacks, if any, has imported leadership?

15D39. In the fall of 1926, 200 distinguished business men representing 16 different countries, issued a manifesto pleading for the removal of restrictions on European trade. The London *New Statesman*, commenting on this pronouncement, observed:

> Business men do not think very much of politicians, but politicians have even less respect for business men. . . . Will the business men submit to be snubbed and ignored, or will they attempt to assert the enormous power which collectively they possess? Potentially the men who signed this admirable document are the rulers of the economic world. By common action they could coerce all existing political governments. But they have not yet learned how to take common action — unless the current agreement between the iron-masters of France and Germany is to be regarded as a portent. In any case, however, it is inevitable that presently they will learn; and whether from the results of that lesson the world will have more to hope than to fear is the most fascinating and uncertain of all the problems of the twentieth century.[1]

What is your opinion as to the actual and potential leadership exercised by business men as compared with politicians?

15D40. What made Jesus a great leader?

15D41. Stuart Chase, writing in the *New York Times* for June 27, 1926, says:

> Not far short of twenty-five billion American dollars are to-day reposing in lands outside the territorial boundaries of the United States.
>
> In 1900 we had only $500,000,000 invested abroad, the bulk of it in Mexico, Canada, and Cuba.

The United States, with only 6 per cent of the world's population, has 58 per cent of the world's telephones and telegraphs, 34 per cent of its railroads, and 83 per cent of its automobiles; it produces 21 per cent of the wheat, 43 per cent of the coal, 60 per cent of the steel, and 72 per cent of the petroleum produced in the world.

[1] *Literary Digest*, Nov. 27, '26, p. 18.

On the basis of the principles set forth in our sections on Conflict and on Leadership, what probable developments do you foresee from this concentration of wealth in the United States?

15D42. We are apt to regard the activities of political bosses in terms of buying votes and power by giving corrupt favors. What more altruistic elements, if any, enter into their activities?

15D43. The *London Daily Mail*, after discussing the various dictatorships in Europe, makes these assertions:

> We do not want Fascism here and have no use for it. If Signor Mussolini had been an Englishman he would not have required to establish his ascendency by the methods he found it necessary to employ. He would have been floated into office by the free choice of the constituencies, and as head of a responsible Cabinet he could have had all the power he needed for his great work of national reconstruction and regeneration. There is no occasion to go outside the Constitution unless the Constitution breaks down.[1]

Do you agree with this statement? How far does it apply to the United States?

15D44. In this chapter standardization of products was spoken of as an aspect of sub-social accommodation. In what ways, if at all, does it involve also social accommodation?

15D45. What factors, besides legislation, help to keep down the prices of electric lights? Street car fares? What other instances can you give where such factors are especially powerful in their influence on prices?

15D46. An unsigned review in the *New York Times*, under the title "Literary Mass Production," contains the following:

> —— is surely the shrewdest and most progressive of novelists. For he is forward-looking enough to apply to the novel-writing craft the principles that are making modern industrialism the greatest force in the world. He has seen the advantage of standardized mass production in the making of automobiles and reapers and other machinery, and has applied those triumphant principles of American industry to the writing of his particular brand of tales. The results surely cry aloud his wisdom.
>
> This new novel, Mr. ——'s fourth for the year of 1926, holds to the well-known standard that its author set seven or eight years ago. As always, the plot is a model of mechanical construction, the crime is one of intricate and baffling features, the development of all its ramifications is progressively intriguing, and the criminal finally pays the price of his misdeed.

[1] *Literary Digest*, July 10, '26, p. 18.

People who are mystery-novel fans can be sure when they sit down to this new one that they will get the full measure of what they desire and expect.

Comment.

15D47. Mrs. Eva Whiting White has said, "Public service legislation in the United States has been based on distrust." Is this true? Give instances, *pro* or *con*, and discuss.

15D48. What is the attitude of the government toward large business combinations? What comments have you to make on this attitude in the light of the facts of social accommodation?

15D49. Evans Clark, in his review of *The Secret of High Wages*, says:

A book like this suffers, of course, from oversimplification. All American business men have not the genius of Henry Fords. The Passaic strike has been a reminder that wages are often far from satisfactory to the American workingman and that industrial disputes in this country are not a thing of the past. Next year the same issues are due to be raised in the bituminous coal industry here that lie at the root of the British strike. On the other hand, all British employers are not so old-fashioned as the reader might think. Lord Leverhulme, for example, was the modern, progressive capitalist par excellence, and was known as such the world over.

What further exceptions can you cite to the general picture therein given of American industry?

15D50. In an editorial in the *New York Times* for May 2, 1926, occurs the following:

At its recent meeting the Independent Labor Party took for its slogan "Socialism in Our Time." This was more than a challenge of Mr. MacDonald's leadership. It was a renunciation of the policy of "gradualism" which has come to be more and more accepted by intellectual Socialists like Mr. Sidney Webb. But one of the reasons for haste given by a speaker at the meeting of the Independent was rather curious. He said that if socialism gave capitalism a respite for a few years, the latter might survive for a generation, or even indefinitely. Hence for the militant Socialist it is now or never.

What this speaker feared, he proceeded to explain. Capitalism, he said, is learning rapidly how to adjust itself to new conditions. It is trying to discover the secret of high wages. More and more it is endeavoring to put itself at the point of view of the workers, and to make them more contented by means of larger pay, better working conditions, and general social amelioration. There lies the danger, cried the alarmed spokesman of the Independent Labor Party. He was afraid that laboring men might be seduced

by the fair promises now dangled before them. To his mind, it would be a catastrophe if they preferred the "material ease" offered them by capitalism to the doctrinaire satisfaction held out before them by Socialism.

What makes this sound strange if not inconsistent is the fact that Socialists have always magnified the material ease which would be attained, according to them, if all production were nationalized and all public wealth equally distributed.

What comments have you to make on the attitudes discussed in this editorial?

15D51. What aspects of social accommodation are involved in the following:

In New York 450 of the leading department and retail specialty shops of the city are united in a retail credit men's association. This organized business mechanism started about five years ago. But for four years preceding twenty-five credit men representing leading stores in the city had been meeting now and then to discuss the problem of their "account" customers. Stores had been using the "charge" system, but each had been following up their problems separately; it was considered both poor business and "poor form" to discuss customers with other houses. But it was decided finally that it would be well to pool information from various stores about difficult credit cases. Merchants began by opening their records of difficulties to one another. Presently a bulletin was issued. Five years ago they organized, with one hundred stores represented.

In the first month the hundred stores considered 6,900 accounts. Today they handle 30,000 accounts monthly and the membership includes 450 stores. Every new account is examined. One million and a quarter charge accounts are listed and investigated by the staff. An average of one one-sixty-eighth of 1 per cent loss is sustained by stores through charge accounts; at most the loss is one-fourth of one per cent.[1]

15D52. What advertisements have you noticed which were put out by associations of producers for the benefit of their industries as a whole?

15D53. When you ask a modern salesman about the goods of his competitor, what kind of answer do you get? Cite actual instances, and explain.

15D54. Do you agree with the following statement of MacDonald, quoted in the *Literary Digest* for November 27, 1926, pp. 58 and 60?

Football demands self-sacrifice. It requires unselfishness. The individual becomes submerged into the whole. Effort in football is successful only

[1] Elizabeth B. Stern, *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 1, '26.

when it is united. A runner advancing the ball has the coördinated help of his ten team-mates, and it is really the ten that gain the ground while he carries the ball.

As a professional Grange could not perform the remarkable ball-carrying feats that he had shown while wearing the orange and blue of Illinois.

The reason for his failure lay in lack of coöperation. Where the collegian plays for glory and the love of alma mater, the professional plays for money. Since Grange was receiving from thirty to fifty times as much a game as his team-mates were getting, it was only natural that they should balk on exerting themselves to make Grange successful. The harder they worked, the more money he got, since he received a percentage of the gate receipts. They, while working harder, got nothing extra for themselves. At Illinois ten men threw everything they had in physical and nervous resources into the game to make Grange succeed. His success was their success and the success of their university. All was for the common cause. That is college football. In the professional ranks it is a case of every man more or less for himself.

15D55. What instances can you cite of people who have learned the knack of adopting other people's purposes as their own?

15D56. What is your reaction to the following assertions of Stanley High, liberal, evangelist, student leader, and traveler, as quoted from *Asia* in the *Literary Digest* for May 1, 1926, p. 30?

There is a surprising similarity between the precepts of some of the world's other great religions and those of Christianity. Confucius, too, knew the Golden Rule; Buddha, Mohammed, Lao, and Zoroaster measured life by good deeds done. The Orient will not accept a mere profession of Christian ethics. It demands that those who bring the Christian message bring it in their lives, not in platform profession and pages of proof. The proof of Christianity is in the living, not in a formula.

Western economic imperialism is hardly more bitterly resented by the intellectuals of the East than is the presumption of those who come proclaiming a world religion, while asserting that it can only be understood in the terms, and used through the channels, that Westerners have devised. Only an arrogant egotism makes it possible for Occidentals to offer the imperfection of their so-called Christian system as an advertisement for Christianity to the non-Christian world. But we have not only offered that system. We have demanded that adoption of it be made the sole standard for the acceptance or rejection of an individual into the fellowship of those who would follow Jesus.

If the Orient comes finally to accept Jesus — a fellow Asiatic — as its great interpreter of truth, the organization and creeds which grow up about

him — if any such are needed — will be of oriental construction. Christians in search not of their own vindication but of a more abundant life may some day welcome, even consciously seek for, the unique contributions with which Orientals will enrich their faith.

15D57. Compare, and comment on, the following conceptions of international relations:

Sir Austen Chamberlain has said that the League of Nations exists, not to coerce nations, but to bring them into agreement.

Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, has asserted that "controversies and quarrels between nations are certain to come," and that "mere agreement not to have these things happen are futile."

The *Manchester Guardian* observes:

> So hardly do the old ways of thinking die; so difficult does it seem to be for men to realize the great new fact that the nations of Europe are no longer a bundle of jarring interests and ambitions, unconscious of any common purpose or obligation, but that in truth they are well on the way to a higher unity. The United States of Europe is no longer a dream; it has entered on the world of realities.[1]

15D58. As compared with coercion, *laissez-faire*, and justice, what *disadvantages* has social accommodation?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

15F1. Visit some institution for handicapped persons, such as schools for the blind, deaf, or feeble-minded, or work-shops where blind or crippled persons are given a chance to earn their livings. Write a brief account of the trip, indicating especially in what ways the work for these people represents a special form of accommodation.

15F2. Watch groups of children on a playground or a street. Try to pick out the leaders. What can you discover as to the basis on which these individuals win leadership? (Two hours)

15F3. Secure an introduction to some political leader in your community. Get an interview with him or her about political methods. How is the party organization and party loyalty built up? If possible attend a political meeting and note carefully the methods used. Write up your experiences. (Three hours)

15F4. If you live near an old-fashioned Quaker Meeting, attend one of its yearly or quarterly sessions and study the methods used in

[1] *Literary Digest*, Oct. 17, '25, p. 13; Nov. 13, '26, p. 20; *N. Y. Times*, Mar. 21, '26.

arriving at a decision without voting. Write out your opinion of the value of this procedure. How far is it practicable for other sorts of organizations?

15F5. Visit some business establishment which has adopted service to the public, or "the customer is always right," or some similar ideal as its slogan. Interview a representative of the management as to how this ideal is applied and how it works out. (Time credit arranged)

15F6. Visit some coöperative store, marketing organization, or factory. Analyze the methods of accommodation used between the coöperators. (Three hours)

15K7. Make a study of the technique employed by Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello*. (Three hours)

15K8. Summarize the development of the gas engine and its uses, or of the electrical sending of messages, as illustrating sub-social accommodation. (Two hours)

15K9. Read the account of "Symbiosis," "Domestication," and "Plant and Animal Communities," in Park and Burgess, pp. 167–182, and on the "Influence of a Desert Environment," in Thomas' *Source Book of Social Origins*, pp. 59–93. What elements of social accommodation do you find in the facts described? What illustrations occur to you of symbiosis in human society? (Three hours)

15K10. Read, and write a short, critical review of Austin and Lloyd's *The Secret of High Wages*. (Three hours)

15K11. Go through the literature and make a selected bibliography of the histories of individual gangs. Classify and summarize typical cases, and draw conclusions. (Five to fifteen hours)

15K12. Make a sympathetic study of some boy gang or girl's clique with which you have a natural contact, and write up your results, paying special attention to the question of how the leadership of the gang is decided. Distinguish between the method of electing the leader (if any is used) and the actual considerations which determine his or her selection. (Time credit to be arranged)

15K13. Among what animals lower in the scale than apes does leadership develop? Make a classified collection of instances and draw conclusions. How scientific do you consider the source materials on this subject? (Five hours)

15K14. Make a study of the relations between Woodrow Wilson and the political bosses. A starter on the topic will be found in the *New York Times Book Review* for April 18, 1926, p. 1. (Time to be arranged)

15K15. Make studies of the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, Calvin Coolidge, Robert La Follette, Samuel Gompers, William Jennings Bryan, Alfred E. Smith, or Lloyd George, analyzing in each case the technique employed. (Time to be arranged)

15K16. The *London Daily Mail* is quoted in the *Literary Digest* for July 10, 1926, p. 18, as follows:

> Personal rule — that is, autocracy, more or less veiled — prevails for the moment in Italy, Spain, Greece, Turkey, Portugal, and probably Poland. All these countries have tried parliamentary Constitutions and have allowed them to be superseded or put into the shade. And, so far as can be seen, the supersession has been quietly, or at any rate not unwillingly, endured. Mussolini, Primo de Rivera, Pangalos, and the new Government in Lisbon, all have some force behind them. But they have not subdued reluctant populations by sheer armed coercion. On the contrary, the "strong man" seems generally to have public opinion on his side.

Make a detailed study of the technique employed by one or more of these dictators. (Time credit to be arranged)

15K17. Read the account of "Tribal Secret Societies" as given in Thomas' *Source Book for Social Origins*, pp. 792–803. What light does this cast upon the formation of gangs among boys in modern cities? Upon the development of modern lodges and secret societies? (One hour)

15K18. Study the history of one or more great American fortunes, and write a brief critical summary to present in class. (Two to four hours)

15K19. Read and discuss the article in the *Outlook* for August 11, 1926, by George Whitten on "Vultures of Trade." (One hour)

15K20. Go through some collection of folk tales — of old, long-passed-down fairy tales — and pick out the stories in which a weak hero triumphed by shrewdness over a stronger oppressor. Summarize the typical plot of this type. How do you interpret the fact that such stories developed? (Three to ten hours)

15K21. Make a study of the methods of "peaceful penetration" used by the powers in extending their influence over weaker peoples; seek for items illustrative of the technique of accommodation. (Time credit to be arranged)

15K22. Study the history of the events which led up to the admission of Germany to the League of Nations, noting the phases of social accommodation involved. (Three to five hours)

15K23. Study the history of the Tacna-Arica dispute. (Four hours)

15K24. Study the history of the relations between the United States and Mexico. (Time to be arranged)

15K25. Try to imagine a creative-accommodation solution of the conflict leading up to the Civil War. Do the same for the Revolutionary War. Papers on these topics should be based on a thorough and accurate knowledge of the United States history involved. (Three to ten hours)

15K26. Review *The Ethics of Business* by Edgar L. Heermance, and write a paper pointing out the most significant aspects of his findings for the science of social relations. (Five hours)

15K27. Study the technique of the political boss as reflected in comments made in Lillian Wald's *House on Henry Street.* (Two hours)

15K28. Write a critical analysis of Frank R. Kent's article on " Emptying a City's Pork Barrel " in the *World's Work* for June, 1926. What other similar instances can you locate? (Two hours)

15K29. Write a critical report on " The New Church of the Rural Community " by Robert W. McCulloch in the *Survey* for December 15, 1926, pp. 369–71. (One hour)

15K30. Analyze the process of accommodation involved in the events related in " Laying the Ghost of State Medicine " by Wendell F. Johnson, *Survey*, December 15, 1926, pp. 387–9. (One hour)

15K31. Write to the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America, 469 Fifth Ave., New York City, for literature on the methods which they have used to promote good-will toward their industry. (Two hours)

15K32. Write to the Ford Motor Company, Detroit, Michigan, for a free copy of the booklet *The Ford Industries.* Analyze the material which it contains, selecting everything which bears upon the question of sub-social and social accommodation. (Four hours)

15K33. Write to The Statler Press, Buffalo, N. Y., for a free copy of the booklet *Statler Service Codes.* Analyze these codes from the standpoint of social accommodation. (Three hours)

15K34. Formerly matches were made of poisonous phosphorus, which produced hideous diseases in the workers; now they are made by the sesqui-sulphide process, involving no phosphorus poisoning. Paints were formerly dissolved in slowly drying oils; modern quick-

drying paints use poisonous solvents which injure painters. Make a study of these two evolutions as instances of social accommodation. (Five to ten hours)

15K35. The Dempsey-Carpentier prize fight took in $1,626,580. A successful play that runs all season does finely if it takes in $500,000. Tex Rickard has said:

> In the old days bankers and other big men used to send their secretaries around to us on the sly for fight tickets. It was a disgrace to attend a bout, and men all over town would lie to their wives about where they were going. Do they lie any more? Not much they don't. They take their wives along now.

Make a study of social accommodation in the evolution of boxing. (Time credit to be arranged)

15K36. Make a study of the history of the attitude of the United States Government toward trusts, selecting those facts which bear upon the question of social accommodation. (Time credit to be arranged)

15K37. Read the definition of slavery and the "Journal of a West India Slave Owner," in Park and Burgess, pp. 674–81. Note how slavery is there classed. How would it be classed in our text? To what extent does slavery necessarily involve social thwarting? To what extent may it involve accommodation? (One hour)

15K38. What light is thrown on the importance of sub-social accommodation by the account of Casper Hauser in Park and Burgess. pp. 239–240. (Half an hour)

15K39. Johns Hopkins got rich by making other people prosperous. Summarize his methods as given in the *New York Times* for October 7, 1926, IX, 10:1. (One hour)

15K40. The University of Cincinnati, Antioch College, and other institutions have been working toward accommodation between education and real life by having their students take alternate periods of study and of work at a paying job. Make a comparative analysis of these two experiments and of any similar projects of which you can get track, appraising their value in increasing the reality of education.

15L41. Give a detailed account of the best instance of which you know personally where some one avoided sub-social thwarting by adopting sub-social accommodation. (One hour)

15L42. Make a list of the social groups to which you belong — family, clubs, classes, church groups, athletic organizations, and the

like — and note what persons are leaders in each. On what basis does each of these persons acquire leadership? (Two to three hours)

15L43. Point out how the process of accommodation between ideas, purposes, and environment worked out in some actual experience of your own, or in some invention with which you are familiar.

15X44. Select some important question on which the members of the class decidedly disagree. During part of a class hour have each member write out a brief, signed or unsigned, summary of his views on this question. Turn these papers over to a selected member, or selected members of the class. Have them analyze and classify the views expressed, and seek to arrive at the largest possible area of agreement, or consensus of opinion on fundamental points in the problem. Have them study the remaining differences of opinion with a view to arriving at some statement or program which may be accepted by the class as a whole. Have the resulting synthesis presented to the class, discussed, and revised until the best possible agreement is reached.

15X45. Take a group of playing children a mechanical toy, a ball and bat, a doll, or some other interesting piece of play equipment. Select an aggressive individual and make him or her responsible for the toy. Note the behavior of all of the children and particularly of the one put in charge. (Two to four hours)

15X46. Try the experiment of "setting the stage" for some one else to function successfully without their realizing your part in it, as for instance by leading up to a joke until some one else springs it, or maneuvering for an opening for a friend of yours to get a chance to do something he or she does especially well. Write up the methods you used and the results obtained. (Three hours)

15X47. Select some person who is actively antagonistic toward you. Set about it deliberately to create good-will in that person toward you. Record the methods used and the results.

15W48. Study the concept of interaction as present in Henry Fairfield Osborn's *Origin and Evolution of Life* and in his other writings. Compare this concept with accommodation as we have discussed it. (Four hours)

15W49. In Georg Simmel's treatment of "Compromise and Accommodation," quoted in Park and Burgess, pp. 706–8, elements related to several of our recent chapters occur. What are these elements? Discuss his handling of them. (One hour)

15W50. Miss Follett concludes that the "confronting of interests" may result in either one of four things: (1) voluntary submission of one side; (2) struggle and the victory of one side over the other; (3) compromise; or (4) integration. Her volume on *Creative Experience* aims to set forth the ideal of integration. She says of it:

> The object of this book is to suggest that we seek a way by which desires may interweave, that we seek a method by which the full integrity of the individual shall be one with social progress, that we try to make our daily experience yield for us larger and ever larger spiritual values. The confronting of diverse desires, the thereby revealing of "values," and the consequent revaluation of values, a uniting of desires which we welcome above all because it means that the next diversity will emerge on a higher social level — this is progress.[1]

Make a detailed comparison between Miss Follett's and our analysis of purpose relations and solutions for conflict. To what extent and in what ways would you suggest reaching an accommodation between the two theories? (Five hours)

15W51. Park and Burgess define accommodation as follows:

> Accommodation has been described as a process of adjustment, that is, an organization of social relations and attitudes to prevent or reduce conflict, to control competition, and to maintain a basis of security in the social order for persons and groups of divergent interests and types to carry on together their varied life-activities. Accommodation in the sense of the composition of conflict is invariably the goal of the political process. (p. 735)

In what respects does this definition agree with the discussion in our text? Rewrite the definition, using the terms with which we are familiar. Make a careful study of the presentation of the accommodation idea in Park and Burgess, and the contrast which they present between it and assimilation. (Three hours)

15W52. Study the table of contents of Ross's *Social Control*. How would you rearrange his material under the headings of the chapters in our text?

15W53. Study the concept of prestige in the leading sociological systems. Study it also by collecting and classifying pertinent instances. What relationship has prestige to leadership? What relationship to good-will? (Time credit to be arranged)

[1] M. P. Follett, *Creative Experience*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1924, p. xvi.

15W54. What elements in the theories of Charles Darwin are pertinent to the concept of accommodation? (Three hours)

15W55. Compare the political technique recommended by Niccolo Machiavelli with that practiced by the modern political boss. A good summary on Machiavelli is given on pp. 125–48 of Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*. (Two hours)

CHAPTER XVI

MENTAL CONFLICTS AND THE FAILURE COMPLEX

Mental and Social Conflicts. Since mental functioning is so closely related with physical and social functioning it follows that any maladjustment in the body, particularly in the nervous system, and any maladjustment in social relations, tend to bring about mental maladjustment, while any mental maladjustment tends to upset social and physical adjustments. We cannot successfully attack social problems without taking into account the mental maladjustments which may be aggravating them, and we cannot bring about mental integration without attending to the social adjustments which must underlie it. The man who is living in bitter conflict with his wife cannot avoid having mental disturbance as a result; the worker who is being treated unjustly or the member of a despised race who is being discriminated against, become abnormal mentally as a result of their abnormal social relations. Equally, also, the person who is being torn by conflicting ideals and emotions will display peculiar social behavior which will produce further social maladjustments. Mental and social maladjustments must be considered in their inter-relationships or neither can be solved. It is this unescapable fact which has caused the development in recent years of psychiatric social work.

Competing Stimuli. Mental conflicts may arise from three general types of causes: the presentation of competing stimuli which call for reactions by the personality which are inconsistent with each other; the presentation of a stimulus which provokes inconsistent reactions from different parts of the personality; and the failure of the personality to make a successful adjustment to the environment. In the first of these three cases the conflict may be thought of as between two parts of the environment; in the second it is between two parts of the personality; in the third it is between the personality and the environment.

Conflicts between competing stimuli afford perhaps the simplest and least serious type of mental struggle. Two or more different

positions offer themselves; both are attractive and one must choose one and give up the other. A girl is very fond of both of two young men friends; she must marry one and give up the other. Any choice — between going to the movies and playing cards, between studying for the law and going into business, between getting married and having a career, between spending one's surplus income and saving it, between buying a Chrysler and a Chevrolet, or between any of a host of pairs of alternatives — presents, while the decision is being made, some degree of mental conflict.

Mental conflicts over decisions — mild as they are in most cases, or violent as they become in acute instances — offer essentially the same sort of problem as do the social conflicts between purposes of different individuals. As we shall see later in this chapter, much the same sorts of solutions may be applied. As in the case of social conflict, the results may be inward war and misery, or integration and creative energy.

Stimuli Which Divide the Personality. Competing stimuli offer alternative forms of behavior between which choice must be made. But mental conflict over the decision between two lines of action may result from a situation where only one stimulus is offered, to which part of the personality responds with a keen desire to function, while another part reacts against any such functioning. A companion dares one to dive off the top of the tower. Part of the personality surges forward to take the dare — feels the thrill, the triumph, the glory; part shrinks back from the dizzy height. One stands teetering and wavering on the brink, torn by mental conflict. The drunkard who is trying to reform is offered a drink of whiskey. Part of him cries out for the alcohol; part of him aspires to be free from the drug and rebuild a better life, or, more often, part of him yields and then the other part rises up the morning after to call him traitor. He is torn by mental conflict.

Tolstoy's diary, recently published, reveals striking instances of this struggle between the parts of his personality which reacted in conflicting ways to the stimuli of gambling, women, and drink:

> How should he abstain from gambling? He would get up in the morning with the best intentions. But a comrade-officer would come "with a bottle of porto" and intentions would go up in smoke. In the Caucasus, as in Moscow, he continued to gamble away large sums of money. Thus, in Tiflis, he played 1,000 rounds of billiards with the best "marquer" of the

city and, were it not for a happy chance, he would have lost all his fortune. A couple of years later, fighting near Sebastopol in the Crimean War, he noted in his diary, "I have played stoss (a card game) for two days and two nights. The result is clear: I have gambled away the house of the Yassnaya Polyana. . . . I am so disgusted with myself that I wish I could forget everything, including my own existence." But a happy chance saved him again, and once more he played, lost, and won. He locked himself up alone and spent day after day in vain attempts at elaborating the rules of the game which would enable him to win without failure. Yet, as soon as he found himself at the gaming table, he was carried away by his passion and forgot all about his rules. Meanwhile, Tolstoy the moralist sighed, complained, threatened, and remained powerless.

Still more difficult was it for Tolstoy to get rid of another "bad habit" — of falling in love, at least for a day or two, with literally every good-looking girl he chanced to lay his eyes on. To-day it was a wild Cossack woman, to-morrow it would be a remote relative. "The sting of carnal desire tortures me again. . . . Yesterday I was tempted by a good-looking gipsy girl, but God saved me from sinning. . . . Have been again running after girls" — such and other similar notes are scattered all through the diary. Yet a dashing temperament was combined in the young Tolstoy with a rare timidity; the sight of a petticoat made him often "behave like a fool," blush, and hesitate. But desire conquered all, even timidity, and Tolstoy rushed from one love adventure to another, as he rushed from the gaming table to a drinking party, or from literary pursuits to the battle-field.

Opening his diary at night, he registered, analyzed, and submitted to a pitiless criticism literally all his thoughts and deeds of the day:

"I must abstain from wine and women. The delight they give is passing and uncertain, but the repentance that follows is so heavy. Whatever I am doing, I must do it with all my attention and zeal. I must never act at once when a strong feeling wakes up in my soul; I must rest it by my judgment first and then act resolutely. To-day I have not finished my prayer because of a false shame before Alexeyev (his Colonel). Wrote little and inattentively. Ate too much and dozed off from laziness. Gave up writing because of Arslan Khan's arrival. Boasted of my connections with Prince Gorchakov. Offended Yanushkevich (his comrade) without any reason. Wanted to have women. . . . To-morrow I must get up early, write 'Adolescence' until dinner, then go to the village and try to do some good deed."[1]

But wine, women, and gambling are not the only stimuli by which the personality may be torn. The woman whose husband gets drunk and beats her is quite likely to be still in love with him. Part of him

[1] Abridged from a review by Alexander I. Nazaroff of the *Journal Intime Inedite* of Leo Tolstoy, in the *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Aug. 29, '26, p. 1.

stirs her affection, tenderness, care, and protective reactions; part of him stirs disgust, fear, and perhaps rage. The result is a most acute sort of mental conflict. Similarly, the beloved but extravagant wife, the wayward son, or even the newly painted but rebellious flivver, stir up in respective victims conflicting emotions and purposes.

Mental Conflict from a Failure Complex. Closely allied to the conflicts discussed above is the mental struggle arising from a sense of inferiority or failure. A child is sent to school, and there subjected to a complex of stimuli from teachers, fellow students, books, and parents. These stimuli build up in the child a mental picture of what is expected of him — mastering his studies, passing into the next grade, winning success in athletics, and the like. If he lives up fairly well to these expectations, well and good. But if his performance falls short of the mental picture a conflict develops. His actual performance is part of his personality; his mental picture of what he should achieve is another part; these two parts are hopelessly inconsistent. The conflict is crucial.

"Inferiority" Is Not the Trouble. Struggles of this sort are usually misnamed "inferiority complexes." The difficulty is not that the individual is inferior. In Europe, where hereditary classes have been established for centuries, it is very common to find servants, or peasants, or laborers who accept, with no mental conflict whatever, the fact that they are inferior to the wealthy or to the nobility. Similarly in the southern United States, where Negroes in many places have come to have an accepted position of inferiority, great masses of colored people accept this inferior status without mental conflict. But let democratic ideas percolate into the peasantry of Russia or the laborers of Czechoslovakia, or the Negroes of America — let a different picture of their proper rôle in the world grow up, and the conflict between this ideal and their actual status will generate powerful emotions and social movements.

The failure complex develops whenever an individual falls persistently below his picture of what he would like to be or ought to be. The failure may be inherent in his organism — he may be too short in stature, or cross-eyed, or marked with a disfiguring blemish. Or it may be a failure in a social relation — a girl failing to win popularity, a worker failing to win promotion in his factory, a wife failing to hold her husband's love. In every case there is a conflict between purpose and actual achievement.

Robert E. Park presents as follows the mental conflict of children of Japanese parents reared in America:

> They are growing up to be Americans, and, as such, are more or less disposed to accept the estimates of Japanese, and of all Orientals, which are current in the communities in which they live. Children acquire the prevailing attitudes in the community by a kind of moral infection, but even the adults are not immune, and there are moments when they are not wholly able to overcome that "sickening sense of inferiority" which overtakes most of us at times; moments when they could say, what members of other racial minorities have sometimes said: "I hate my race! I hate myself!"
>
> In this way the conflict between the Orient and the Occident, which presents itself in one of its aspects as external and international, assumes, in another aspect, the character of an internal and moral conflict. It becomes a conflict of loyalty; a struggle to knit together the strands of a divided self, to find a place to live, and preserve one's moral integrity in a world in which one can hardly hope for understanding or recognition. For the Oriental who is born in America and educated in our western schools is culturally an Occidental, even though he be racially an Oriental, and this is true to an extent that no one who has not investigated the matter disinterestedly and at first hand is ever likely to imagine.[1]

Failure Generates Destructive Energy. The destructive feature of the failure complex is the fact that the ideals which are being thwarted keep generating energy which cannot find a constructive or wholesome outlet. An instance which illustrates very clearly the struggle of a boy who was failing to find some channel through which he could function, and the disastrous outlets through which his energies finally flowed, is summarized as follows from Mary B. Sayles' book *The Problem Child in School:*

Harold Ogden's mother had been anxious about him since he was a tiny baby. He had not been healthy when she nursed him, and during his boyhood he had had a bad attack of measles and milder cases of diphtheria and grippe. She had kept him with her and away from other children lest he catch some other disease, and had gone with him to and from school, fearing accidents. He was thin, small, and sickly. He had got into a desperate frame of mind because of his poor physique and nervous mannerisms, which prevented him from being treated by the group as one of themselves. He had a consuming fear of being called a sissy, hated the idea of his mother's visiting the school, and was

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 137.

devoured by the craving to excel in athletics and to be accepted as a regular fellow by the other boys. He spent hours in persistent but unsuccessful efforts to chin himself.

He talked continually of a certain gang of boys. They were rather a rough lot, and for the past two years Harold had been trying his best to be "tough" because, as his mother put it, "he thought boys of this type were the real he-men." Their neglect of home work and habit of laughing at their failures, and their various pranks in school, had been accepted by him as a model to be copied. Although he had made normal progress through the first five grades, with good marks, he began to do very poor work and to be troublesome in class, talking, misbehaving, laughing, and trying to attract the attention of the other boys. He had belonged to a boys' club, and had several times got into fights with bigger and stronger boys.

But Harold failed in all these efforts to establish his right to admiration. The other boys teased him, played tricks on him, bullied him, began to regard him as queer, and finally asked the teacher to put him out of the room, declaring he was "crazy." He developed marked nervous symptoms, including set staring eyes, tense strained expression, and convulsive jerks of the body. Because of the attitude of the mother and of the family physician the visiting teacher failed to accomplish anything, and the boy was placed in a private school.

Mental Conflict over a Changed Environment. The failure complex usually results from being unable to live up to standards set by one's social environment — in school, in the home, in business, or in society. But essentially the same sort of mental struggle may arise from a sudden change in an environment to which the personality had been excellently adjusted. Now it is the old purposes and ideals which keep generating energy which can find no wholesome outlet. For example:

Infinitely more pitiable than the victims of the war are the casualties of the peace, the "temperamentally disabled" A. E. F. veterans who have been unable to adjust themselves to civil life.

For them, the war is not yet over, and for many, it will never be. Resembling the hypnotist's subject, they react to the pseudo-environment which they mistakenly believe surrounds them.

Every ocean liner leaving New York for Europe has one or two of these A. E. F. derelicts aboard. Every year, hundreds of them come to France vainly seeking to recover the glorious thrill of war-time days. For them,

it is not a joy-ride but a sacred pilgrimage; their motives are just as laudable as those of the devout Catholic who prays before the grotto at Lourdes. They visit the front line, retrace the footsteps of their division in the Argonne, and are disconsolate because they cannot resurrect the atmosphere of 1917–18. Lingering forever in the past tense, they cannot understand why the French peasant has transformed the trenches into so many square meters of waving grain. The war environment is gone; Paris is minus Y. M. C. A. hotels, Red Cross canteens, and M. P.'s. Everything is changed — except themselves. Somehow, they don't fit into the picture. Disappointment and bitterness enter their souls.

I know of a Y. M. C. A. worker, who, for a period of three months after the Armistice, supervised the distribution of food in seventeen French villages of the devastated area. To-day, he is quite heart-broken that the return of normal conditions has deprived him of the popularity, esteem, and distinction which his position conferred. Then, he was somebody, a virtual food dictator, within a limited district; to-day, he considers himself nobody, a soldier in the ranks of the Methodist army, always dreaming of the days when he was a department commander. For him, as for many soldiers, the cessation of hostilities meant demotion, and they resent it. Their erratic actions and irritable moods may bewilder and exasperate their more fortunate comrades, while the public, cruel or indifferent, fails to realize that they are ailing fragments of humanity, just as sick as the man with typhoid, boils, or another illness, and suffering as he is suffering. As an example I may cite a veteran who deliberately refused government compensation to which he was legally and morally entitled, because "I can't accept money from a slacker nation that entered the war too late and quit too soon." Another confessed to me, "Oh, I'll never be happy until the war breaks out again. I am temperamentally unfit for peace." Then he launched into a fervent rhapsody of the "sweet music of the machine guns." A third resigned a good job, because "I can't associate with this bunch of peace-mad fools any longer." Still another, "I knew that everybody is jealous of my superior capacities, and I won't remain in such an unhealthy, hostile atmosphere." This last veteran had the persecution complex, like thousands of his comrades.[1]

This tendency of old habits to start mental conflicts when they clash with new conditions appears in many other social relations. The young man who has adopted as part of his personality his mother, and his mother's methods of caring for him, may find an acute conflict in the process of adjustment to his wife and her ways. The woman

[1] Abridged from Bernhard Ragner's "Casualties of the Peace," *Survey*, Aug. 1, '26, p. 500.

who has built up habits of serving only tiny bits of butter at table and of scrimping on every nickel for carfare or for lunch may suffer acute conflicts when easier financial circumstances make possible large helpings of butter and an occasional taxi-ride.

Can Purpose Coerce Purpose within the Personality? Mental conflict, like social conflict, may find an outcome in the over-riding of one purpose for another, in avoidance, or in accommodation. As in social conflict, the first impulse is for the stronger purpose within the personality to crash through the weaker. One of the purposes in conflict crowds the other out or under. The difficulty with any such outcome is that the crushed purpose still generates energy, consciously or subconsciously, and this energy, finding no normal outlet, creates misery or even develops pathological channels of escape.

When a conflict is between the desire to function sexually and the desire for social approval, or self-respect, the coercive outcome may be either that the person loses social and moral ideals, or that he represses his sexual cravings. To let either of these parts of the personality over-ride the other means that destructive emotional energy will continue to be generated. The ascetic celibate is apt to have a profound and continuing mental conflict because of the repressed but still active craving for functioning; no less the abandoned roué or prostitute is likely to suffer from mental struggles because of the continuing craving for social approval, for a clear conscience, and for normal social relations which are cut off because of his or her immoral conduct. The sound solution, as in social conflict, must somehow fulfill the essence of both cravings.

Repression Hides but Does Not Cure Conflict. The avoidance solution of mental conflict is closely allied to the coercive solution — so close, indeed, that the word "repression" is often used indiscriminately for both. Technically, repression is the process whereby one of the purposes in conflict is "put out of the mind" — is forced down into the subconscious area, where it continues to function in ways of which the consciousness refuses to take direct account.

Tolstoy's futile attempts to run away from his mental conflicts are told as follows in the source already cited:

> The youthful author received from the Creator more than a generous share of passions and desires. He fled to the Caucasus "from debts and especially from bad habits," such as "gambling, dissipation, drinking, laziness, weakness of character" (let it be noted that a few years later the same was related

of Olenin, the hero of "The Cossacks"). Thus Tolstoy's self-expatriation was an attempted flight from himself. He hoped to become a new man in a new country. Thus, already at that time, Tolstoy the moralist was trying to reform Tolstoy the passionate youth.[1]

That attempts to repress parts of the personality, without any adequate expression, may have disastrous consequences is suggested by an incident related by Miss Addams:

A Bohemian, in one of his periodic drunken spells, had literally almost choked to death his little girl, who attended classes at Hull-House. Later, in a fit of delirium tremens, he had committed suicide. After the disaster his wife showed me a gold ring which her husband had made for their betrothal. It exhibited the most exquisite workmanship, and she said that although in the old country he had been a goldsmith, in America he had for twenty years shoveled coal in a furnace room in a large manufacturing plant; that whenever she saw one of his "restless fits," which preceded his drunken periods, "coming on," if she could persuade him to say at home and work at his trade, he was all right, and the time passed without disaster, but that "nothing else would do it."[2]

Unsolved conflicts of hopes, ambitions, and ideals with actual experience generate emotional energy which tends to take the form of disillusionment, disheartenment, discouragement, dejection, and despair. The outcome, as in the following case cited by Miss Addams, may be tragic:

A little girl of thirteen, a Russian-Jewish child employed in a laundry at a heavy task beyond her strength, committed suicide because she had borrowed three dollars from a companion which she could not repay unless she confided the story to her parents and gave up an entire week's wages — but what could the family live upon that week in case she did?[3]

Lillian Wald gives a similar tragic instance. She had been summoned by a terrified child:

When, breathless, I entered their rooms, it was to see the mother's body hanging from a doorway. She had been brooding over a summons to testify in court that morning against her husband, who had been arrested for bigamy, and this was her answer to the court and to the other woman.[4]

[1] Alexander I. Nazaroff, *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Aug. 29, '26.
[2] Abridged from *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 246–7.
[3] *Ibid.* p. 200.
[4] *House on Henry Street*, p. 75.

"Successful" Avoidance of Mental Conflict. While attempts to repress one or the other of conflicting elements in the personality are likely simply to put the conflict out of sight, where it still generates destructive emotional energy, it is possible in some instances to get the conflicting elements so thoroughly isolated in the personality that they no longer have any real contacts, and the conflict itself is, for the time being, solved. The man who engages in questionable business practices on week days may be able to attend divine service on Sunday provided that he can establish thought-tight compartments in his mind, so that Christian ethics and his un-Christian practices never get into contact. The wife who loves her husband but has reasons to suspect that he is untrue may avoid mental conflict if she can keep her eyes shut to any evidence of his infidelity. Such adjustments are, of course, very unstable — the compartment has only to be pierced and the explosion occurs. Hence the person who has achieved any such avoidance-adjustment of mental conflict is very touchy about having the thought-tight compartments disturbed. The man who wants to go on forgetting the inconsistency between his religion and his business develops a terrible burst of rage at any preacher who attempts to bring together the antagonistic portions of his self.

Carried to a pathological extreme, isolation of inconsistent parts of the self leads to what is called "dissociation" and "multiple personality." The person thus afflicted displays two or more different personalities at different times. In one phase he may be hilarious, playful, unscrupulous; in another, silent, morose, conscientious. The two personalities each remember what is done during its own phase, but one or both of them is unable to remember anything done in the other phase of the personality. The split between the warring portions of the self has been carried to the point of actual loss of contact. In some cases the roguish part of the personality has taken delight in teasing and torturing the other phase by hiding its property and interfering with its plans, while the more serious split-off personality, being unable to remember what its other self has done, is helpless against its tormentor.

Justice between Conflicting Portions of the Self. But repression and dissociation are not the only remedies for mental conflict. In mental as in social conflict, there is the attempt to bring about some sort of adjustment of the inconsistent purposes toward each other; in mental as in social conflict there is an intermediate stage of this

adjustment which may well go under the term "justice." The characteristics of the justice solution is the attempt to settle the conflict on the basis of accepted rules or principles. Tolstoy attempted such a solution of his mental struggles:

Following the example of Benjamin Franklin, Tolstoy composed lists of virtues which he wanted to possess. He wrote, rewrote, and modified them with the utmost zeal, adding to them "rules of behavior," recording every little transgression of which he felt guilty. He went even further. He drew almost every night in his diary the program of the day to come: "To work on this or that novel, to behave in such and such manner, to do such and such deeds." "I must be aware of the fact (he tried to convince himself) that it is in the faithfulness to these programs of mine that lies all the happiness of my life and vice-versa." He spared no effort to tangle the legs of the unsubmissive "thoroughbred." But the thoroughbred invariably broke loose and caused numberless troubles to its pedantic rider. No sooner did he decide to be "calm and dignified" than he "lost his temper again" and "struck Alexey (his servant)." No sooner did he give to himself a solemn promise to avoid women than he met "a good-looking and intelligent Ukrainian girl, courted, and kissed her," and let himself be retained by her for two days in a village where he meant to spend only two hours. All went wrong. And he noted in his diary almost every night with a touching childish naïveté, "Five (or six or ten) transgressions of my rules." One day, driven to despair by an altogether inadmissible number of such "Transgressions," he wrote:

"It is ridiculous that, having begun to elaborate rules of behavior at the age of 15, I should continue to do it now, when I am 30, without having remained faithful to a single one of them."

One might think that after such a discovery it would not be illogical to abandon the "rules." Such was not, however, Tolstoy's decision. In the sentence that follows the words just quoted, he wrote: "Rules must be moral and practical. Here is a new one. . . ." Thus the desperate struggle with the unsubmissive thoroughbred continued.[1]

As in the application of the justice solution to social conflict, the attempt to solve mental conflict by rules must be unsuccessful so long as it leaves the conflicting purposes living and unsatisfied. On the other hand, just as no social conflict can be solved as long as a sense of injustice remains, so too no mental conflict can be solved on any basis which appears to the personality to be fundamentally irrational.

Mental Pseudo-Accommodation. Mental, like social conflicts, find their true solution when the purposes which had been attacking and

[1] Alexander I. Nazaroff, *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Aug. 29, '26.

antagonizing each other learn to find their common values, to modify each other, to grow into one another, and to find a more complete fulfillment in a combined attainment of common ends than either ever could have had without the other. The process is spoken of as " integration." The purposes become integrated; the individual who has thus worked out his mental conflicts is spoken of as having an integrated personality.

But, just as in social conflict there is a pseudo-accommodation in the form of fraud, which fulfills the purposes of the shrewder by using the purposes of the less shrewd for their own ultimate defeat, so too in mental conflict there is a process where purposes in conflict bend and modify each other until the personality establishes a sense of inner harmony, but at the expense of losing his adjustment to the outer world. This pseudo-adjustment between conflicting parts of the self goes by different names: when the conflict is between two alternative purposes the process of false accommodation is called " rationalization." When the conflict arises from a failure complex the pseudo-solution is called " fantasy," or " flight from reality."

Rationalization. The ease with which the picture of a process may be twisted into such shape as to avoid mental conflict is readily understood if the process is regarded simply as an extension of imaginary functioning. Hypnotic experiments have given evidence that our need for a purpose — for a rational explanation and reason for our ways of functioning — is so great that we may even create the purpose after the action gets under way. A hypnotized person was told while asleep that after he came out of the trance he was to pull down the shade when the hypnotist coughed, but that he was to forget that he had been told to do it. He was awakened. The hypnotist coughed and at once the person who had been hypnotized pulled down the shade. When asked why he did so, he claimed that the sun hurt his eyes.

The ease with which one is deceived about one's own purposes leads to the self-delusion called rationalization. If we want to function in a way of which we are secretly ashamed, we are likely to think up some high and splendid reason for our action, and then convince even ourselves that this is our true purpose. A certain worker was feeling bitter because he could not live on his salary. He talked the matter over with other workers and they decided to organize a union. He took a leading part in the movement. He said that it was endangering

his job but that he would be willing to be a martyr to the cause by heading the committee. Then he found by talking to the superintendent that if he could persuade his fellow workers to organize a company union, instead of a union affiliated with a national federation, he would get a promotion and a $1,000 increase in salary. He quickly began to see the dangers of the federated union movement. He really began to feel that the welfare of the nation depended upon heading off this radical tendency toward strikes. He succeeded in getting the company union substituted, got his promotion, and liked to talk about the wonderful service he had performed for his fellow workers.

This man, by virtue of his capacity to think of himself in idealistic terms, had so rationalized his actions that he had avoided entirely the conscious mental conflict over the choice between being loyal to his associates and the alternative of getting a raise in salary. He so warped his own conception of the situation that he convinced himself that he had achieved both of these purposes, and combined a glow of virtue with his satisfaction over his promotion. But the men who had talked with him about forming the union to fight the company felt that he had betrayed them for a bribe.

Fantasy Functioning. Rationalization is a warping of one's own conception of a process in such a way that while the conception ceases to be accommodated to outer reality, it is accommodated to other purposes within the personality, and thus avoids mental conflict. In a sense, therefore, it means simply shifting the conflict from within to outside the self. Fantasy, however, goes farther. Having found that he cannot attain in the real world the ideals which he has adopted as his purposes, the victim of fantasy builds up an imaginary world in which he attains in imaginary form the opportunities to function which have been denied him in a real world.

It is difficult to draw the line where wholesome imaginary functioning shades off into fantasy. Lillian Wald gives the following marginal case:

> In an institution which I knew the children were allowed to write once a month to their friends. More than one child without family ties took that opportunity to write letters to an imaginary mother, to send messages of affection to imaginary brothers and sisters, and to ask for personal gifts. They knew, of course, that the letters would never leave the institution.[1]

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 129.

An instance where unsatisfied need was met by building up a harmful fantasy substitute is the following:

Mr. Winson, editor of a small newspaper, came for advice about a plan of education for his daughter, Mildred, who was about 17. She had begun the college preparatory course in high school, but by the end of the first semester had proved such an absolute failure that after consulting with the principal she was transferred to the commercial course. In this she was equally unsuccessful. Her father was now at a loss to know what she could choose for a vocation. He was also deeply concerned about the lack of development of her social life. She showed little interest in recreations normal for her age, made few friends, and seemed not to have grown up, although very dependable and thoroughly good.

According to her own story, Mildred, ever since she was little, has had imaginary playmates. When she was about 9 or 10 she liked to dress up and play makebelieve. Now frequently she imagines that there is some boy or man who is interested in her, but she really doesn't want boy friends. Her greatest pleasures come from day-dreaming. She lives over the things that have happened and makes up many things which never occurred. When she goes out walking, or even when she is sitting at home, she often has an imaginary companion. She sometimes imagines herself a heroine, modeling herself after the books she reads. She imagines herself having various experiences, thinking them out in the minutest detail. At an imaginary dance she has many partners. She gets married over and over again to different men whom she pretends she has met and liked. Sometimes in bed she has hugged the pillow pretending it was some person. She enjoys this fantasy life before going to sleep.[1]

In this instance Mildred was suffering from a failure complex. Her sense of inferiority or defeat rose from her repeated failures in her studies, from her father's lack of affectionate interest in her life, and from lack of success in social affairs. Her response was to create an imaginary life in which she functioned successfully and gained admiration and love. This imaginary life was a flight from reality. It saved her from bitterness over her real failures, but it also drained off her interest and energy so that she was even less likely ever to succeed in real situations.

A very similar instance is given by Dr. Jessie Taft:

Sarah is a large, dark-eyed, black-haired, rosy-cheeked girl of sixteen with a strong but clumsy body. She has the makings of good looks but she is one of

[1] Abridged freely from the *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*, Series I, Case Four, Boston, 1922.

those blundering individuals who never buys the right hat or dress and who puts everything on wrong. Sarah from the time she entered the first grade was the despair of her teachers. She was left a full orphan at the age of four and has been brought up in two institutions. In the first orphanage she was spoken of pityingly as feeble-minded. She seemed quite unresponsive to the demands of the environment. She was slow in learning to dress herself and care for her own wants. She had enuresis badly. She "took" things, particularly food; she was a glutton. She was a story-teller; she was so absent-minded that she seemed hardly to hear what was said to her. Fortunately Sarah did not remain in the first institution but was admitted a few years later to a much more enlightened place with a progressive school.

A psychometric test showed perfectly normal intelligence. In spite of this Sarah continued to present a difficult educational problem. The teachers and house mother soon discovered that Sarah's attention was quite completely absorbed in a dream world in which she played the rôle of princess.

For many years the struggle to reach Sarah's attention was continued. She is now an acceptable worker at home where she was once the laughing-stock because of her inevitable blundering and clumsy use of her body, but the real Sarah is still untouched, she has never been educated to any free outgoing use of her native ability.

Once in an interview with Sarah, the inner core of her life as she felt it became apparent. She had accepted herself as inferior. She knew she was; she knew that she was not equal to the other girls, that people never found her interesting no matter what she did for them. She had never had a friend, she had long ago given that up. In her dreams she could do anything she wished. There she was free and superior. Of course she didn't like school. She knew she wasn't smart like the others. She couldn't learn. She couldn't even do gym work or dance.

Here we have a girl who very early in her life, no one can say how early, became convinced of her own inadequacy and was so overwhelmed by the forces against her, that she made little or no struggle to compensate aggressively for her lack. She accepted defeat and comforted herself unconsciously by holding on the sensory delights of infancy, the auto-erotic satisfactions, the dream fulfillment. Masturbation, enuresis, gluttony, stealing chiefly for money to buy sweets, novel reading, day dreaming, all passive, easily obtained pleasures, satisfied the emotional needs, permitted the child to remain inert and avoid the possible pain of thwarted effort, but they blocked effectually the saving objective interests which education had provided. If Sarah could have been understood early enough, if we had had the key to the educational blocking in time and sufficient skill to apply our knowledge, the results might have been very different.[1]

[1] *Survey*, Sept. 15, '26, p. 615.

One of the things that makes the use of alcohol and other drugs attractive to failures and other victims of mental conflict is that getting intoxicated helps them to forget the torturing stimuli and even to create fantasy substitutes for the thwarted activities.[1]

Delusions of Conspiracy. The distortion of reality to avoid the mental conflict resulting from a failure complex has a negative as well as a positive side. The failure can justify himself if he can put on to others the blame for his failure. Hence certain people who are not succeeding begin to develop the idea that others are in league against them. In order to make the notion plausible they have to build up an elaborate fantasy of conspiracy.

A man named Smith, who taught in a certain high school, had a very brilliant mind and a very aggressive set of purposes. Smith thought that the teachers were not getting enough salary, and he felt that he himself was not getting the recognition he was entitled to, so he helped to organize a teachers' union. Smith also felt that the state government was being very badly run, so he joined a radical political party, and ran for the legislature on the radical ticket.

In the meantime he had written some quite insulting letters to a member of the school board who had criticized him. The superintendent was thinking of dismissing him. Smith made charges in the newspapers that he was being let out because he was a radical in politics. He was finally reappointed. The superintendent met him one day and said: "Smith, you are a very able teacher. I should like to promote you. Why not work with us instead of against us? We're trying to do the best we can to make the school system better. Drop this radicalism and play the game the way it has to be played." Smith went away from this talk and told his friends that the superintendent had been trying to bribe him.

Smith disagreed very strongly with the way his principal was running the school. He felt sure that *he* knew how it ought to be run. At first he and the principal were very good friends, and they used to talk over the problems of the school, but Smith had a habit of making sarcastic criticisms of people who did not agree with him, and he said some biting things about the way the principal managed the school. The principal started a class in salesmanship. Very few of the boys who graduated from this class became salesmen, but the principal felt that the course was thoroughly worth while for its general educational

[1] For instance, see *What's on the Worker's Mind*, p. 51.

value. Smith told the other teachers that he thought the class had been started merely to make a showing for the principal and not to help the students. He also said he thought the records of enrollment were falsely made to appear larger than they really were.

At the end of the year the principal wrote to the superintendent asking that Smith should no longer teach in that school. Smith then began to say that the superintendent had managed by trickery to break up the strong friendship which had formerly existed between Smith and the principal. The superintendent dismissed Smith, who promptly began a lawsuit to get back his position. Some of his friends, including a brother of the principal, agreed to contribute money toward the lawsuit because they felt that a fair hearing of the case had not been given before the discharge. Smith told some one, however, that he intended to sue the principal also, for defamation of character. When the brother of the principal, and other friends of both, heard about this plan, they changed their minds about giving the money. Smith at once asserted that big business men in the city were so interested in getting every radical dismissed from the school that they, through the superintendent, had bribed or threatened even these last friends.

Hallucinations. Both the positive and the negative phases of the fantasy attempt to cover up a mental conflict may go to such an extreme that the person is no longer able to function in normal society, and comes to be classed as definitely psychopathic. In hospitals for mental diseases will be found men who are convinced that they are Napoleon, or Jesus, and women who assert that they are the Virgin Mary, or Joan of Arc. These people are likely to tell you that they are prevented from taking their true place in the world through a gigantic conspiracy. In such cases the contact between the fantasy and the real situation has been entirely lost. It is useless to point out to such unfortunates the facts which prove that they are not really what they contend that they are. They always have some ingenious explanation to offer for the inconsistencies between their fantastic imaginary functioning and the real world.

The healthy mind reacts against mental functioning which has no adequate or normal contact with physical and social functioning. For example, Jane Addams says of her youth:

> During most of that time I was absolutely at sea so far as any moral purpose was concerned, clinging only to the desire to live in a really living

world and refusing to be content with a shadowy intellectual or æsthetic reflection of it.[1]

We resent being in a " fool's paradise." We dislike being flattered and deceived about ourselves. Children clamor to take part in the activities of the home, and then ask " Did I *really* help? You *needed* me, didn't you? "

Integration of Personality. If mental and social health are to be maintained, the physical functioning of the individual, his imaginary functioning, his purposes and his ideas of the process must all work together successfully in his social and sub-social environment — they must be coördinated, or integrated. The methods by which this integration can be achieved may best be set forth by a presentation of cases in which it has actually been done. The first is cited by Dr. Phyllis Blanchard of the All-Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic:

Leonard, after his father's death, had tried to be the man of the family to the best of his ability. His mother, he knew, looked to him to carry on the family tradition. His grandfather and father had been musicians of some distinction, and it was assumed that Leonard had inherited their genius. The family standards also demanded culture, and there was no thought but that Leonard would go to college.

The finances, however, were in bad shape. The father's income had been excellent, but his savings were not large. At the time of his death he had just finished the composition of a symphony, and upon the success or failure of this depended the economic status of the family. However, one delay after another contributed to postpone its production, so that by the time Leonard was in high school, the family was still waiting in suspense.

Leonard was his mother's confidant. He shared her hopes and fears about the symphony, he sympathized with her over his father's death. He did things to show her that he would like to stand between her and the world. In vacation and after school hours he worked and turned over his earnings to the family budget. He studied hard and practiced faithfully on his violin.

The figure of his dead father assumed heroic aspects through processes of idealization, yet this was the standard to which he must rise. But to attain to this ideal was beyond Leonard's powers. High school work proved too difficult for him, and he failed the first year. It was this failure, and his consequent depression, which brought him to the clinic. The examinations given there revealed that he was of average intelligence, but distinctly lacking in ability to complete the classical high school course. Musical talent was his to a high degree, but he had become so discouraged by his scholastic

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 64.

difficulties that he felt himself completely a failure. He was doubly depressed because of the burden of responsibility to his family.

He was reassured as to his prospects of success in music, and his school course was changed from classical lines to vocational training. His mother was persuaded to discuss her anxieties less freely, and to modify the drive with which she had been trying to force him through school. With an opportunity to develop as an individual, rather than as a father substitute, the boy lost much of his sense of failure and inferiority and roused from his depressed state.[1]

The next four cases are summarized from experiences of visiting teachers as reported by Mary B. Sayles in *The Problem Child in School:*

Steven Todd, in the second grade at the age of nine, could not read. There had been a good deal of scolding and nagging at home, in the effort to pull Steve up to the mark. His teacher had been annoyed with his slowness. As a result, when the visiting teacher, in talking about another matter, unintentionally used the word "reading," Steve became especially self-conscious, drew in his lip, and looked as though he were going to cry. His teacher said that he had formed the habit of crying at the least little thing, and of making an excuse to leave the room when his turn came to read. He was also beginning to display a bad temper. So much for Steven's feeling of inferiority and its source.

To make up, or "compensate" for this feeling, Steve refused to make himself one of the group. He was critical of his classmates and bossy in his manner toward them, wanting to run everything new undertaken. He was a handsome youngster and carried himself well. When he attracted attention in a folk-dance, he began to strut, and his bowings and bendings exaggerated themselves. He played the fife really well, and showed great eagerness to play in public. He was a "show-off." In other words, he was trying to gain through other channels the approval which he missed because of his failure in reading. When the visiting teacher gave him interesting stories which he could read a little, and got his parents and his teacher to praise his successes instead of scolding his failures, he rapidly got back to normal in his attitudes, and successfully passed into third grade.

Winthrop Dane at the age of nine was in the fourth grade. He had been absent for seven weeks during the fall on account of diphtheria. For this reason it was felt best that he repeat the grade. He had two

[1] *Medical Searchlight*, p. 29.

big brothers working successfully in downtown offices. Tom in particular was making a striking business success and was clearly his mother's pride and joy. There was also a girl in high school who was an excellent student and a good deal of a pet both with her teachers and at home. The brothers made fun of Winthrop for falling behind. His scholarship had always been fair, but now, although he was repeating work, his marks became so poor that he was failing. His brothers jeered unmercifully at his monthly reports. Tom sometimes punished him. His mother admitted that she herself had begun to suspect that he was " not bright." He became sullen, slouchy, inclined to cry, and yet at times impudent. He felt bitter resentment toward Tom in particular.

In treating Winthrop's problem the visiting teacher led the mother to see how her repeated question " Why don't you do as well as your brother? " and the constant criticism and jeering at him had helped to make him feel so inferior that he began to say " What's the use! " The room teacher was persuaded to make Winthrop a monitor, and to help to give him a taste of success. Before spring he was reported as being one of the best pupils in the room.

Alice Gould at fourteen could not read as well as most youngsters of ten. One severe illness after another had retarded her school work. She had been adopted by a childless aunt and uncle. She lived next door to two girl cousins, one of whom at the age of sixteen was preparing for college, while the other at twelve was already in the seventh grade, while Alice at fourteen was still in fourth. The pride displayed by Mrs. Gould's sister-in-law in these two daughters, and her constant tales of their successes, grew more and more painful to the childless woman who had hoped to find compensation in the small person she had been mothering. Alice became listless and indifferent. She took little interest in what was going on about her, was shut-in and unsocial. She went very little with the girls in her room.

But the visiting teacher succeeded in shifting the emphasis to the child's good points. Her hand-work was good and she showed artistic ability. She had good powers of observation. She did well with her music. The child had never pictured herself as anything but a business woman like her aunt, and had been at a loss to see how she could prepare herself for office work. Alice was devoted to youngsters of the kindergarten age, so the visiting teacher suggested the possibility of work with small children. Alice enjoyed house-work and sewing,

so the visiting teacher suggested special work in domestic science. These new ideas fairly startled the girl out of her habitual lethargy; it was as though windows leading to strange new vistas had suddenly opened out from a familiar room.

The aunt was led to encourage the girl to read aloud to her for a half hour each day. The uncle himself persuaded her to do newspaper reading every day and report on it to him at dinner time. Alice was made to feel that this was a value to him, and her pride and pleasure in her task were evident. The visiting teacher organized a little weekly class in world events where Alice got further stimulation. She made marked improvement in an astonishingly short time, took part in a school play, read a novel with enjoyment, became friendlier with her classmates, and took on a new life. She went on and made a good record in the domestic science department of the junior high school.

A fourth case was Jim, son of "Old Jim Donohue," who, before his death, had been well known to the police and welfare workers of the city. Old Jim's drunkenness and abuse had made conditions in the home intolerable. Young Jim's last teacher had said "He'll be just like Old Jim, so what is the use of wasting time on him?" Jim was slow, failed to understand many quite common words, and was weak in reasoning. He had small ability or interest in school work, and for several years past his teachers had shown little patience with him. He had become sullen, stubborn, troublesome, truant, and a bad example generally for his younger brother Charlie.

The visiting teacher found that in various tests of skill with his hands Jim showed both speed and accuracy. He was strong and willing, quick to catch and carry out a suggestion in helping her to rearrange furniture and hang pictures. The school principal discovered that Jim was really interested in geography, and that he had ability in map drawing. He was made special messenger and given the duty of conducting children, every week, to the dental clinic. He did this well and enjoyed the responsibility. His school work grew stronger and there was a marked improvement in his appearance. When his mother's death compelled him to drop school, he did his utmost to help his younger brother finish.

The Essentials of Mental Accommodation. The goal to be striven for in attacking mental conflict is the fullest development and the freest functioning possible for the personality. The objective can be

stated in the three terms — release, facilitation, and integration: release from unnecessary thwartings, fears, and repressions; stimulation and facilitation of the purposes and the latent possibilities of the personality; integration of purposes within the personality, and integration with the purposes of others in relation with whom he must function. To attain these goals the technique involves these basic steps: first, the discovery of what the latent possibilities and the actual purposes of the personality are; second, to find out how and from what causes these purposes and possibilities are being thwarted; third, to discover or invent an adjustment between all the factors involved which shall release, stimulate, and facilitate the essential elements of these purposes and possibilities, in harmony with each other and with the sub-social and social environment; fourth, patiently to work toward the actual achievement of the program thus discovered. The detailed steps in this sort of treatment will become increasingly apparent in later chapters.

Summary

A. Mental conflict is a condition in which different parts of the same personality seek to function in ways which are inconsistent with each other, thus generating emotional energy which becomes destructive because it has no constructive outlet.

1. Competing stimuli may generate inconsistent purposes within the same personality.

2. A stimulus may generate, in one part of the personality, cravings to function in ways menacing to other parts of that same personality.

3. A situation may generate aspirations, ideals, or purposes which the personality finds itself unable to attain; these purposes generate energy which becomes destructive for lack of a constructive outlet; the result is an "inferiority complex," or, more accurately, a "failure complex."

a. A radical change in an environment to which the personality had previously been well adjusted may put the individual's aspirations out of gear with his attainments and thus produce a failure complex.

B. Adjustments between purposes conflicting within an individual present all of the essential types found in adjustments between

the purposes of conflicting individuals: solutions to mental conflict parallel solutions to social conflict.

4. Repression of one purpose by another ordinarily leaves the repressed purpose generating its destructive energy, and so fails to solve the conflict.

5. Avoidance as a solution finds its expression in the development of thought-tight compartments in the self, and, more extremely, in mental dissociation or multiple personality.

6. Attempts to solve mental conflicts on the basis of rules, resolutions, and moral principles is apt to leave the repressed purpose still active.

7. Fraudulent accommodation as a solution of social conflict finds its parallel in rationalization and fantasy.

a. Rationalization provides some high and splendid pseudo-reason for functioning in a way of which one had been secretly ashamed.

b. Fantasy provides an imaginary substitute for the form of functioning which one has craved but failed to get, and invents delusions of persecution as an excuse for one's own failures.

c. In extreme forms, these warpings of one's mental picture of reality in order to avoid mental conflict develop into psychopathic hallucinations.

8. Corresponding with the process of social accommodation we have mental accommodation, which seeks to release facilitate, and integrate the personality by discovering what its latent possibilities and actual purposes are, how and from what causes these purposes and possibilities are being thwarted, and how the factors in the situation may be adjusted to release, stimulate, and facilitate the essential elements in the personality; and which seeks patiently to carry out a program to these ends.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

16D1. The study of sub-conscious wishes has revealed the fact that many people, without admitting it even to themselves, secretly wish for the death of persons very near and dear to them. How would you account for this fact on the basis of principles thus far brought out in our text?

16D2. What is the meaning of "temptation"? What is meant by the sense of guilt? What are its sources?

16D3. What kinds of mental conflict are particularly likely to occur in children of immigrant parents? Why? What sorts of remedies are most applicable to such cases?

16D4. B. M. Laing, in the *Monist* for January, 1925, states that social unrest is due to the suppression of numerous activities, while the causing stimuli are permitted to operate without restraint. Can you cite instances illustrating this point? How fully do you agree with the generalization? What new element would it add to this chapter?

16D5. To what extent did slaves before the Civil War suffer from inferiority complexes as a result of their enslavement? When women in previous generations occupied an inferior position, what proportion of them would you suppose (from your reading and study related to such periods) suffered from failure complexes as a result? How would you interpret your conclusions on these points?

16D6. Discuss the following excerpt from the article on "Why We Behave Like Idiots" by Clarence Budington Kelland in the *American Magazine* for May, 1926:

> I've discovered that *everybody* is shy; and by that I don't mean *almost* everybody. And, ridiculous as it may appear, the brashest of us are often the shyest.
>
> Everybody is a great deal more like everybody else than most of us imagine. We are shy; we are self-conscious; and we fairly ache with an "inferiority complex." I suppose the basis of this is each man's intimate personal acquaintance with himself. I know a heap about myself that nobody else does, and that I hope nobody ever will discover. I've watched my own processes, and you have watched yours, and each of us realizes that he isn't any great shucks after all. We have sized ourselves up, and marvel internally that we have got away with it. It is rather a miracle!
>
> And thus we become self-conscious. We don't know the other fellow nearly as well as we know ourselves, and, consequently, we take him at his reputation value.

How much truth is there in this? How does it relate to the present chapter?

16D7. "People who set up ideals which they insist upon without modification, are victims of fantasy." Discuss pro and con, with instances.

16D8. What reasons have you for agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement by Mary Graham Bonner, in the *Survey* for November 15, 1926, p. 198?

> More than anything else it is the feeling of being conspicuously inferior that sends small town folk to the noisy, heedless, kindly, indifferent, friendly cities. In the cities they may read and study and, if they are interesting enough, they may gradually meet interesting people who will accept them for themselves and not ask about the social status of their parents. Or, if they never care to improve themselves, they still need not feel inferior. They may realize that they belong to the great working class — but so do millions of others. That is no disgrace. They do not belong to the four hundred. Well, few do. In the city they may feel poor, overworked, underpaid, insufficiently aired, but they belong to a democracy; they *can* rise above pre-natal conditions. Inherently they believe the teachings of Americanism — but they cannot find it in the small town.
>
> So they go to the cities which are crowded enough for true equality — the equality that passes keen, quick judgment based on the performance of to-day. After all, is it not the logical move of a true American? It is the only way in which he can feel free and independent and his brother's equal.

16D9. Cite instances of unhappiness not arising from physical pain. How many of these instances involve, as a central cause of unhappiness, mental conflict? Which do not? Classify the types of mental conflict involved.

16D10. How and why is it possible to have a mental conflict over events long since past?

16D11. What relation has discontent to mental conflict?

16D12. What instances do you know of where people before marriage have formed such fixed habits and ways of living that they found difficulty in adjusting themselves to the new conditions of marriage? What instances where habits developed in school caused mental conflict in the student when he got to college? What other groups of instances of this general type can you suggest? In what part of this chapter might all of these cases be included?

16D13. What sorts of remedies would you suggest for people who find themselves in a mental conflict due to a change in their environment so that their expanded personalities can no longer function in their accustomed ways?

16D14. What situations in life have you found difficult because of radical changes in environment? How have you adjusted yourself?

16D15. Dr. Frankwood Williams has been quoted as follows in regard to "the supersensitive woman":

A person like that will twist anything into a sign of dislike, or indifference, or criticism. You never know what they will take offense at; half the time you don't even suspect that they *are* offended. You simply find them dull and unresponsive; and you don't dream that they are suffering inward tortures.

Now, the truth is, that woman is merely self-conscious. Her only sensitiveness is to what hurts her. She has an inflamed ego, which shrinks and quivers at every touch. . . .

Sensitiveness can be cured by a proper philosophy. The only thing for me to be concerned about is what I *am*. What other people think I am is not really important, because it doesn't alter the truth! If I am honest with myself, I can come closer than any one else to knowing what I am really like. That attitude toward one's own life, and a tremendous interest in life in general, and work that keeps one busy and happy — these three things, I guarantee, will cure one of being painfully sensitive.[1]

Compare this remedy with the methods used by the visiting teachers in treating inferiority complexes. What difficulties or dangers, if any, do you see in the application of Dr. Williams' remedy? What advantages?

16D16. Some centuries ago it was proved that the shape of the earth is spherical. This conclusion conflicted with the religious ideas then considered orthodox. Advocates of the new astronomy were persecuted and tortured. The great masses of people refused not only to believe the new truth but even to listen to it. Discuss these phenomena in relation to the present chapter. What parallel instances can you cite?

16D17. It is said that persons who suspect that they have tuberculosis do not want to know the truth about it. What relation has this fact to the discussion of our present chapter?

16D18. What different attitudes may a mother take toward the misdeeds of her son?

16D19. What compromise solutions can you think of for mental conflicts? Cite specific instances.

16D20. Irwin Edman, in the *Bookman* for December, 1926, says:

We have observed during the war and postwar years what a mess high clean words and low soiled actions could bring the map of Europe and the

[1] Mary B. Mullett, *Woman's Home Companion*, July, 1926.

map of life. We have come to prefer the pain of honest surgery to the perilous narcotics of sentimental delusion.

Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with this statement.

16D21. Was the action of the hypnotized person in pulling down the shade really part of his purposes or not? What light does this incident throw on freedom of the will?

16D22. What other light besides that noted in the text does hypnotism in general give as to the nature and extent of delusion?

16D23. How would you tell whether the man who put over the company union did right or wrong?

16D24. Give instances which you have seen of rationalization.

16D25. What is the difference between rationalization and making excuses? Between rationalization and hypocrisy?

16D26. Dr. Thomas V. Moore, on p. 227 of his *Dynamic Psychology* (Lippincott, 1926), speaking of his experience with shell-shocked men in France, says:

It was interesting to watch the rapid restoration to health of . . . a number of grumbling, discontented, neurasthenic officers when the Armistice was signed. Before this happy event, they felt that they were fit only for a base hospital — afterwards they manifested the most surprising zeal to get back into their organizations.

What is shell-shock? What is hypochondria? What relations have these to rationalization?

16D27. What instances do you know of "flights from reality"?

16D28. How does fantasy functioning drain off energy needed to meet real problems?

16D29. What is the basis of the appeal of the story of "The Ugly Duckling"? Of Cinderella? To what extent is this also the basis of appeal of other fairy stories? Of moving pictures? Of certain classes of advertisements?

16D30. In what sense might it be said that magic is a type of mental pseudo-accommodation?

16D31. To what extent are older types of education instances of mental pseudo-accommodation? Just why?

16D32. Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement in *Liberty* for October 30, 1926, by Frederick DeWolf Pingree, Harvard, 1926, former member of the editorial staff of the *Harvard Crimson:*

Our college faculties are choked with dead wood — professors who won their academic spurs by work so deadening, so futile, so utterly at variance with the obligations they are expected to fulfill that it is a marvel they themselves have not been forced by conscience to confess the hypocrisy they are daily enacting. In becoming Doctors of Philosophy, they wasted three of the best years of their lives and bent their minds into as tortured positions as Buddhistic fakirs twist their bodies.

16D33. How do students feel about the grades which they get from teachers who are very easy markers? Why?

16D34. It has been suggested that Napoleon became great by trying to compensate for an inferiority complex. Explain this suggestion. What other possible instances can you cite?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

16F1. Visit the most modern institution or clinic for mental disorders in your vicinity. What types of people are dealt with? What measures are adopted in their treatment? How successful are their attempts at cure? Discuss with members of the staff the relationship of the mental disorders of the patients to disorders of their social relations. (Time credit to be arranged)

16K2. Look up and report on Tolstoy's final discovery of the road to serenity of spirit. (Three hours)

16K3. Saint Paul said:

For the good which I would I do not; but the evil which I would not, that I practice. . . . Oh wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?

Study Romans 2 : 1 to 13 : 10, noting particularly the use of the word "law." Compare Paul's mental conflict and its solution with those of Tolstoy. (Two hours)

16K4. Study cases 8, 9, and 10, on pp. 53–8 and 66–9 of Furfey's *The Gang Age*. Where, why, and how would these fit into the present chapter? (One hour)

16K5. Analyze the factors present in the case of Orlando, as given by Grace Allen in the *Survey* for October 15, 1926, pp. 86–87. (Half an hour)

16K6. Make a study of mental dissociation and of multiple personality as related to our present chapter. (Time credit to be arranged)

16K7. Study "Poe Sits for a Final Portrait," by Herbert S. Gorman, in the *New York Times Book Review* for December 5, 1926, pp. 1, 14, 18, and 26. Note and discuss the nature and the sources of Poe's mental conflicts. (Two hours)

16K8. Read the case stories cited by Dr. Frankwood Williams in *Social Aspects of Mental Hygiene*, pp. 26–43. What fundamental characteristics of the inferiority complex are illustrated? (Two hours)

16K9. Draw up a generalized summary of the cases of inferiority complex cited in our chapter, including all of the features that appear in three or more of the cases. (Two hours)

16K10. How does putting the self in the place of another relate to the sense of inferiority? Go back over the instances and write out an analysis from this point of view. (Two hours)

16K11. Make a case study of the topic "Fairy Stories as Fantasy Escapes from Failure Complexes." (Four hours)

16K12. By a study of instances, come to conclusions as to the extent to which Eutopias should be regarded as fantasy substitutes for social reform. (Time credit to be arranged)

16K13. By talking with persons who are doing psychiatric work, and by reading books and articles on the subject, make a collection of cases in which the ideas of individuals have gotten out of touch with reality. Classify these cases into types. (Five to fifteen hours)

16K14. Write a paper on "The Defense Mechanism." What has it to do with rationalization? Include some good instances. (Five to ten hours)

16K15. In what ways do novelists and story writers use their fiction writing as an escape from reality for themselves? As a form of fantasy functioning? As a compensation for failures in other directions? Get at the problem by studying the ways in which the authors appear in more or less disguise in their own works. Write a paper on the subject, using the case method. (Five or more hours)

16K16. Harry Emerson Fosdick, according to the *Literary Digest* for March 5, 1927, pp. 27–8, advocates a confessional in Protestant churches. What case material can you cite showing the value or dangers of such a plan? (Time credit to be arranged)

16L17. Make a collection of instances of rationalization. Be very careful about the type of evidence which you accept as to the real and the assumed purposes of the persons involved. How can you be sure that rationalization occurs? (Two to four hours)

16L18. Write as detailed an account as you can of some case of inferiority complex known to you personally. Bring out especially those aspects of the case which differ most from the cases cited in the text. (One to two hours)

16L19. Nathaniel W. Winkelman, M.D., makes the following "Mental Health Suggestions." How many of them can you put into terms already discussed in this text? What suggestions would you add?

The cure for mental disorders lies in the earliest possible diagnosis, and treatment by a competent physician. Where there is physical derangement, whether as cause or effect, this must be remedied. A sympathetic understanding by the physician of the patient's personal problems is essential to real diagnosis and successful cure.

The mental outlook should be serene and hopeful, based in firm and inspiring beliefs. Life activities should be well balanced. Fresh air and exercise are important, as they not only fortify good physical habits, but also tend to balance the mental outlook. Hobbies, and intelligent, healthful amusements are valuable in counteracting "nerves."

Play, enjoy music, cultivate a sense of humor. Eliminate friction in the home life, make new contacts outside your professional and business life. Keep your physical condition up to par. Above all — keep the sense of adventure in life, look for it around every corner — and "nerves" will be unknown to you.

16W20. Compare with this chapter in our text Tansley's discussion of mental conflict in his *New Psychology*, Dodd, Mead & Co., 1922, pp. 112–91. (Four hours)

16W21. Read the discussion of mental dissociation (under the title "Social Attitudes") in Park and Burgess, 467–78. Contrast the process there described with the process of expanding the personality. What analogies might be drawn with respect to dissociation and integration in social groups? (One hour)

16W22. Discuss the treatment of mental conflict entitled "The Freudian Wish" in Park and Burgess, pp. 482–8. (One hour)

16W23. Discuss in relation to the present chapter Burnham's treatment of "Mental Attitudes," in his *The Normal Mind*, pp. 283–311. (Two hours)

16W24. What points of agreement and of disagreement can you find between the present chapter and Dr. Alice E. Johnson's "The Unhappy Are Always Wrong" in the *Survey* for November 15, 1926, pp. 217–8? (One hour)

CHAPTER XVII

RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN

The Powerful Craving for Physical Functioning. A man who had been run over by a heavy truck was brought into a hospital. His legs had been badly crushed from the thighs down. Although he was suffering agony he was bearing the ordeal with splendid courage. A surgeon examined the injured limbs, and then said reluctantly, " They will have to be amputated." Instantly the man's heroism broke down. He burst into sobbing entreaties. " Doctor — don't! Oh doctor, don't! I can never walk again! Doctor, don't cut my legs off! "

A soldier was carried into the base hospital, his head swathed in bandages. He had acquired a reputation for the grit with which he had stood suffering. The chief surgeon was examining his eyes. The lad's lips quivered ever so slightly as he asked, " Doctor, when will I be able to see? " The answer was gentle but final: " My boy, you will never see again." Suddenly the soldier's nerve was gone. He was torn with sobs. " Why didn't they leave me out there to die? " he kept repeating. " I'd rather be dead than blind."

Such is the violence of the bitterness which comes when some vital part of the body is deprived of its power to act. If the purpose of life is to function, then the normal, wholesome life will be that in which the whole personality — including all the organs of the body — find their adequate opportunity for normal activity. The craving which the body develops for its normal use calls for the forms of functioning which go with mating; moreover, the very preservation of the species depends upon this activity, and hence the needs and habits of the race, piled up in the form of instincts, or prepotent reflexes, add energy to the basic cravings of reproduction.

Satisfying Sex Life Involves the Whole Personality. If these most powerful of needs for functioning could be fully gratified as simply as the need for physical exercise can be, many of the most perplexing social problems — and most of the beauty and the glory of life —

would disappear. But we have found that even gastronomic functioning is powerfully molded by cultural considerations. The savage has been known to vomit the food which he has eaten, when he finds that it is taboo; the Eskimo dog dies of hunger rather than eat food to which he is not accustomed. So too sexual functioning, powerful as its need is, cannot be gratified independently of the great complex of other factors linked up with it or affected by it. Satisfying and successful sex functioning must involve, and must express harmoniously, the full personality. It must be achieved in integration first with moral and æsthetic ideals; second, with the craving for social approval; third, with functioning as a parent; fourth, with the need for successful economic and social achievement; and fifth, with the need for loving and being loved.

Before the personality reaches sexual maturity he or she has had linked up with sex ideas a whole host of subtle values, tastes, approvals, disapprovals, fears, hopes, and aspirations. Sexual functioning which violates the personality's acquired convictions as to what is decent, beautiful, sacred, or honorable will produce a mental conflict which may be more painful than any suffering resulting from repression. When a boy makes love to a girl, if the kind of love he makes violates what she has come to believe is lovely and holy, then the intensity of the emotions generated may serve to link up that boy in her mind with disgust, fear, repentance, and loathing.

Fully as deep as the need for sexual functioning — and even more permanent and insistent — is the need for social approval. Indeed, one of the greatest satisfactions of love itself is the sense of being of supreme importance to some one. Giving way to unconventional behavior is apt to lead to agonizing mental conflict. It is practically impossible to conceal completely such conduct from one's associates. Even if concealment is fairly successful, the individual keeps getting intimations that the kind of functioning in which he has indulged is disapproved of, and this knowledge is a source of keen suffering. One of the bitterest parts of the experience of the prostitute or of the unmarried mother is the knowledge that she is a social outcast, that her father and mother have forsaken her, and that her former friends despise her.

A young woman with extreme ideas on sex matters decided that, although she and her lover could not be married, there would be no harm in their living together as man and wife. After she had begun to do so, however, mental conflicts came thick and fast. In order to

justify her conduct she built up rationalizations. She lived in fear of pregnancy, of discovery, and secretly of possible abandonment by her lover. When finally the couple were formally married, this girl had a tremendous revulsion of relief.

A married woman found her husband not very satisfying. Her longing for a career led her to take a job, and in the course of her business experience she met and fell in love with a married man. So great was her passion that she insisted on a divorce from her husband, who still loved her. But she found that all of her former friends forsook her. She was ostracized and condemned. Gradually her greatest ambition in life came to be to reëstablish herself by remarrying the man whom she had abandoned.

Social approval is not only essential to one's peace of mind, but it is also essential, in many occupations, to professional or even to business success. Every one who is well acquainted in colleges or in church circles knows of one or more men who have lost positions or who have even been forced out of their professions because of some sex scandal. A well known movie comedian had to be eliminated from pictures because of public indignation over his connection with an orgy in which a woman was killed. Satisfying sex functioning must be of a sort which stimulates and promotes success in business and professional life rather than wrecks it.

Being a Parent Is a Normal Form of Functioning. Parenthood is a normal part of sex activity. A woman's body is built for motherhood as one of its vital ways of functioning. Any arguments which hold that the repression is disastrous must apply to this form as well as to other forms of functioning. While the male has no special bodily structures exclusively for the care of young children, one has only to study the reactions of normal men to babies and youngsters to observe that psychologically they have special adaptations to the job of fatherhood.

That normal college men look forward to having children is indicated by the results of a study of men in an introductory course in sociology at Dartmouth College, as reported by Stuart A. Rice and Malcolm M. Willey:

The answers relating to their own day-dreams of marriage and resulting children are illuminating:

Seven only of 90 men to whom the question was put stated that they had no such day-dreams. Of the remaining 83, 82 admitted a visualization of

children. One man only expressed a desire for a childless marriage. Three were indefinite concerning the desired size of their dream family but the remainder were specific, the distribution being as follows:

No. of Children Desired	No. of Men
0	1
1	2
2	38
2 or 3	9
3	15
3 or 4	3
4	6
4 or 5	1
5	3
5 or 6	1
10	1
	80[1]

Careers Versus Homes. Another relationship which must be worked out in successful adjustment if men and women are to find their complete fulfillment together, is that between love life and business or professional life. For the man there is the problem of the increasing time required for professional training, the lean years of early struggle in business, the financial difficulty of establishing both a successful home and a successful career at the same time.

Urgent as the man's side of the problem is, it has recently been quite overshadowed by the swiftly looming problem of the woman's career in relation to her task as home maker. Both for the college woman and the working girl, the conflict is increasingly insistent — home and babies or job, career, and pay envelope? The new economic order opens the way to an unprecedented degree for independence and for creative functioning in the industrial and professional world, but this new freedom creates new conflicts with the craving for a normal life as wife and mother.

The Craving for Love. Mere physical sexual functioning, urgent as may be its demands, cannot give satisfaction and mental peace except in integration with the urgent needs so closely allied with it in the personality — the need to express one's moral ideals and æsthetic tastes, the imperative craving for social approval, the need to function as a parent, and the need for successful functioning in the economic world.

[1] *Jour. of Heredity*, Jan. '26, pp.11–12.

Related to all these other cravings is the supreme need to love and to be loved. Even the physical experiences of mating reach their full ecstasy only when they grow out of and express the emotional devotion of the whole personality in the form of love. To be of supreme importance to one's mate; to have a partner who understands and shares one's bitterest sorrows and supremest joys; to have the rest of life set on fire with loveliness through the thought of one's lover — such experiences as these are the summit of happiness. He who has missed them has missed the greatest things. He who sacrifices them for mere physical functioning is exchanging Aladdin's lamp for a bright tin kerosene flare.

Shall Physical Functioning Coerce the Rest of the Personality? And yet the coercive solution — letting the mere physical side of the relation between men and women override the other needs which have just been discussed — is a solution which has been advocated — and attempted. The life of Guy de Maupassant illustrates an extreme application of this type of solution:

Life was to Maupassant a "procession of human animals," or rather, of human bodies full of primitive animal desire. As long as he was young he participated in this procession with a truly animal delight. It was, as Mr. Boyd justly emphasizes it, a real "sexual obsession," to which he constantly paid tribute both in his life and in his writings. He walked through life like a monomaniac, with his eyes fixed on woman's body, perceiving nothing around, believing in nothing. Religion, philosophy, politics — all was concealed from his eyes by this erotic vision. "I should like to have a thousand arms . . . in order to embrace at one time an army of these charming and unimportant creatures" — such was the dream of his life.

Maupassant, however, was sometimes obliged to flee and avoid by all imaginable devices some of his too self-assertive mistresses.

As years went on, the "procession of bodies" began to assume more and more often a different aspect. Maupassant saw before his eyes not happy and smiling Venuses but hideous "idiots, brutes, drunkards, parricides," monsters of physical deformity and ugliness. And here the tragedy of old age, of the ineluctable dilapidation and death, of the futility of all things earthly, horrified and tortured his mind. Mr. Boyd is undoubtedly right when he adds autobiographic significance to a short story in which Maupassant says:

"Every day, when shaving, I have a great desire to cut my throat. Several times my face, which never changes, reflected in the little glass, with soap on my cheeks, has made me weep from sadness. . . . Every brain is a

circus in which a poor imprisoned horse runs round and round. Whatever our efforts, our twists and turns, the boundary is near, rounded continuously, without any unexpected unevenness, without any gate leading to the unknown."

The germ of insanity began to develop in Maupassant's strange mind.

The first hallucination which deeply impressed him — he saw his double sitting in his chair — the unexplainable fear which pervaded him time and time again and against which he struggled with all the forces of his still undisturbed logic, the despair which tortured him when he realized that this was the beginning of madness and the heroic efforts at concealing all this from the eyes of friends and relatives — all this is drawn by Mr. Boyd with a convincing accuracy and dramatism. The reader sees how the malady followed its relentless course, how attacks of persecution mania, periods of febrile excitement, and days of complete relapse became more and more frequent, how the unfortunate writer agonized and suffered witnessing the progressing disintegration of his mind, how, finally, after having tried to kill himself with a steel paper knife, he was brought in a strait-jacket to Dr. Blanche's asylum in Passy. . . .

Mr. Sherard asserts that Maupassant's erotic twist of mind must be ascribed to the microbe of that disease which finally caused his insanity and death. Maupassant as viewed in the light of Spirochaeta Pallida — such might be the title of his disheveled and planless book. But this twist of mind was characteristic of Maupassant long before the fatal microbe settled in him.[1]

Experiments in Soviet Russia. The notion that sex conflicts can be solved simply by taking away restraints from physical functioning has been prevalent among some of the more radical Bolsheviki. Results of experiments in this direction are suggested by the following excerpts:

Much attention is devoted by the Soviet press to the proposed reform of the marriage laws of the country and stress is laid on a remark said to have been made by Lenin, quoted by the Moscow *Isviestia*, as follows:

"You know, of course, the famous theory that in society based on Communism it is just as simple to satisfy one's wish for love as it is to get a drink of water. Well, to this 'drink of water' theory we owe the fact that our young generation has gone mad. This theory has caused the ruin of a great many youths. Its adepts are tireless in trying to prove that it is a 'Marxist theory.' Let us hope that we shall be spared such 'Marxism.' "

Marriage, in the Soviet way, is a mere registration, very loosely defined by law. With it, we read, began a violent propaganda about "free love,"

[1] Abridged from Alexander I. Nazaroff's review of lives of Maupassant by Ernest Boyd and Robert H. Sherard, in the *N. Y. Times Book Review*, Nov. 21, '26, pp. 9–10.

the "abolition of bourgeois morals" and "war against the old institution of family." What some call "an orgy of immorality" ensued, which struck fear into the hearts of the Soviet leaders themselves. In his book entitled "Problems of Life," Leon Trotzky says:

"The destructive period in family life is still far from ended. The process of disintegration goes on at full speed. At a conference of Moscow propagandists, some of the comrades spoke with great and justifiable anxiety of the facility with which old family ties are broken for the sake of new ones as frail as the old. In all such cases mothers and children are the victims. Who of us has not heard in his private conversations complaints and lamentations about the demoralization of young Soviet workers, especially of those who belong to the Union of Communist Youths?"

This explains, says *Isviestia*, why the authorities have decided to work out a new system of marriage laws. But this has proved to be very difficult.

The great war, the civil war, and especially the Soviet decrees of 1918, by which divorce was so simplified as to become a matter of a few minutes, plunged Russia into a sort of matrimonial anarchy. Husbands abandoned their wives and found new ones, only to abandon them a month later. Some Russians in the course of these years are said to have acquired as many as twenty-five legal wives.

Soviet courts are loaded with lawsuits arising from this strange state of affairs. Claims of divorced women for alimony, petitions submitted on behalf of children abandoned by their parents and disputes over the division of family property are so numerous that they eat up all of the time of a People's Judge. It became evident that urgent measures must be taken in order to find a way out of such chaos.

Before ratifying this code the Soviet Government resorted to a hitherto unprecedented measure. As soon as its project was drafted, a year ago, the Commissariat of Justice sent copies to the provincial Soviets and instructed the village authorities to hold meetings for its reading and public discussion. Crowds of men and women — peasants, workmen, students, intellectuals — assembled all over the country and debated the issue from all imaginable angles. The results of this primitive referendum were taken into consideration, at least to a certain extent, by the Soviet Government. The code, as ratified, is far from being so radical as was the original draft.

The code is criticized from most dissimilar angles and for a great variety of reasons. It is especially the institution of "unregistered wives" that gives rise to the discussion. Comrade D. Kursky, People's Commissar of Justice, thus defends it: "There are hundreds of thousands, perhaps even millions, of women who are virtual wives without being official wives. To leave them without protection would be unjust and cruel. It might mean tragedy to many of them."

Yet his opponents, Comrades Soltz and Vassiliev-Yuzhin of the Commissariat of Justice, answer: "The legislation of unregistered marriages will be responsible for the fact that many men will have three, four, or more wives. In other words, the new code will legalize the practice of polygamy and polyandry."

Mme. A. Kollontay, a few months ago, when the code was being discussed, published in the Soviet press her own project of matrimonial laws. The family, she asserted, should be abolished by a special and unequivocal decree; a special tax should be levied on the working people of the Union to constitute a fund for the nursing of all children born in the republic.

Such was the daring project that competed for some time with the now-adopted code. Mme. Kollontay was, however, rebuked by a number of responsible Communists and her ideas were pronounced heresy.

In discussions of family relations in Russia, repeated references are found to homeless children. Both friendly and unfriendly observers testify that hordes of half naked, half starved boys and girls roam about, sleeping in packing boxes, haunting city dumps, picking pockets, burglarizing, murdering, and constituting a perplexing unsolved problem. It has been reported that sex relations among these vagabonds are loose, and that venereal diseases are prevalent among them.

The children's homes provided by the Soviet government have failed to meet the problem. The number of such institutions has been utterly inadequate. The care in most of them has been wretched and miserable, due both to lack of equipment and funds and to lack of competent people to put in charge. The children, moreover, habituated to unfettered lives, have escaped or wandered off in large numbers.

The exact facts about these wanderers are in dispute. Some friends of communism have said that there are no more homeless children in Moscow than in Chicago. Some who admit the seriousness of the problem point out the fact that vast numbers of children have been left orphans by Soviet wars and by the famines, so that their homelessness is no evidence of illegitimacy or of desertion.

The whole problem is, indeed, in dispute. The writer has been unable to find any detailed discussion of the effects of the Russian revolution on family life except in sources not friendly to the Soviets. Accurate and dispassionate facts about the results of Russia's marriage experiment are of the highest importance to social science.

But one does not need to go to Russia to discover people who think that happiness can be found merely by tossing old conventions overboard. In his book *Love and Greenwich Village*, Floyd Dell lets a typical young experimenter tell of his attempts to escape from the conventional mating process:

We met each other at the Liberal Club and became good friends. We were very fond of talk. We talked over everything in the wide world. . . . And incidentally, of course, we agreed in disbelieving in marriage. We considered it a stupid relic of the barbaric past, a ridiculous and tyrannical convention. We were altogether enchanted with each other's enlightened opinions.

One evening, as Rosemary and I talked, there came in the midst of our intellectual discussion, a pause — a moment in which we gazed at each other in one of those silences that can end only in a kiss. And a moment later we knew — what everybody else, no doubt, could have told us all along, that we were in love.

The occasion seemed to demand a pledge of some kind. And so, instead of promising, in the old-fashioned way, to be true to each other, we promised, in a more modern fashion, that each would be true to himself. "And," said Rosemary, "when the time comes, and one of us falls in love with somebody else, we won't lie about it. We will tell each other, and part. Freely, and without regrets or recriminations!"

These were our vows — to be courageously candid in our expected and inevitable unfaithfulness. For we knew, intellectually, that the time would come when we would no longer love each other. Instinctively, we could not believe it — to speak of such a thing at a time like this was secretly a hurt to our deepest feelings. But we believed in facing the facts. We were reasonable, intellectual, modern young people. And — there is no doubt about it — we felt superior to the common run of mankind.[1]

To their surprise, the Greenwich Villagers discovered that the experiment wouldn't work. They could not escape the problems of mating merely by leaving out the marriage ceremony. Regretfully they had to confess the failure of their romance because they found in it, to their surprise, all, or nearly all, the problems of institutional marriage, and also other problems. Each of them tried other similar experiments, and met similar disillusioning failure. Finally these ex-villagers found happiness in marriages based upon comradeship and common interests.

[1] From *Love in Greenwich Village* by Floyd Dell, Copyright 1926, George H. Doran Company, publishers.

Institutions Which Grew as Solutions of Sex Relations. In the long process of social evolution certain forms of functioning between men and women have become institutions and have survived because of offering partially successful accommodations between the several needs involved in this relationship. Various forms of imaginary romantic functioning have become institutionalized — such as lyric poetry, the novel, the short story, the drama, and recently the romantic moving picture. Ball-room dancing has become a social institution because it provides what is usually considered a safe amount of physical functioning, combined with æsthetic functioning, with social approval, and with companionship. Certain church groups disapprove of dancing; for adherents of these denominations, therefore, it fails to combine these other forms of functioning with social approval, and thus may become a source of mental conflict rather than a solution.

Above all other social institutions thus far developed, the modern family has come closest to achieving an integration of the various forms of functioning involved in the relation between men and women. Under ideal conditions it provides an adequate opportunity for physical functioning, for parenthood, for companionship, for love, and for a home. It has social approval.

In pioneer days, while America was being settled, the making of the home gave the wife, as much as the husband, full outlet for energy and creative ability. The job was a joint undertaking, with all the comradeship of adventuring and achieving together. The women then spun and wove the cloth, made the clothing, did all the baking, canning, and preserving, made butter and cheese, cared for chickens and perhaps pigs, made the candles which served for sole illuminant, bore and reared huge families, and took a considerable part of the responsibility for the education of the children. It was an overwhelming job, and death-rates of wives were high; but the women had ample opportunity to function intensely and successfully in the channels allied to their family life.

To-day, what a change! Spinning, weaving, sewing, baking, canning, dairying, illuminating, and education are all, wholly or in part, removed to outside institutions. The girls learn housekeeping, not from their mothers but from a domestic science teacher; the boys learn their trades or their professions, not from their fathers but in schools. Many of the functions of the home are permanently gone. It seems at present that the women are going out also, looking for their

opportunities to function and for the money necessary to maintain a rising standard of living. The family — never a perfect institution even in the past — is being forced into new adjustments.

The Rush of Women into Industry. During the last decade for which statistics are available, 1910–20, women were deserting agriculture as an occupation. Only a little over half as many married women were reported as doing farm work at the end of that ten years as at the beginning. To a less extent, women were leaving also their traditional jobs in domestic and personal service. But in manufacturing, in trade, in transportation, and in the professions the number of women workers was rising with tremendous swiftness, and the number of married women was increasing just about twice as fast as the number of single women. In transportation the number of married women employed trebled in the ten years; in clerical occupations the number quadrupled.

One factor contributing to the increasing entrance of women into work outside the home is education. The following figures show the revolutionary increase in women's education in recent decades:

	Girls Attending High Schools and Prep Schools	*Women Attending Colleges and Normal Schools*
1890	163,000	84,000
1924	1,963,000	450,000 [1]

Mary Ross makes the following additional points:

Two other factors in the increasing outside occupation of women seems to me at least equally significant: the increasing length of life which the average American, man or woman, has gained during the past half century, and the declining birthrates and infant and child deathrates. American women have more years of adult life than did their grandmothers, and fewer and healthier children. Taken together, these two facts effect a very material change in the *proportion* of her working life which a woman spends in her unique job of bearing and rearing children.[2]

Whatever may be the explanation, the fact is inescapable that a revolution in women's way of life is happening under our very eyes. How are these sweeping changes to be accommodated with the love life and the home life of men and women? That is a superlative problem in social adjustment.

[1] Dr. Louis I. Dublin, *Atlantic Monthly*, Sept. '26.
[2] *Survey*, Dec. 1, '26, p. 266.

Bankrupt Marriages. The stream of married women pouring into industry is not the only symptom of transition and of imperfect adjustment in the family. The swiftly rising number of divorces gives the alarm in another quarter. During the year 1924 there were 171,000 divorces in the United States. In 1890 there were more than 16 marriages for each divorce; in 1924 there were less than seven marriages per divorce. The increase, moreover, is gathering speed; the divorce rate per 1000 of population increased more during the past 10 years than during the 30 years from 1870 to 1900. As compared with other countries, the United States leads in divorce, as shown by the following figures for the year 1922:

Country	*Divorces per 1000 of Population*
England	.08
Denmark	.40
Germany	.63
France	.82
United States	1.36

Bankrupt marriages may well be a central concern of those who are working for better social relations. Founded in high hopes, with rich assets of love and common purpose, such marriages have dissipated their capital. Thwarted aspirations, repressed desires, snuffed-out hopes, and bitterness, are the liabilities which have swamped the assets. The husband and wife come to the court to ask that the firm be dissolved, that the losses be accepted, that the failure of the enterprise receive legal recognition. The enlightened judge of domestic relations may suggest, in place of dissolution, a receivership — an attempt to rebuild the assets in the interests of the partners and of their children who are stockholders in the enterprise — but the effort is at best an up-hill struggle. The damage has been done. The potential profits of the family as a producer of human joy have been wasted.

Such bankruptcy is no sudden affair. Back at the founding of the firm, latent causes of disaster were ignored. The business of building a family was not carried forward wisely and with clear vision. Yet society sanctioned the union; it stood by indifferently while the foundations of the home were rotting out. It is neither wise nor just merely to cry out against the legal recognition of the bankruptcy of a family when the disaster has already been accomplished in fact; rather the problem to be considered should be how to prevent such catastro-

phes, how to restore the solvency of such marriages, how to keep the family prosperous in affection.

The business of bringing a better social order is a huge undertaking; we are prone, therefore, to forget that it is primarily a retail, not a wholesale, task. To pass resolutions in favor of world peace is easy, but to attain and preserve peace with his immediate associates requires constant use of all the best that a man has. Relatively little effort is required to appear before a legislative committee, urging the strengthening of some law which is to compel people to be good, but it is the daily task of a lifetime to render any really great service to nearby people who are grappling with the immediate problems of their human relationships. The achievement of real fulfillment of each other by husband and wife is one of the central problems needing the solvent of a true science of social relations.

The Psychology of Mating. First in the chronology of domestic disaster comes mismating. The happy home is built upon the wedding of the *purposes* of the husband and wife. They must want to achieve things together, to pool their efforts for common goals. If a man and woman find their lives opening up into each other, if they find that each releases, stimulates, glorifies, and develops the potentialities of the other, if they find that together they can experience and accomplish splendid things impossible to them separately, then they are on the highroad to the most beautiful and fruitful relationship. But if the husband finds his strivings and aspirations thwarted and repressed by the wife, if the wife experiences repeated blockings of her activities and purposes by the husband, then the relationship is headed for disaster. If, then, the inner drives in life of a husband and wife are fundamentally alien, if one of them seeks a kind of home and a way of living essentially inconsistent with the home and life sought by the other, the winning of harmony becomes a well-nigh impossible task.

Mating is simply one form of the process which we have already discussed under the head of expansion of personality. Two people have intense and delicious experiences together. That fact itself links them into each other's personalities. Their imaginations help the consolidation along. They build glowing purposes about one another. They idealize each other. They have good times together. As the bond grows they adventure, suffer, struggle, and achieve together. Great portions of their personalities inter-penetrate. In a real sense they become one.

The tragic fact about mating is that the joining together may become exceedingly strong in certain areas of the personalities of a man and a woman while at the same time other areas of these same personalities are hurting, damaging, and destroying each other.

The writer, in his early years of social work, had the task of trying to bring back to social health the family of a stage hand with an attractive wife and two charming children. The husband had been running with loose women and had been drinking. The wife, at late hours of the night, accompanied by her little girls, would search through the saloons of the neighborhood to beg him to leave off his revels and return home. One night, coming in drunk, he started to abuse and beat her. Seeking to escape, she crawled through a window on to a sill. He still pursued her, and was in the act of beating her hands so that she should drop off into the street when neighbors burst in and saved her. Yet when she had been persuaded to swear out a warrant for his arrest, and finally confronted him before the judge, she begged that he should not be sent to jail, but should be released and given "another chance." Jane Addams cites two instances of the same general type.[1]

Choosing a Mate. Two young people who are experiencing the first thrills of the merging of personalities on the physical side are likely to exclaim: "We love each other; that's all that matters, isn't it?" No, that is not all that matters. If these two people mate, their future happiness in life depends upon the question whether their whole personalities stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other, or whether they will uncover, as they begin to live together, great vital areas in which they thwart, defeat, antagonize, and torture each other. If this proves to be the case, the mere fact that they are in love in some other ways simply increases the agony by intensifying the mental conflict.

Ideal matching of personalities at the start rarely, if ever, occurs. The two must be fitted by a long process of creative accommodation. This task is fascinating and inspiring if love dominates, but it is difficult at best. Young people therefore are foolhardy if they increase the risk by mating with some one whose cultural background, or life purposes, or even tastes, are so radically different as to require superhuman efforts to achieve accommodation. An earnest Catholic has adopted as part of his or her expanded personality a whole background of moral standards, ways of worshiping, requirements as to the education of one's children, financial obligations, and the like, totally

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 169–71.

different from the corresponding elements of the personality of an earnest Protestant. Between Jews and Gentiles there has grown up, tragically enough, an attitude which very frequently develops conflicts, suspicions, dislikes, injustices, and avoidances. Marriage between individuals intensely allied to opposing sides of this social conflict means, therefore, that the couple adds to the difficult problem of accommodation between the personalities of an ordinary man and woman the additional problem of solving in their own lives a great cultural conflict. Obviously the corresponding difficulty of a marriage between an Oriental and a native white American, or between a Negro and a white, is vastly greater even than that between the groups previously mentioned.

Less obvious, but still of momentous importance, is the risk involved in a marriage between persons differing widely in their degree of education, or having sharply contrasted standards of living, or differing decidedly about what they like to do evenings, or disagreed as to the desirability of having children, or markedly contrasted in the intensity of their passions.

Happiness in Relation to Age at Marriage. The *New York Times* for December 2, 1926, contained the following item:

> Charles Chaplin and Lita Grey, his second wife, were married Nov. 24, 1924, when the bride was 16 years old. Chaplin's first wife was Mildred Harris, a motion picture actress from whom he had been divorced.
>
> Chaplin's first child by Lita Grey was born in June of last year, after it had been rumored that the couple were to separate. A second son was born to the couple on March 30 of this year.

The above item was published in connection with the beginning of a suit for divorce.

The *Times* for December 19, 1926, carried a story relating to a divorce suit against a Mr. H—— who had held a prominent position in the national government:

> The couple, who where married in Chicago seven years ago, have lived apart since last summer. Mrs. H—— has the custody of their three children pending the outcome of her action. She was only 18 years of age at the time of her marriage, the ceremony being carried out despite the opposition of her parents. Mr. H—— was 45 years of age. The marriage took place on the very day that a decree of divorce was signed in favor of his second wife.

The characteristics of these two instances are not merely accidental. Studies of hundreds of cases from divorce courts and courts of domestic

relations show that maturity is essential to a wise marriage choice. Young people who marry before the age of 20 are not happy in their marriage unless they are unusually lucky. The most propitious age for marriage is 22 to 29 for women, and 25 to 34 for men. Below these ages the risk of disaster increases rapidly; above these age groups the risk increases slowly.

Promoting Mating at Sage Ages. If marriage to the right mate is the best solution yet achieved to the problem of relations between men and women, and if marriage to the right mate occurs naturally between the ages of 22 and 29 for a woman and between 25 and 34 for a man, then it becomes clear that wise social policy calls for discouragement of marriages during the dangerously premature period — say up to 20 for the woman, and 22 for the man — and for encouragement by providing propinquity at the ideal ages. Unfortunately, economic conditions have brought it about that there is a surplus of several hundred thousand marriageable women in the cities of the East, and an even larger surplus of men in the West. Certain occupations are filled predominantly by women; others by men. There is need for searching scientific study of the extent of these divergencies, of their causes, of their effects on mating, and of possible remedies or compensations for the maladjustments found.

Even before the results of such studies are available, however, it is possible to do a great deal toward more intelligent mating by providing wholesome and absorbing recreational opportunities for mixed groups of men and women at the ideal ages. Here is a genuine opportunity for social service by churches, social centers, settlements, employees' associations, Y. M. C. A.'s, and Y. W. C. A.'s.

Can Romantic Love Be Made to Order? Assuming that wholesome opportunities for meeting between young people of ideal marriageable ages are provided, what attitudes on the part of the young people themselves are likely to produce permanent happiness? Let us review certain conditions which we have already noted as being of central importance: (1) the young people who are to form permanent partnerships must, if they are to be happy, have personalities which will stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other without major thwartings; (2) in the course of their fitting together they must ultimately attain full physical functioning in harmony with their own ethical and æsthetic ideals and with the approval of their social group; (3) the process by which the two personalities are interlocked must involve

the full intensity of romantic love. By what attitudes and procedure can these three ideals be attained?

The best test as to whether two personalities fit one another is for them to attempt to do things together. Moreover, the way in which personalities attach other people to themselves is through doing things successfully in coöperation, and participating in joint experiences. Joint functioning is, therefore, the answer to the two-fold problem of selection and of attachment. But what kinds of joint functioning are called for? The answer is, anything that is wholesome and natural, and which expresses the best in both of the personalities involved. It may be work together at the office. It may be producing jointly an amateur dramatic performance. It may be organizing a picnic. It may be playing bridge. In the choice between possible joint activities, the best will be those which most fully express both personalities, for only by such joint functioning can the full personalities test each other and inter-penetrate.

But how about intense romantic love? Joint functioning may produce comradeship, but how about ecstatic emotion? Our study of the dynamics of personality has shown that the intensity of an emotion depends upon the readiness of the organism, the fitness of the stimulus, and *the length of time during which the stimulus generates emotional energy without the energy finding adequate outlet.* As applied to the generation of romantic love, the first two of these requirements depend upon proper choice of mates. The last requirement depends upon discipline — upon the voluntary acceptance by the lovers of restrictions upon full physical function. If physical contact is kept down to the amount needed to assure each as to the tender interest of the other, the young man and young woman will continue, during the period of courtship, to stimulate each other in the normal, wholesome contacts of joint creative activity, but without full escape of the energy thus generated. The result is a building of love-pressure within each. The emotion generated floods back through the personality, stimulating and setting aglow all the other aspects. It is exactly this phenomenon which we mean by the term "romantic love."

A certain novelist in discussing why it is that engaged couples have so much more to talk about than married couples seem to have, has described the process as follows. She suggests that the situations are parallel to those in a house wired for electric current. Two wires come into the house, but the energy is not permitted to leap directly from

one to the other; it must rather pass through various sorts of resistance, such as electric bulbs, vacuum sweepers, washing machines, toasters, and the like. The result is that the house is flooded with light, warmth, and power. But let the current be short-circuited, and the lights go out; the machinery stops; the coils turn cold. While this analogy is not a correct description of successful marriage, it does point out certain of the advantages of self-restrained courtship.

Self-imposed discipline avoids the mental conflict arising from social condemnation of unconventionality, and the conflict that comes from violation of one's own ideals. But its chief contribution is its illumination of the whole relationship. Under the stimulus of the accumulated emotional energy the lover organizes his life anew around this thrilling center of his love. His work, his dreams, his home, his faith — all these and all else of moment in his life shape themselves to fit this supreme experience.

Conjugal Love. When a personality is in the process of expansion, the emotional energy is generated from the process of adjustment to the new elements; after the expansion is completed emotion arises chiefly through disturbance of the bonds which have been formed. These facts are the basis of the distinction between romantic and conjugal love. The courtship and the honeymoon are filled with the thrill of new adjustments, of novel and exciting experiences, of delightful discoveries. But increasingly, as marriage goes on, there is a tendency for the adjusted personalities to function smoothly in old grooves. Such functioning does not generate very intense emotion. Married people are apt to think that the love is gone. But let one of them leave for a vacation, or let one be dangerously sick or injured, or let some rivalry come in to upset the adjustment, and emotion comes swiftly to light — but now negative emotion, loneliness, terror, grief, rage.

The Growing Marriage. Normally there is an element which saves true marriage from monotony: it is the continued assimilation into the joint personality of new experience. The building of a home, the making of joint friendships, the coming of the children, the economic struggles of the family, the working out of the problem of the releasing and fulfillment of the personality of the wife under the changing conditions of modern economic life — all these and countless other insistent stimuli present themselves to generate married emotion. If the attitudes of the husband and wife toward these stimuli are creative,

then the resultant emotion can flourish in the form of enthusiasm, laughter, and growing love; if they take negative attitudes, then the same stimuli may breed destructive emotional energy. This problem of progressive accommodation within the family becomes, then, the central issue in the preservation of married happiness.

The Sex Side of Married Life. In sex life first experiences are of momentous importance. Intimate studies of divorce cases reveal the fact that conflict in sex matters is involved in an overwhelming majority of marriage failures, and that frequently the antagonism begins on the marriage night.

The first requisite to married serenity is that both partners be in harmony within themselves. If they are ashamed of the physical aspects of their love, if they regard the sex impulse as nasty, impure, and unworthy, they will be exceedingly likely to develop mental conflicts in connection with the marriage relationship. Similarly the church should progress beyond the furtive, ashamed, repressive attitude which has characterized so much of our reformative work. The motive of life is to function. Marital functioning is a normal and beautiful form of joy. The aim should be to emphasize its wholesome and constructive aspects and to release it from its poisonous and destructive perversions, rather than to thwart it.

According to the view now prevalent among biologists, sociologists, and psychologists, the physical aspect of sex is an underlying foundation of all that is beautiful in life. Art, music, literature, and religion itself are flames of beauty from this primeval fire. Philanthropy, ethics, and brotherly love borrow power from sex.

Yet the tremendous power of the sex drive makes the initial excursion a dangerous one. *The first principles for success in this relationship are gentleness, mutual understanding, and patience.*

Particularly in sex matters, force is the supreme blunder. A husband may compel his wife to conform to his wishes, but this coercion is likely to alienate her purposes from him and destroy the possibility of genuine harmony in the home.

In marriage, somewhat as during courtship, the physical phases of the relationship gain beauty and significance in proportion as they are not regarded as ends in themselves, but grow out of other relations between the personalities. As by-products they acquire new beauty; as mere activities for their own sake they become crude, dull, and unsatisfying.

The Cruder Methods of Adjusting Family Purposes. How are a man and woman to marry each other, to occupy the same house, to participate in each other's physical processes, to be dependent upon the same income, to bring up the same children, and still each function according to his own purposes? This is a problem in social relations to which are applicable all of the types of purpose relationship which we have discussed in previous chapters.

Take, for instance, the relations between the purposes of the husband and wife relative to the expenditure of their joint income. Within certain limits, the husband may coerce his wife in financial matters. He may insist upon making all expenditures himself, or upon forcing on her his ideas as to the ways in which she expends the money. She, on the other hand, may exercise force upon him. She may bully him into submission to her entire program of expenditure; she may succeed in securing each payday his unopened pay envelope: she may disregard entirely his wishes as to how it shall be spent. She may even get a court to assist her to coerce him.

She may use fraud — take money from his pockets while he sleeps, or manipulate her charge accounts, or what not. Fraud is often the rejoinder of the weak to the strong. It is curious that our ethics condemn so roundly any use of fraud, and yet so often condone the use of coercion. Both force and fraud are of the essence of evil in that they repress functioning and thwart purpose. For a social worker engaged in a family problem simply to aid the wife — or the husband — in applying force to the other, is to confess defeat.

As a substitute for destructive conflict, a policy of live and let live may be adopted. The wife may attend to certain expenditures, the husband to others, and each may interfere as little as possible in the financial affairs of the other.

Or, the divergent purposes may be harmonized on the basis of recognizing that the husband and the wife each has certain " rights " to a given portion of the income, or to being clothed and fed in certain ways. This may be called the " justice " solution — the working out of conflicting interests on the basis of some principle accepted by both. But justice cannot be fully attained unless both husband and wife feel that justice is done. The sense of injustice is fatal to harmony of purpose. To drag a husband into court and force him into what he feels to be an unjust arrangement with his family may be necessary as a last resort, but it is coercion.

The demand for one's rights in family life is not likely to lead to a creative solution of conjugal conflict. Take the case of Henry, affectionate father and good provider, who runs around with other women. He says that he would be faithful if his wife would give him his rights — an orderly home, regular meals, mended clothing, conjugal service at regular intervals. She says that her central right to faithful and exclusive love is violated. All that either wants is justice — but the probable outcome will be divorce.

Real integration of purpose is a far different thing from merely letting each other alone; it is different from justice; it is even different from recognizing that the wife is useful to the husband, and the husband useful to the wife, and hence coöperating for mutual advantage. Integration of purpose means the merging of activities for a common end; it is the development of united ideals to which both husband and wife are devoted. The building of a home, the education of the children, the development of a common center of social intercourse where those outside the family may share its joy — such objectives as these serve not only to unite the husband and wife on a joint financial policy which eliminates the conflict characteristic of a disintegrating marriage, but they also release repressed energies.

How May Husband and Wife Integrate Their Purposes? This unity or integration of purpose is an ideal applicable to all the relationships in the family. Shall the wife take a job outside the home? How shall the evenings be spent? Who shall be invited to supper? What church shall be attended? What new clothes shall be purchased? What attitude shall the parents take toward the children? Countless problems such as these find their ideal solution when husband and wife can weave their separate purposes into a common fabric in which each supports and enhances rather than thwarts and distorts the other. But how shall this integration be attained? The achievement will in each case be a unique piece of artistic creation; no hard and fast rules can be set down. The following principles may, however, be suggestive:

1. *Desire to Fulfill the Personality of the Mate.* Fundamental to success in marriage is the honest and active desire to release the wife or husband from conditions which hamper and thwart. The husband needs to study with sympathetic insight the possible activities of the wife, her desires for self-expression, her artistic cravings, her wish to do

things of real value in the world, and he should expend eager thought and energy in the effort to enable her to achieve these desires. The wife should seek to understand her husband's professional or business ambitions, his tastes and likings, his need for recreation, and should discover how she can best promote his wholesome and creative strivings. Both husband and wife should study in the same way the potentialities of their children, and labor to give them the best opportunity possible to unfold and develop naturally.

2. *Remove Antagonizers.* Some one important source of irritation may be creating conflict in what otherwise might be a serenely happy home. Jane Addams tells of a woman whose husband had become so desperate after two years of her unskilled cooking that he had threatened to desert her and go where he could get "decent food," as the wife confided in a tearful interview. When the woman followed Miss Addams' advice and took the Hull-House courses in cooking, she reported six months later a united and happy home. The judge of a certain Domestic Relations court was called upon to settle the squabbles in a home where the husband, who was badly ruptured, had for years suffered agonies during his work as hod-carrier. The judge simply enforced an order for the support of the wife; quite possibly, however, an operation for hernia might have solved not only the financial conflict but also the rest of the friction in that home. Similarly, the writer was once called upon to study the problem of a family where the mother of four children complained that her husband was lazy. Examination discovered the fact that his lack of energy was due to the previously unsuspected fact that he was in the second stage of tuberculosis. Loss of sleep, overwork, the defeat of secret innocent ambitions — any one of numberless physical or mental causes — may produce a condition of irritability in which every stimulus becomes a menace, and misery, fear, anger, and conflict are inevitable outcomes until the crucial cause is eliminated.

3. *Avoid Interference by "In-Laws."* Accommodating to each other even the plastic purposes of two lovers who are establishing a home together is a full-sized task. But when a rash couple adds to that problem the undertaking of accommodating themselves also to the tough, deep-grained habits, tastes, prejudices, and insistences of members of an older generation, the strain frequently brings disaster. With all love and respect to the relatives on both sides, it has proved over and over again that the best chances of successful adjustment are

obtained by freeing the young people just as far as possible from the hourly or even daily interference of their kin.

4. *Create Family Purposes Jointly.* Purposes are most likely to be fully shared when they have been created jointly. Let the family plans in their essentials be worked out together, not dictated by either partner. If undertaken in a frank, open-minded, teachable way, the discussions leading to such plans will stimulate both partners to attainments higher than they could have reached separately.

5. *Avoid Rancor.* Minor conflicts are apt to arise in almost any home. They are dangerous if antagonism is allowed to crystallize around them. Bitter words are likely to harden the attitudes of combat. In particular, any expression of contempt, any intimation that the other partner is insincere or inferior, is likely to rankle and provide seed for further antagonism.

6. *Abandon Coercion and Fraud.* Since the assets of a family consist in affection, a marriage cannot be saved by force from bankruptcy. Love is a willing dedication; it cannot be coerced. You may force a person to act in a certain way, but you cannot force him to *want* to act in that way. Threats, scoldings, complaining, court orders — such things as these destroy rather than create the emotional assets of the home. To make a marriage not only solvent but prosperously profitable is no sledge-hammer task. It requires discriminating insight and sympathetic understanding. For the young husband who seeks to achieve a superbly successful home; for the young wife who is struggling to hold and increase her husband's love; for the social worker, clergyman, physician, or lawyer who is confronted with a tottering family which he would strengthen; for all these there is one rule: use neither physical force nor psychological coercion; do not use even urgent persuasion; seek rather to understand fully the purposes of the other party and to create coöperatively a common purpose. Instances do arise when shock and compulsion are essential, but their use is as dangerous as dynamite, and when one feels most fully assured that one is justified in crashing through, one usually finds that one was bitterly mistaken.

7. *Seek Areas of Agreement.* This means finding out what each *really* wants, as distinguished from what they say, or think superficially that they want, and establishing as many points of harmony as possible between these real wishes.

8. *Surrender Non-Essentials.* If the attainment of a common purpose is actually his strong desire, the one who seeks integration will be able to give up minor details much more easily than at first appears. He must avoid obsession with his own opinions. In particular he should be ready to abandon conflicts which are merely verbal in character, mere quarrels about misunderstood terms.

9. *Cease Demanding Rights.* Being touchy about one's dignity — being fearful lest one is not getting the proper deference from others — is fatal to integration. The harboring of grudges is another variation of this way to ruin one's own family life. The husband whose mind is filled with a sense of injustice over the failure of the wife to give him his rights, or the wife who is concerned primarily to get her rights from her husband, is in no mental condition to nurture that understanding affection which is the indispensable foundation of a solvent marriage. Neither will the social worker who spends his efforts in asserting the rights of society be likely to win that spontaneous coöperation which creates a wholesome home. On the other hand, the wife, husband, and social worker need to be concerned deeply to fulfill each in overflowing measure his own duties.

10. *Invent Creative Solutions.* When these steps have all been taken and conflicts of purpose still exist, the necessity arises for the invention of a new course of action which shall satisfy both of the parties who are in conflict. The husband may have one plan and the wife another. The conciliating invention may then consist in working out a third plan which is more attractive to each of them than either of the old had been. Such inventions require patience and the avoidance of antagonistic emotion. If the parties are willing to take their time, to study the situation dispassionately and hopefully, an inspiration for a creative solution is very likely to arise.

11. *Preserve Freedom.* The exhaustion of all of the above measures will still leave some conflicts of purpose. If the major purposes of the family have been knit up, the part of wisdom is to accept frankly the minor differences, and to live and let live. Individuality requires that each member of the family shall have certain activities and interests of his own. Only a tyrannous domineering insists upon absorbing all these divergencies.

12. *Subordinate Other Considerations.* Toward the building up of coöperative purposes it is important that at least one of the parties shall have harmony in the home as a dominant goal. As long as both

husband and wife keep as their conscious objectives the mere gaining of more money to spend, or more power over the other members, or mere physical sex gratification, and pursues these ends regardless of collective family purposes, the attainment of a solvent marriage will be exceedingly difficult. Community of purpose in the home as an avowed goal for its own sake is an immense step in the right direction.

The social worker or professional man or friend, as adviser in marriage problems, must also follow these same principles. First of all, he must keep clearly in mind that his function is to stimulate the formation of wholesome purposes in the persons whom he is advising, not to impose his own purposes. To this end the adviser must definitely give up his own natural craving to domineer, his own natural appetite for credit, praise, thanks, and recognition. His whole objective must be to nurture the affectionate assets of the family. The more that he can achieve this by indirect suggestion — the more that he can encourage the constructive purposes of the couple while still remaining in the background — the more successful he will be.

Supreme Integration. This discussion has dealt with the principles of integration of purpose in the family. Similar principles apply to industrial relations, to race relations, to international relations — indeed, to any form of social relationship. But a still higher synthesis is needed. As we attain fuller and fuller harmony between wives and husbands, parents and children, employers and employees, we shall thereby progress toward that higher integration which is the goal of social endeavor — that knitting up of purposes on the broadest possible scale into an inter-stimulating and inter-functioning fabric which shall achieve for all the personalities in it their fullest possible realization.[1]

Summary

A. The powerful craving to function sexually is, in itself, essentially normal and beautiful, but, if mental conflict and social conflict are to be avoided, sex must find its activity in accommodation with other vital forms of functioning; it must express the whole integrated personality.

1. Socially inherited moral and æsthetic ideals must find expression, not violation, in sex life, or conflict will result.

[1] Some of the material utilized in the present chapter has been adapted from an article by the writer in the *Christian Advocate*, Sept. 22, '26.

2. The craving for social approval is as imperative as the craving for sex functioning, and must be satisfied if the personality is to find inner peace and full expression.

a. Professional or business success and other forms of achievement usually cannot be attained without social approval.

3. Complete functioning includes satisfying parenthood.

4. For women, an increasingly insistent problem is how to reconcile a craving — or a need — to function in the economic world and still to have a normal life as wife and mother.

5. Related to all these other cravings is the need to love and to be loved.

B. To let the mere physical side of the relation between men and women override the other needs is unsatisfying and disastrous, both personally and socially.

C. Certain forms of functioning between men and women have become social institutions because they offer partially successful accommodation between the various needs involved.

6. Imaginary romantic functioning through literature, and ballroom dancing, are instances.

7. The modern family has come nearest to achieving an integration of the various forms of functioning involved, but

a. The shift of many of the former functions of the home to the factory, the school, and other outside agencies has been followed in recent decades by a tremendous increase in the number of married women employed outside their homes;

b. The proportion of marriages going bankrupt through divorce has been increasing with accelerating swiftness.

D. Successful marriage depends to a great extent upon wise mating at the start.

8. By the process of expansion through intense joint functioning, certain areas of the personalities of a man and a woman may be powerfully joined while other areas are hurting and thwarting each other; being in love is not, therefore, the only thing that matters.

9. The process of creative accommodation between husband and wife is made excessively difficult if to the task of personal adjustments is added the healing over of great religious, racial, cultural, economic, or educational conflicts and contrasts.

10. Maturity is essential to a wise marriage choice; marriages in which either party is under 20 are from 10 to 100 times as risky as marriages made at the ideal age combinations.

11. Romantic love can practically be made to order if well-matched personalities engage in successful joint functioning under self-imposed discipline.

E. After marriage the process of creative accommodation between husband and wife may be intelligently promoted.

12. The joyful emotions of marriage come from the adjustments through which the personalities of the couple expand; when growth ceases emotions are apt to be chiefly negative, arising when the joint personality is threatened or damaged.

13. The thrill of marriage may, therefore, be preserved best by continuing the process of joint growth.

14. Successful sex adjustment in marriage depends upon gentleness, mutual understanding, and patience, and upon keeping the physical phases as by-products of creative companionship rather than as ends in themselves.

15. Coercion, fraud, avoidance, and justice are all unsatisfactory or inadequate as methods of adjusting purposes within marriage.

16. Accommodation within marriage depends upon the following factors:

a. Sympathetic insight into the purposes and possibilities of the mate;

b. Removal of major sources of irritation, such as ill health, poor cooking, interfering relatives, and the like;

c. Joint formulation of family plans;

d. Avoidance of coercion and fraud;

e. Discovery of areas of agreement between purposes;

f. Sacrifice of non-essentials;

g. Abandonment of the demand for one's "rights";

h. Definite adoption of successful family life as a major objective by one or both of the couple.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

17D1. What are the sociological reasons for the difficulty encountered by any attempt to discuss sex matters intelligently and dispassionately?

17D2. Paul Blanshard, in the *Nation* for May 12, 1926, makes the following statement as to discussion of such problems in Soviet Russia:

The Communists persistently campaign against the reticences which have surrounded sex life. Their posters on venereal disease, pregnancy, and abortion have been plastered all over Russia. The government film "Abortion" has been distributed to all the cities and towns. It shows the birth of an actual baby upon the screen and depicts in excellent, non-salacious diagrams the processes of conception and the growth of the fœtus. It tells the story of a working girl who went to a midwife for an abortion and died as the result. This film has drawn enormous audiences.

What effects may be expected from such a public policy?

17D3. Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the statements made in the following abstract of an article by Nancy E. Scott in the *American Journal of Sociology* for September 26, 1926, pp. 257–63:

The higher education of women is comparatively so recent that its true effects are not yet widely understood. The most common misinterpretation is that educated women prefer careers to homes. The author's impression, based upon years of close association with large numbers of college women, is that the opposite is true, namely, that education heightens, rather than diminishes, woman's interest in the home. That large numbers of them have not married is due to other causes, incident to the transitional period of their development. One such cause is economic pressure from two sources; at home, where her added income enables her father's family to live on a higher scale, and in the business and professional world, where preference is given to the unmarried woman. An even more powerful cause is her own changed ideal as to what she desires in a home. Education is a more personal thing with women than with men, and therefore tends to socialize them more quickly. The educated woman fully realizes the dangers to childhood resulting from unwise marriages and, economically independent, she chooses a good home or none. But her exile is only temporary, for, meanwhile, the lines of endeavor to which, in her need for expression of her maternal instincts, she most usually turns are themselves socializing the race and laying firmer foundations for the homes of the future.

17D4. Stuart Chase, in the *Survey* for December 1, 1926, p. 269, makes these comments on the lives of wealthy women:

Many women of means are excellent housekeepers, sound educators of their children, useful members of their community. But perhaps an even larger fraction — particularly in that critical period when the children have

grown up or have gone away to school — is idle in the full economic sense of the term. They bridge, they run up prices of early American furniture and Sandwich glass, they raid Europe, they talk — my God, how they talk, they putter around, they have been known to pet, they dress, dress, dress. They are the chief support of the flourishing industry of higher astrology, among whose ornaments was Oom the Omnipotent, the Yogi from Kansas, whose career through the drawing-rooms and boudoirs of New York is still a spicy memory. And, by virtue of their idleness, they set the level of shopping which holds in subjection thirty million of their sisters the country over, from beautiful gold diggers to scullery maids and heavy-footed Scandinavian farmwives, spelling out Sears Roebuck catalogues amid the level and unending wheat.

Do your observations confirm or disagree with those of Chase? If you agree, what remedy would you suggest?

17D5. Another remark by Stuart Chase in the same article is the following:

> Finally we have the waste of women's labor in the home — the bent backs, the sunken eyes, the fatal deliveries, the tired hands, which never need to have been, had an age of applied technology given half the attention to a kitchen sink that it gave to a bomb fuse.

In what ways might applied technology lighten home labor for women?

17D6. What arguments might be advanced against the efforts which are being made to find sure remedies for venereal disease? What arguments are there in favor? What conclusions do you draw?

17D7. Suppose that the most powerful emotional force in the world has been held in check by sub-rational taboos, by ignorance, by fears, and by rationalizations; suppose then that a sudden shift occurs to an attempt to base control on reason, freedom, universal information, and social science; what is likely to occur? What would you do about it?

17D8. Some exponents of modern methods of sex education advocate complete removal of the use of blame, punishment, terror, and threats in controlling the sex behavior of children. What arguments for and against this policy can you suggest?

17D9. The text discusses what happens when physical cravings are allowed to override the need for approval and for a clear conscience. What happens when the craving for social approval and for conventionality completely override the need for physical functioning?

17D10. What explanations can you suggest for the rapid increase in divorces in the United States?

17D11. How much income and how much money saved should a young couple have before they marry?

17D12. What attitude should parents take toward the marriage of their sons and daughters?

17D13. What special education is needed as preparation for wifehood, husbandhood, and parenthood?

17D14. In the text certain conditions were laid down as a basis for romantic love. Suppose that such conditions as these were fulfilled between a married man and his secretary, would love be the inevitable result? What bearings has this problem on modern business and industrial life?

17D15. What arguments would make you think it possible that match-making might become a recognized and valuable form of social work? What arguments are opposed to this suggestion?

17D16. Dr. Max J. Exner, writing in *Association Men* on the question of petting, says:

> Many times, in discussing these matters with college men who have sought to rationalize their petting experiences, I have said something like this:
>
> "You realize, do you not, that these girls with whom you engage in petting do as a rule pet also with other men?"
>
> "Yes, of course."
>
> "Is this the sort of girl you expect to marry?"
>
> Usually the impulsive answer is, "Well, I should say Not!" and the answer is followed by confusion and embarrassment when they realize how they have exposed their ignoble motives and the selfishness of their position. They are willing to make a plaything of the girl who will permit it, but when it comes to choosing a love mate, they set for their choice a higher, more discriminating ideal. Whether or not we admit such an attitude to be altogether sound, it is, nevertheless, significant that men very largely take this attitude.

How far do you agree and how far disagree with Dr. Exner on the points he makes here?

17D17. What psychological basis, if any, is there for the alleged craving for variety in love making? To what extent is it possible to accommodate such a craving with the other desires involved in relations between men and women?

17D18. What is the basis of jealousy between lovers?

17D19. What attitude should be taken toward the dissemination of knowledge concerning birth control?

17D20. In ancient times, and among primitive people, the husband usually had the right to divorce his wife at will, while she had no corresponding right. What type of purpose relationship between husband and wife must such conditions have reflected?

17D21. How frequent is the autocratic home in democratic America? Cite instances.

17D22. To what extent should husbands and wives maintain friendships with members of the opposite sex after marriage?

17D23. To what extent should the wife make her husband's professional or business interests her own?

17D24. The *Survey* (December 1, 1926, p. 333) in reviewing Keyserling's "The Book of Marriage" says:

Keyserling's first claim is that marriage is inevitable; intimate association together will work out as marriage or will not work at all. "No matter how great and enduring the love, the sexual element soon assumes a secondary rôle" (p. 9). This applies equally to irregular unions and to conventionally ordered marriages. The human tendency to develop a relation of any kind, to make it more complex, cannot be avoided. A liaison is a less than human association, too much weight is placed upon the mere sexual intimacy. The parties to the relation become bored (or perverse): the tendency to "complication" leads them to an "unfaithfulness" which, rightly understood, is a renewal of the search for marriage and the true romance.

The same criticism applies to merely conventional marriage. In these days "most people marry inadvertently" (p. 290). Consequently in many instances marriage is regarded as providing a legitimate gratification for essentially sinful desires. In this Keyserling replies that sex desire is not in any sense sinful; he agrees with Havelock Ellis that every man and woman should "develop an erotic personality" (p. 385). But, he points out, no man or woman can succeed in developing an erotic except as part of a wider personality. The merely conventional union, if it remains so, fails for precisely the same reason as the liaison; it rests the emphasis of the association too heavily upon sexual intimacy. "The satiety of the bourgeois conception of happiness awakens nothing but disquiet in every intelligent and aspiring youth" (p. 20). Marriage is not a concession to the weakness and sins of the flesh but is rather a means of attaining the highest spiritual development (p. 27). Marriage, therefore, represents the adult stage of human development. A man and woman become intimately associated in order that they may develop to the highest possible degree their distinctively human capacities. Associations of an inferior order preclude the development of more complex human powers. Irregular union, conventional marriages which remain so, and marriages based upon bourgeois conceptions of satiety

are alike in that they are grossly sexual, necessarily failures and beneath the human level.

Marriage, then, is not an end but a beginning. It is not to be defined in terms of sex or of any particular human capacity, it is "a relation between two persons capable of development" (p. 13). In marrying, one accepts responsibility and also suffering.

Simeon Strunsky, in the *N. Y. Times Book Review* for November 7, 1926, p. 1, abstracts the following from the same book:

The cosmos is tragic tension. Perfect marriage, by establishing a tragic tension, puts itself — there is no getting away from it — in tune with the infinite. Happiness exists within Court Keyseling's perfect marriage, but is not the happiness of the egoistic part of the individual. It is the happiness of the entire ego who can only realize himself through perfect harmony with the cosmic purpose. Keyserling is thus as far as may be from the rebels against marriage in the name of personality. Should a marriage be broken up because the partners are unhappy? We have already seen that Keyserling's probable answer would be, No. Unhappy marriages promote self-development — the cosmic self — by supplying a magnified field of tension. In one place Keyserling invites our attention to the fact that most great men have been the offspring of unhappy marriages. Should an unhappy marriage be broken up because, as the phrase goes, it stunts the life of the participating individuals? No, says Keyserling. What you mean by the self is only the emotional egoistic self. The complete self goes through suffering. Marriage demands daily and hourly sacrifice, renunciation and the shouldering of responsibility and blame.

In what respects is the position taken by Keyserling, as summarized in these reviews, consistent with that taken in the text? To what extent is it inconsistent? How far can you integrate the two views?

17D25. The wife of Joseph Conrad, the novelist, is quoted in the *New York Evening World* for September 16, 1926, as laying down the following " don'ts " for the woman who wants to succeed as the wife of a great man. To what extent are they applicable to the wife of an ordinary man?

Don't be jealous of your husband's work.

Don't fail to give him the proper environment in which to work.

Don't disturb any of his papers.

Don't clean or dust his room except when he is not working.

Don't say, "I told you so!" when you find in his waste-basket the stud which he has said was lost through the maid's carelessness.

Don't ever fail to be devoted — and tactful.

Don't mind having your presence taken for granted.
Don't go in for tears, reproaches, scenes.

17D26. To what extent is the advice given by the Bible to wives concerning their relations to their husbands adequate for the modern woman? In what parts of the Bible is such advice found?

17D27. What changes are called for in our divorce laws? Why?

17D28. What contribution can scientifically conducted experimentation make to the solution of marriage and family problems? What contributions have such experiments made in the past? When and how? Compare the experimental and the case methods for this purpose.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

17F1. Visit a day nursery under circumstances in which you can talk with the director. Get her to present to you her views and experiences as to the problems of the mothers who leave their children at the nursery while they work.

17F2. Visit a hearing at a court of domestic relations. If necessary make special arrangements to sit close enough to hear the testimony in full. Study the record system used. Talk with the probation-officers or field agents or investigators. What points do you gather as to the bases of the conflicts disclosed? What measures are being used to adjust the difficulties?

17F3. Talk with some physician, minister, or lawyer, whom you know well, about domestic relations as the problem presents itself to him. Write a brief account of the types of cases which he or she has to meet, and the types of solutions advocated.

17K4. Make a study of primitive and ancient sex morals as presented in such books as E. A. Westermarck's *History of Human Marriage* (1923 edition in one volume), or Willystine Goodsell's *History of the Family as a Social and Educational Institution.* (Time credit to be arranged)

17K5. What part did friendships with women play in the life of Goethe? Of Franklin? Of other famous men? (Time to be arranged)

17K6. Summarize *An American Idyll: The Life of Carlton H. Parker* by Mrs. Cornelia Straton Parker. (Two hours)

17K7. Make a collection of instances in which love for some woman has been a large factor in inspiring the work of writers, as for example, Dante. (Three hours)

17K8. In her article on "Go West, Young Woman," in the *Woman Citizen* for February, 1927, Katherine Crosby deals with the problem of the celibacy of surplus women. Present your reasons for considering the attitudes with which she deals typical or abnormal. What remedies do you think promising for this problem? An abstract of this article is given in the *Reader's Digest* for March, 1927. (Two hours)

17K9. As a much longer piece of work, gather data to show comparatively the marriage rates of women of marriageable ages in two or more of the following: an Eastern city of stated size; a comparable Western city; a rural district in the East or the West; a large factory, store, or mercantile establishment employing a given percentage of women; school teachers; nurses; graduates of a coeducational college or university as compared with non-coeducational institutions; women living in the Y. W. C. A.; women living in boarding houses; women living in various types of residence areas of a city. (Time credit to be arranged)

17K10. Write a brief paper summarizing the points at which the attitudes toward the family and toward relations between men and women in one of the following periods differed from that in the section of modern America with which you are most familiar: Ancient Athens at its Prime; The Age of Chivalry; The Renaissance; Elizabethan England; The Court of Louis XIV; The Puritans. (Three hours)

17K11. What solution has Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman to offer for the conflicts between the interests which compete in the life of modern women? (Time credit to be arranged)

17K12. The following are excerpts from Edwin Bjorkman's article in the *Forum* for October, 1926, on "Sweden's Solution of Divorce":

In Sweden, the chief and most easily effective reason for a divorce is that man and wife have discovered a mutual unwillingness or inability to go on living together. Having reached that stage, all they have to do is to report their case to the proper tribunal and ask for a separation. They need give no reason whatsoever as long as the application is supported by both of them. What here is called collusion and made an absolute obstacle to divorce, when proved, is there held *prima facie* evidence that the relief asked should be granted.

The spirit of the new law regulating the economic aspects of marriage is one of complete equality between husband and wife, whereas the old law was highly patriarchal. The husband was the master of the household in all

respects. Under the new law, husband and wife are both explicitly obliged to contribute to the support of the home, and with equal explicitness the care of that home and the children is classified as a form of contribution no less valid than cash payments. This implies a tremendous improvement of the wife's status, and so does another provision to the effect that the husband must furnish her, in agreed periodical payments of decent size, with the funds needed for her own private uses as well as for the maintenance of the home. This provision is mutual, and if the wife have larger means, and the husband not enough for his private needs, she is obliged to make similar allowances to him.

The wife has the same right as the man to choose an outside calling of her own, to go into business, to hold property, to conduct legal or financial transactions. She has equal rights with him in deciding every question relating to the welfare of the home or the family. In cases of serious disagreement, neither one of them possesses final authority, but must submit their differences to a mediator provided by the church, the state, or the court. Both have the right to hold property separately, but whatever is not specifically exempted by contract becomes common to the extent of making the other partner heir to one-half of it in case of death.

Make a study of legislation relating to family life in Scandinavian countries as compared with the United States. (Time to be arranged)

17K13. Make an analytical study of the family life of Dostoyevski, arranging the material in a way which would make it suitable for incorporation in the text on family relations. A good beginning for such a study will be found in the article by Avrahn Yarmolinsky in the *New York Times Book Review* for September 26, 1926, p. 4. (One to five hours)

17K14. Study the comparison between the daily schedules of Ann Brown and Jane Smith in the *Survey* for December 1, 1926, pp. 304–5. Give instances to show whether these cases are really typical of the college woman who stays at home and the college woman who has a career. (Two hours)

17K15. "Mothers Who Earn" is the title of an article by Helen Glenn Tyson in the *Survey* for December 1, 1926, pp. 275–9. The article is headed: "Of one thing we can be sure; the mother works because she has to work, and unless some other method of raising the family income is devised, she is in industry to stay." Review this article. (One hour)

17K16. The origin of romantic love is discussed as follows by Prof. Burgess in the *Survey* for December 1, 1926, pp. 290–1:

Romantic love, or something closely akin to it, was seen in Athenian life, but not in the relations of husband and wife. Indeed, "a wife," according to Menander, "is a necessary evil." "The tender, unselfish solicitude for the welfare of the beloved was felt sometimes by men for promising lads: the enthusiasm of passion was sometimes kindled by a gifted courtesan, educated by the conversations of the great men of her time." (Emily James Putnam, *The Lady*, p. 12.) The *hetaerae*, skilled entertainers in dancing and music, were not infrequently friends of statesmen, artists, and philosophers. Most famous of all was Aspasia, the companion, mistress, and finally, the wife of Pericles.

In Cicero's day there arose in Rome, under Grecian influence, a new type of woman, the woman of *cultus*. "More and more the notion gained ground that a clever woman who wished to make a figure in society, to be the center of her own *monde*, could not well realize her ambition simply as a married woman. She would probably marry, play fast and loose with the married state, neglect her children, if she had any, and after one or two divorces, die or disappear. . . ." (W. W. Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*.) The *hetaerae* of Greece and the women of *cultus* of Rome were forerunners of the "new woman" of our time.

The origin of romantic marriage has often been attributed by scholars to the chivalrous knight and the courteous lady of feudal society. But the love of the lady of the castle was not, as was due, for her liege and lord, her husband, but was bestowed upon some gallant knight, or wandering troubadour, or adoring poet.

A more tenable theory derives the romantic basis of modern marriage from the social life of royal courts in the seventeenth century, particularly from that of France. The brilliance of the court with its punctilious etiquette and freedom of morals attracted an outer circle of ladies-in-waiting and courtesans, sometimes of gentle birth, not infrequently of lowly origin, who, by their loveliness of face and figure, charm of manner, or vivacity of mind, might well evoke the grand passion in courtier, nobleman, or king. The romance thus engendered might terminate in a temporary alliance, or in a long attachment as mistress, or even in permanent union in marriage. Louis XIV, *le grand monarque*, matrimonially allied with the Hapsburgs, had a succession of mistresses, the last and most famous of whom, the Marchioness de Maintenon, born in prison and reared in poverty, he secretly wedded, although he never raised her to the throne vacated by the death of his queen. Most romantic of all was the dizzy rise of the illiterate daughter of a Lithuanian peasant on the uncertain stepping-stones of masculine favor; the bride of a Swedish dragoon; the war-prize of a Russian general; the purloined favorite of a prince; the mistress and then wife and consort of Peter the Great; and finally after his death, Catherine I, the regnant empress of the Russias.

In the next century in France with its highly artificial social life developed to a degree of perfection previously unknown the art of *politesse* as a basis of social intercourse between the sexes. The *liaisons* of its ladies were only one phase of this new and daring adventure of women into the realm of masculine literary, philosophic, and political interests, invaded before only by the *hetaerae* and courtesans.

While in that same eighteenth century in England the intellectual "ladies of blue stockings" were unromantic not only in their marriages but also in their associations with the great men of their time, the meteoric career of five or six ladies of the demi-monde fascinated and shocked the nation. But fashions in the demi-monde of fair and frail ladies and gallant and spirited gentlemen changed — and the romantic association rose in esteem.

(By 1769) it had ceased to be the mode to make a *fille de joie* a universal toast. Now the man of spirit flaunted his own mistress, and a score of famous liaisons, dating from this time or a little later, indicate a variation from the previous custom. Lord Sandwich, and Martha Ray, Lord Seaforth, and Harriet Powell, Lord Egremont, and Rosalie Duthé — these are among the most famous alliances of that period. The change was salutary in another respect, for the patron often married his paramour. (Horace Bleackley, *Ladies Fair and Frail*, p. 144.)

In the past the romantic impulse and matrimony were disassociated. True, mad infatuations on occasion have led into happy married life, but these are the exceptions that might be taken to prove the rule. And unfortunately in many of these instances the wife before marriage had been a notorious woman. In the Old World romance was kept apart from marriage because of its seeming incompatibility with any prudent consideration of family interest. Therein lies the unique interest in the attempts in the New World of America to reconcile the romantic impulse with family well-being.

In these paragraphs Prof. Burgess presents the clues for a number of fascinating historical studies. Select some phase of the material, consult additional sources, and write a paper on it. (Five hours)

17K17. Present a critical review, with additional material from your own or your associates' experience, based on Frank R. Arnold's "The Mating Season of Co-Education" in *Scribner's* for June, 1926. (Two hours)

17K18. Present a similar critical review of one of the following articles:

"Petting and the Campus," by Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, *Survey*, 54 (July 1925), pp. 393–5, 412.

"Easy to Live With," by Montayne Perry, *Woman's Home Companion*, June, 1926.

"Are Husbands Gentlemen?" by Alice Duer Miller, *Delineator*, August, 1926.

"Confessions of an Ex-Feminist," Anonymous, *New Republic*, April 14, 1926.

"Gutter Literature," by Ernest W. Mandeville, *New Republic*, February 17, 1926. (Two hours)

17K19. The *Survey* for July 15, 1926, pp. 461–2, presents preliminary findings from a study of rooming house life by Professor Zorbaugh. Look up a fuller statement of this study and supplement it by your own observations. (Time credit to be arranged)

17K20. Make a study of crushes and friendships as substitutes for marriage. (Time credit to be arranged)

17K21. What bearings upon this chapter has Sumner's discussion of sex mores and marriage, pp. 342–416 of his *Folkways?* (Three hours)

17K22. Compare the past achievements of men and women, stating the sources of your data. How do you account for the difference? What changes in this respect do you expect in the future? Why? (Three hours)

17K23. Talk to the happiest married couple you know. What do they regard as the secret of their success in marriage? (Two hours)

17K24. Report the substance of the conclusions of Katherine Bement Davis in her study of happiness of married life, *Journal of Social Hygiene*, Vol. 9, pp. 1–26, and 129–46. (Two hours)

17K25. Report briefly on the article on "Sex Antagonism in Divorce" in the *National Probation Association Proceedings*, Vol. 16, pp. 135–41. (One hour)

17K26. Review Virginia M. Collier's *Marriage and Careers*, published by the Bureau of Vocational Information, New York City, 1926. (Three hours)

17K27. Review the controversy about the best age for marriage in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*, October, 1926, pp. 403–7, December 1926, pp. 544–9; January, 1927, pp. 29–34. (One hour and a half)

17W28. What points pertinent to this chapter are made by Elton Mayo in his article "Should Marriage Be Monotonous" in *Harper's Magazine* for September, 1925? (One hour)

17W29. Jean B. Pinney, reviewing Charles W. Margold's *Sex Freedom and Social Control* in the *Survey* for March 15, 1927, p. 817, says:

According to Dr. Margold, the radicals contend that the source of sex conduct in our modern society is more largely biological and physiological than sociological and psychological; and this, to him, is an entirely mistaken view. In his opinion the mental and spiritual attributes of man's sexual nature are paramount and must inevitably partake of the inherent social nature of man's mental life. He affirms "the extreme complexity of human life and the utter human inutility and impossibility of having each individual, through mere sense data, with his limited experience, directly work out his sex life from the biologically given."

In concise terms and careful logic the author builds up the thesis that radical practices cannot be justified by merely biologic data, that conduct is necessarily social, and that social control is invariably present in man's sexual conduct, and that group standards are thoroughly intrenched although individuals may now and then break away from them. He cites an imposing array of examples from both primitive and cultured peoples.

Present a critical analysis of the above book. (Three to five hours)

17W30. Review Maurice F. Parmelee's *Modern Marriage.* (Three to five hours)

CHAPTER XVIII

THE PARENT-CHILD RELATION

Children as Stimuli — Menacing or Promising? Into the lives of the typical married couple — sometimes as the result of a deliberate parental purpose, and sometimes as the more or less unintentional by-product of biological processes — come children. In the fullest sense of the word, they are stimuli: they compel modifications in the expanded personalities of the parents, modifications usually of a profound and far-reaching character. Disturbance of the personalities of the parents must, as we have already seen, generate emotional energy. The vital question, both from the standpoint of the parents and of the children, is what character this emotional energy will take on, and into what types of activity it will flow. In general, it may be said that four different fundamental attitudes are taken toward children, with correspondingly different emotional and behavior results. The first of these is to regard the child as an obstacle, an irritant, or a nuisance; the second is to regard it as an asset; the third is to consider it as a responsibility; and the fourth is to regard it as a bundle of potentialities.

The Child as a Menace and a Nuisance. Far more often than we are apt to recognize, the child coming into a family is regarded as a menace. This is true for several reasons. The first is financial. Budgetary studies have proved that it costs as much to rear a child to working age as it costs to build a house. Even the well-to-do hesitate to take on an unlimited number of such responsibilities. For the poor the menace often becomes crucial. Among the hundreds of letters received by Margaret Sanger from women who dread becoming mothers again, the following represents a frequent type:

I am the mother of eight children and I will say that the last two of them especially were not wanted. We are hard-working people and have more than we can care for. As any one knows, a family of seven is too many for one woman. Three of our babies died in infancy. We have tried several

ways to avoid so many but nothing seems to help. We have one baby now two years old and one seven months old, and of course it is not necessary to tell you that my health is broken and my mind burdened. I keep away from my husband all I can but it seems that one can't all the time. I am so afraid I will get that way again. I generally do about the time my babies are eight or nine months old. I have got to where I am afraid to try anything. Sometimes I think maybe suicide would be best, as most any woman had rather be dead than to live such a life as this.[1]

The fear of bringing into the world children subject to deformity or disease is another reason for dreading parenthood. The following represents this type among the letters received by Mrs. Sanger:

I am the mother of three children, the oldest one six years; the second three and the third one two years old, and I am expecting the fourth one by the fifteenth of this month.

I am only 23 years old and weigh only a hundred pounds. Three years ago we left Chicago on account of my health, having tuberculosis. We came to Colorado and worked two years as beet laborers. Now we are only renters on a ten-acre farm and can barely make a living.

I am afraid of bringing sick children into the world. So please write me what to do to keep from having more children. Excuse my writing. My parents were too poor to let me go to school.[2]

The cost of maintaining a child is not the only handicap imposed on the parents. Having a family of children makes it difficult to obtain suitable living quarters. Children are apt to scratch or break furniture, to deface buildings, to trample gardens, to litter the yard with playthings, to upset the house. Their abundant flow of energy and their lack of matured habits make them a constant source of unexpected and disturbing assaults on the expanded personalities of adults.

Children are apt to be disturbers of quiet and leisure. They demand that stories be read to them, that they be played with, that they be helped out of innumerable little difficulties. They are apt to catch cold and ruin one's sleep by coughing all night. They cannot be left alone in the evening; they make more difficult both the going out of the parents and the bringing in of guests. They overhear and repeat gossip, bad language, and family secrets.

As the children become older and begin to think for themselves, they are apt to make psychological assaults upon the expanded personalities

[1] *Birth Control Review*, Nov. '24, p. 321. [2] *Ibid.* Nov. '24, p. 321.

of their elders. They criticize their parents' manners, language, and customs. They despise the beloved old furniture and pictures. They want to move out of the old home. They challenge the older moral codes. They attack sacred religious beliefs. They are likely to be a source of chagrin and shame because of the trouble which their pranks and mistakes cause other people, who are apt to bring the blame home to the parents.

Reactions upon Children of Being Regarded as Menaces. Toward stimuli which are regarded as menaces the typical reactions, as we have previously seen, are apt to be grief, avoidance, and rage. Toward the child the resulting attitudes are neglect and abuse. Disease, death, delinquency, truancy, retardation, and psychopathic personalities are too often the products. Illegitimate children are particularly handicapped by an antagonistic social environment. The United States Children's Bureau reports that the death rates for illegitimates in Boston and in Baltimore are about three times as high as for legitimate children.

Neglect and abuse of abnormal children is more likely to occur than of normal. The Iowa Child Welfare Commission reported the following case:

> A farmer with 400 acres of good land had an imbecile boy aged 16. The child slept on a pile of rags in a corner. At times he was left alone in the house all day. The parents threw him crusts of bread and bits of food. He cried with a noise like an animal, and was cuffed over the head like a dog.[1]

Degenerate and feeble-minded parents are apt to rid themselves of children whom they find troublesome. The same commission reports:

> An old man seventy-six years of age proudly told an Iowa social worker that after burying two wives and all of their children, he was now raising his third set. At the time of his second wife's last illness a feeble-minded girl from a Missouri institution had been hired to help in the house. The old man married this girl, and she bore him six children. There were continual complaints of the horrible neglect of the children and verified stories of other men living with this helpless woman. Upon the old man's death the wife promptly turned over the children to an agency which is placing them in the homes of good-hearted people who have no means of knowing what hopeless material they are undertaking to build into manhood and womanhood.[2]

[1] *Op cit.* p. 33. [2] *Ibid.* p. 42.

Mrs. Z., a woman of very doubtful reputation, married a drunkard. By a previous marriage she had one girl of good intelligence and some ability. She disposed of this child by placing it in a feeble-minded family in one of the worst environments of the city. These foster parents died, and the child is now in the care of a very old woman of low intelligence who is unable to plan for herself.

This same Mrs. Z. has had five children by her second marriage. She placed three of them — one with a woman who shortly thereafter was committed to a home for delinquent girls. The other two of her children were twins. She was about to place these with a family recommended by an insane man when a social agency interfered.[1]

It cannot, however, be assumed that abuse and neglect are confined to abnormal children nor to abnormal parents. Miriam Van Waters summarizes her extended case experience on this point by saying that often " unwanted, misunderstood children are literally crowded out of the family group." [2]

Children as Assets to Be Exploited. The first attitude toward children, which we have just been discussing, regards them as parts of the anti-personality of the parent. The second type of attitude, which is now to be taken up, is less heartless and brutal, but it still fails to recognize the child as an independent personality with rights of its own: it looks upon children merely as annexes to the personalities of the parents, to give the parents gratification and to carry out the parental purposes. This general attitude may be split up into four subtypes, which respectively regard the child as an economic asset, as an object for the exercise of the craving for power and authority, as a means of vicarious display or vicarious fulfillment of thwarted ambitions, and as a love-object to gratify parental emotions.

The attitude which regards the child as an economic resource is typified by an incident related by Jane Addams:

An Italian father came to us in great grief over the death of his eldest child, a little girl of twelve, who had brought the largest wages into the family funds. In the midst of his genuine sorrow he said: "She was the oldest kid I had. Now I shall have to go back to work again until the next one is able to take care of me." [3]

Not only as wage earners, but also as bearers of home burdens, children may be exploited economically. Miss Wald gives this instance:

[1] *Op. cit.* p. 40. [2] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 138.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 199–200.

In the first party of children that we sent to the country were three little girls, daughters of a skilled cobbler. The mother, a complaining, exacting invalid, spent a large proportion of her husband's earnings for patent medicines. Annie, not quite twelve, was the household drudge, and the coming of the settlement nurse lifted only part of her burden. The new friends, determined to get at least two weeks of carefree childhood for the little girls, procured an invitation for them through a Fresh-Air agency, from a farmer in the western part of the state. When we met the children at the railroad station on their return, their joyousness and bubbling spirits attracted the attention of the onlookers; but as Annie neared home its responsibilities fell like a heavy cloud upon her, and before we reached the tenement she was silent. Before we left, with sleeves rolled up she was beginning to wash the pile of dishes that had accumulated in her absence. Gone was the gayety. The little drudge had resumed her place. Later, when the child swore falsely to her age, the position she secured as cash girl in the basement of a department store was, to her, emancipation from hateful labor and an opportunity for fellowship with children.[1]

Children as Outlets for Parental Craving for Power. Adults who have unsatisfied longings to exert power over other people too often take out this desire on the helpless children who get into their clutches. Sometimes the result is the most ruthless brutality. The Iowa Child Welfare Commission reported the case of a couple who had adopted a nine-year-old girl:

The foster parents were brought into court a few months ago because they had kicked the child downstairs, breaking her arm, had strung her up by her thumbs with her toes barely touching the floor, had burned her back and feet by stuffing her into a hot oven and had attempted to hang her.[2]

Lillian Wald asserts that the one great obstacle to the effective use of all the intelligence and the resources available for the well-being of handicapped children, the most baffling impediment to their and the community's protection, is the supreme authority of parenthood, be it never so inefficient, avaricious, or even immoral.[3]

Usually, however, the exercise of ruthless despotism against one's children is done much more subtly than by stuffing them into an oven, or stringing them up by the thumbs. The parent rationalizes his coercion by pretending that it is for the good of the victim. Beulah

[1] *House on Henry Street*, pp. 76–7. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 39.
[3] *House on Henry Street*, p. 123.

Amidon Ratliff gives some instances, prefaced by an explanation as to the significance of the I.Q.'s (intelligence quotients) of the children involved:

To finish an academic high school course successfully it has been found at Ridge that a child should have an I.Q. not lower than 109. To complete a a standard, academic college course a boy or girl should have an I.Q. not lower than 115. At certain institutions with unusually high scholarship standards, college authorities have found reason to consider an I.Q. between 130 and 140 necessary for satisfactory work.

Frederick, I.Q. 101, takes every opportunity to escape from school. He cuts classes. He disappears for whole days at a time. He entered high school at 15 years and 10 months, appreciably older than the average high school freshman. He "hates" languages, history, literature, geometry, class rooms, and libraries. His marks run Latin, 30; mathematics, 60; history, 40. He has good ability to visualize and a good rote memory, but he has a 12-year-old vocabulary and he cannot generalize or deal with abstractions.

Miss Riley, after making the acquaintance of Frederick, sent for Frederick's father. Mr. Dutton is a self-made man in the best American tradition. He is practically uneducated, stern, hard, ruthless, and financially fairly successful. He does not believe that money and lack of exceptional mental ability can happen together. Frederick is to go to Yale and be a lawyer. No other college will do and no other career. Miss Riley explained to Mr. Dutton about Frederick's I.Q. of 101, which is distinctly lower than the usual level of a college of Yale's standing, his inability to grasp abstractions, his truancy, and increasingly reckless attitude. Mr. Dutton offered to "whale it out of him." Miss Riley had discovered what Frederick wanted to do. Frederick has a genuine interest in business. As far as Miss Riley could learn, the only thing he ever reads voluntarily is the financial section of the metropolitan press. He talks surprisingly well on trade tendencies, business methods, and kindred topics. Frederick said he wanted a job, "not a trade — something around a bank. And I could study banking and stuff like that at night school," he added eagerly. "They have some keen courses." Miss Riley offered this suggestion to Mr. Dutton. She knew of such a job. Frederick could have it and it offered further opportunities if Frederick made good.

"But," Mr. Dutton stormed, "that's precisely what I won't allow — it's what the boy himself wants." His hard fist banged Miss Riley's desk. "That boy's going to Yale and he's going to law school and he's going to be a lawyer. Do you get that?"

Frederick stayed on at Ridge for another year, failing in history, English, Latin, and mathematics. Ridge offers only academic courses. His pleasant face grew bitter and sullen. His truancy increased. At the end of the

year, because of his truancy and his scholarship failure, he was "dropped." Miss Riley had one more interview with Mr. Dutton. She included in the interview Frederick's grade adviser and the director of Ridge's employment office. But Mr. Dutton was "firm."

"I'll have a tutor for him this summer. I'll put him in a good private school in the fall. That boy's going to Yale."

A little later Frederick came to Room 72 to say good-by to Miss Riley. Miss Riley told him his father's decision.

"Yale?" Frederick sneered, "the old man says I'm going to Yale? I'm going to hell!"

Then there is Marian, I.Q. 88. At 16, Marian's mental age is 13.4. She started the straight academic (college preparatory) course but failed from one to four subjects a term for seven terms. Then she was shifted to the "easy course." Marian was not expected to go to college or to work. She was to occupy herself till she was old enough to marry by going to school and then by "staying at home." In her mother's opinion, "She'll make a better marriage if she graduates from a good high school, like Ridge."

When she sent Marian to Room 72, her grade adviser wrote:

"Wouldn't it be better to have a frank understanding at once with Mrs. Payne and if she wishes Marian to stay here and doesn't care about credit we can pick 'culture courses' with the idea of making Marian as happy as possible and giving her some confidence in herself?"

Miss Riley found Marian a tall, pale, gentle, shy girl, a cardiac case, very much underweight, and suffering from insomnia. She could not talk about her school work without crying. She worked hard over her lessons but "I just can't seem to get them like the others do." Miss Riley discovered presently that Marian was "just wild about housework." The girl's listlessness and shyness dropped away when she talked about cooking, sewing, household decoration. She became eager and animated. But Mrs. Payne wanted Marian to graduate from high school.

"A man thinks so much more of a girl when she has a high school diploma — especially from a refined school like Ridge."

Miss Riley took Mrs. Payne and Marian to a famous domestic science institute. Mrs. Payne could easily afford the institute's moderate fees. The school had a national reputation and an air of great refinement. A course that included cooking, dietetics, child hygiene, home nursing, sewing, and household art appealed to Marian and would fit her for intelligent homemaking and motherhood. But Mrs. Payne did not like the school.

"They say most of these girls are going to teach or earn their own living some way. Marian isn't in that class at all. I want her to have a diploma from a real highbrow school like Ridge."

In spite of Marian's tears and pleadings, in spite of Miss Riley's careful, patient explanation, Marian stayed at Ridge for two more terms, failing

miserably in two of four subjects both terms. Then she had a complete nervous breakdown. She is spending this winter in a sanitarium for "mental cases."[1]

Self-Exhibition through One's Children. Like the motives of other people, parental purposes are highly mixed and complicated. It is not easy, therefore, to draw the line between the desire of a parent to assert his authority and his desire to use the child as a means of carrying out vicariously his own purposes. Doubtless neither of these elements ever appears in a really pure state. The following instances, provided also by Beulah Amidon Ratliff, show more prominently, however, the element of seeking to function through one's children in defiance of their own purposes and possibilities:

The mother of Jean was professionally, not socially ambitious. Mrs. McRae had been a teacher before her marriage. Unfortunately she married before the days of careers for married women, and gave up teaching, which she loved, for domesticity, which she hated. She had four daughters, and she determined that through her girls she would have her frustrated career. They should all be teachers. The two older girls went into business. The next one became a laboratory technician. There was only Jean. Jean *must* be a teacher. Jean's I.Q. is 73. Jean's grade adviser calls her "a charming little girl." Miss Riley found her pretty and sensible and well bred.

"She seemed so terribly worth helping," Miss Riley says. "She has no capacity for academic work, but she obviously has other ability."

Jean failed in her courses at Ridge High School and kept failing. Her mother constantly accused the girl of laziness. Jean worked hard, but as her I.Q. of 73 clearly indicated, she was not equipped to cope successfully with an academic high school course. Miss Riley tried to explain the situation to Mrs. McRae.

"You know nothing about it," Mrs. McRae stormed, "I can decide what my children are fit for. I've made up my mind that Jean is to be a teacher and a teacher she shall be."

Jean stood it for five terms. Then the humiliation and discouragement of repeated failure were more than she could bear. She had entered high school late. She was seventeen and a "conditioned sophomore" in rating. Her mother said as long as Jean lived under *her* roof Jean would go to Ridge High School. Jean left her mother's roof. With Miss Riley's help she secured a clerical position with a life insurance company. That was two years ago.

[1] *Survey*, Mar. 15, '26, p. 670.

Jean is doing very well. She has had several promotions. Her mother has "disowned" her. Jean has made no effort to see her mother. She says she has no desire to see her. The break is complete.

David's stepfather is a Harvard graduate and a capable journalist. David's mother did not finish the grades. Mrs. Rosen was determined that David should "have a grand education like my husband." David's I.Q. is 82. David does not fit into an academic environment. He has big, clever hands, a vast impatience with abstractions, a patient, capable way of dealing with concrete problems and a real interest in mechanical processes. David's own father was a carpenter. David hated Ridge High School. He wanted to "learn something that gets you somewhere." His mother had boasted to her friends and relatives of the college career David was to have. She felt she would be socially disgraced if David did not go to Harvard.

Miss Riley talked with Mr. Rosen. Mr. Rosen quite understood the situation. It was clear to him that David's interests and aptitudes did not lie along lines of Latin and Chaucer. But David's mother was insistent and David was kept at Ridge for seven terms, during which he never passed in more than one out of four subjects. Miss Riley suggested a coöperative high school, where boys both study and work, taking a three-year course which leads to a diploma, practical knowledge, and a job.

David's mother finally realized that it was hopeless to expect David to graduate from an academic high school. She consented to his transfer to the coöperative school. David is learning lithographing. He is growing less sullen and suspicious and quarrelsome. There are days when his dark, heavy face looks almost serene. There is reason to hope that, in spite of his mother, David will yet have a useful, normally happy life.[1]

These instances deal with only one phase of the tendency of parents to sacrifice their children to parental purposes and cravings. The mother who always dresses up her little girls or boys in clean starched clothes so that they will " look nice," and then punishes them if they play normally, for fear they will muss themselves up, is in the same category as the over-ambitious parents cited above. The mother who has always wanted to be a musician, and so keeps her son practicing for two or three hours a day when he should be playing outdoors, is in the same class. The proud young mother who wakes her baby out of a sound sleep to poke and prod it for the benefit of visitors, and the fond father who stirs mental conflicts and precocious conceit in his child by urging him to speak his piece or do his stunt on every public occasion, are exploiters of the same general type.

[1] *Survey*, Mar. 15, '26, p. 671.

Children Who Are Over-Loved. It is hard for some parents to see that they may love their children too much. Of course, love can be too great only when it is a narrow form of self-gratification, not when it is an intelligent seeking to release the full potentialities of the child. But love, in its ordinary sense, may easily lead to an exploitation of the child which may be nearly as disastrous as the exploitation due to cruelty or greed. Dr. Ira S. Wile gives this instance:

> Madge was the unhappy tempestuous victim of too much mothering. Save for the hours at school she was the object of loving solicitude from morning until night. Her comings and goings were ceremonials of maternal affection. Her meals, her clothes, her play, her friends, were supervised, dictated or criticized with decisiveness. Her life was a series of "do's" and "don't's." Madge's mother was a well-intentioned ruler whose despotism was not accepted as benevolent by her daughter. "If Mother only had something to occupy her I could get some peace." "I am miserable and I hate the thought of going home from school." Friction, insubordination, weepiness, and a tendency to avoid her mother created an acute and unpleasant situation. Maternal love had over-played its part. The mother was advised to find a congenial outside occupation and the elements in the home were promptly shifted. The over-solicitude gradually disappeared and the freedom from too much mothering saved the day for both mother and daughter.[1]

More frequent, and even more dangerous, is the tendency of the mother to establish an exclusive love relation with her son, or of the father to establish a similar relation with his daughter. A woman who has lost her husband, or whose husband has ceased to take the intense interest in her which he once showed, or who is simply cut off from absorbing interests in other directions, is often likely to concentrate her personality around her son, to be deeply absorbed in his every activity, to insist upon being consulted about every choice he makes, to try to mold and shape his life. She insists upon going everywhere with him. She jealously wards off from him any attachment which does not include herself as a central figure. She is apt to encourage passionate lover-like embraces.

If the son responds fully to this exclusive relation it prevents his attaining full manhood, and is almost certain to interfere with his marrying, or if he marries, to prevent his being happy with his wife.

[1] *Survey*, Dec. 1, '26, p. 313.

If the son resents and resists the encroachments of the mother the results are mental conflicts both in mother and in son.

Fathers similarly may attempt to build up exclusive relationships with their daughters, producing corresponding disastrous results. Psychiatrists call the abnormal linkages developed in relations of these kinds by the terms Oedipus and Electra Complexes.

Children As Responsibilities. Up to this point we have discussed children as menaces or nuisances and as assets to be exploited. A third fundamental attitude is to regard children as responsibilities. The parent feels that he has a duty to perform — to the child, to society, and perhaps to God. The mother or father feels responsible for training up the child to be a good citizen, to be of service to his fellows, to do his duty. The parent feels under responsibility to prepare the child for its own sake to live successfully in a real world — a real physical world, where fire burns, where falls cause bruises, where sexual promiscuity leads to pregnancy or to disease, where new clothes and new furniture cost money, and where money is hard to earn; and to a real social world, where reputations are hardly won and easily lost, where bad manners are a blunder, where employers, teachers, policemen, and friends are not going to let the child go rioting all over the place even if their parents have. This serious, dutiful — and usually severe — attitude was a dominant one among the Puritan Fathers and among other earnestly religious groups. It has been prominent frequently among immigrant parents. It still takes an important place in many families and probably has at least some place in the attitude of every parent toward his or her growing children.

The Child as a Bundle of Potentialities. The psychology and philosophy out of which the ideals of the newer education are growing take it as a basic proposition that the child is a personality with purposes and possibilities which have value for their own sake. The best figure to represent this point of view is, perhaps, to regard the child as an unfolding flower, to be given rich earth, sunshine, and water, to be protected against weeds, pests, and frosts, and to be allowed thus to develop normally its potential powers and beauties.

Some of the ultra-modern schools carry out this ideal by simply turning the children loose in a room where all sorts of equipment are available and where a variety of occupations are going on spontaneously. The child is expected to choose the materials in which he is interested and the processes for which he is ready, and to pick

up his action-patterns by contagious behavior rather than by coercion.

In the treatment of delinquent children the trend has been toward considering their delinquencies as being simply the result of misdirection of normal cravings and powers. A readjustment of the environment comes to be relied on rather than merely or chiefly the use of blame or punishment. The recreational movement is another expression of the idea of providing normal opportunities and stimuli to enable the child himself to unfold naturally.

Many of these projects have a decided flavor of *laissez-faire* about them. The ideal expressed is the avoidance of interference with natural processes, the removal of pressures and coercions, the giving of freedom. Some parents have carried this idea to the point where they denounce any use of force whatever. One couple, for instance, boasts that they never tell their child to do anything; they simply ask: "Would you like to do this?"

Accommodation of Purposes in the Home. All of the four fundamental attitudes which we have discussed have some element of truth as a basis. Children *do* come into the lives of adults as disturbing and often disrupting stimuli. Under proper conditions parents *should* obtain gratification, vicarious functioning, and even financial help from their children. Parents *do* have a responsibility to fit their children for the actual conditions of a real world. And finally, the ideal of release and freedom for the natural unfolding of the child's own personality *is* of vital importance. How shall these four attitudes be woven together into a sound social and parental policy which shall not ignore any of the essential facts?

Put in another way, the problem is one of social relations. How are parents to shoulder the responsibility of training their growing boys and girls to live fully and richly, keep them from encroaching on the purposes of others, and yet at the same time avoid coercion? A family is made up of parents and children each impelled to function according to his own purposes: how then is harmony of purpose to be achieved? How is the family to be a means of release of functioning and of integration of purpose for each of its members?

Self-Assessment of Parental Purposes. The first step for a parent to take, in attempting to wrestle with this perplexing problem, is to clear up for himself the true nature of his own purposes relative to his children. Does he wish to make them annexes to his own personality,

or to encourage them to be persons in their own right? Does he regard them as valuable assets, to minister to the comfort of their parents, or as living spirits whom the parents are launching? Is the parental purpose to minimize the nuisance of child-rearing or to maximize the development of the child's personality? A frank and honest answer to oneself on questions such as these is a first step toward intelligent parenthood. It may be that some compromise position may be taken. It may be that the parent honestly means to be selfish. But whatever the end in view, its intelligent attainment will be promoted by frank recognition of its nature rather than by rationalization and subterfuge.

Integration within the Parent Prerequisite to Integration between Parent and Child. A second step toward effective parenthood is the improvement of the parent's own inner adjustment, and of the adjustment between the purposes of the parent and the child. The mother or father who is irritable, cross, worried, morbid, or suffering from the other effects of mental and social conflict is in poor shape to make the painstaking adjustments needed in successful parenthood. The welfare of the children is particularly affected by harmony or lack of harmony between the purposes of the father and the mother. It has become a matter of common knowledge that broken homes are prolific of delinquent children. Closer study of this relationship reveals the fact that it is not the physical breaking of the home — the mere removal of the presence of one of the parents — that acts injuriously upon the child. Rather it is conflict of purpose between the father and mother — their quarreling, wrangling, and fighting — which destroy the family harmony and, with disastrous consequences, tear the psychic life of the child. Integration of purpose between husband and wife is thus a vital condition of the welfare of the children.

One instance of the effect of parental quarreling upon a child is given as follows by Dr. Frederick H. Allen, Director of the All-Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic:

One 12-year-old boy was brought to the clinic because of running away from home and stealing. He explained that his father and mother quarreled so frequently that it was pleasanter to be away from home, even at Juvenile Court. When he had run away from the friction in the home, he had to have food, and the easiest way to get it was to steal it. This boy had identified himself completely with the mother's cause in the family quarrel. He was convinced that his father was completely wrong, and also

believed that his father hated both his mother and himself. In fact this had been told to him by his mother. It is interesting to note that when the source of the boy's conflict and resulting misconduct was explained to the mother, she was quite overwhelmed at the realization of what her hasty statements had meant to him. She had herself been largely responsible for the state of family discord, she admitted, but had wished to retain the sympathy of the boy to use as a weapon against the father, never suspecting what harm it might do to the child.[1]

Understanding the Children. Having cleared up his understanding of his own purposes as related to the child, and having set about attaining integration of purpose within himself and with the other parent, the next fundamental is to seek fuller understanding of the purposes of the child. This understanding involves four phases: first, the application to the child of the general principles of human motivation, so as to gain insight into his specific behavior; second, the knowledge of the special types of behavior to be expected of children, as contrasted with older people; third, understanding the abilities, possibilities, and disabilities of the individual child; and fourth, perceiving what the real purposes of the child are in each crisis of its behavior.

Children are not mere small-sized editions of grown-ups. To expect of them the behavior which we expect of adults is to be grossly unjust. The normal child develops an enormous amount of energy, without having developed the action-patterns, habits, inhibitions, and intelligence of the adult. The results of excessive energy are that the child is very apt to shout, laugh, jump up and down, wiggle, and generally disturb the peace of adults. This surplus energy cannot be eliminated by telling the child to be quiet. The power has to be used somehow; only by suggesting interesting and harmless action-patterns can the disturbance be controlled. Out of the intellectual immaturity of the child, and his lack of developed habits, come such disturbing phenomena as the fact that children are always starting things without finishing them, that they are usually disorderly, and that they cannot be depended on for consistent and thorough work. The surplus energy of the child, combined with his lack of experience, drives him to an excessive amount of explorative, experimental, and imaginary functioning; he is always upsetting the furniture, starting new inventions, having hare-brained ideas, and generally showing disturbing instability.

[1] From a mimeographed bulletin of the clinic.

Lack of experience, moreover, makes it difficult at times for the young child to distinguish between fantasy and reality; hence many children are blamed for lying when they are really only imagining. The deliberate lie must be distinguished from innocent fabrication.

The adult who fails to appreciate the above distinguishing characteristics of children is practically certain to regard the youngsters as irritating stimuli, with the result that he himself becomes a serious menace to their normal development.

Understanding the ways in which the individual child differs from the average children of his own age is essential to wise parenthood. In the cases already cited of parents who were insisting upon impossible types of schooling for their children, the main difficulty was the failure of the parents to recognize the facts as to the intelligence of their sons and daughters. William Healy, in the Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies, tells of a girl who was failing in her school work, and was developing a fantasy world as an escape from reality. Careful psychological examinations showed that while she was not fitted for the type of high school work which she had been attempting, she had such unusual ability in visual imagination that she might have made a splendid success in draftsmanship. With the increasing development of reliable tests of special abilities it is more and more possible for parents to know what their children are best fitted for, and then to give them opportunities for achievement along these lines rather than to force them to attempt things at which they are certain to fail.

All of this background of understanding of children in general and of one's own children in particular is vital, but it is not enough unless it is accompanied by continual sympathetic study of the changing motives of the child. A father, coming home from work, entered the parlor just in time to see his daughter spill half a pint of milk all over the front of her dress and on the best rug. Exasperated, he promptly spanked her. Out of her bitter sobs over the punishment he soon learned that the child's smaller brother was sick in bed, that the boy had asked for a glass of milk, and that in her eagerness to be of help the girl had had an accident. The father had linked up with punishment the very sort of behavior which he would have wished to encourage.

Sympathetic introspection must be a continual practice of the successful parent. Let him ask: "Why does the child act in this way or that? Did I ever act thus? Why?" The parent who can so far put himself into the child's place as to understand the true reasons for its

actions can forget almost all the other rules and still be successful with his children.

Avoiding Antagonism. Coöperation between parents and children depends upon keeping the parents in the expanded personalities of the children. There are four chief ways in which parents get into the anti-personalities of their children: namely, by rousing a sense of injustice, by using fraud or deception, by using contempt or ridicule, and by applying coercion, either physically or psychologically.

A certain college professor was trying to learn to drive a car. Finally he went down to take his driver's examination, and failed to pass. A few months later he was lecturing his eight-year-old daughter about her grades in school, when his five-year-old daughter cut in: "You needn't scold Janet so; you failed yourself when you went for your driver's license!" Such alertness about justice as between members of the family is not as rare as parents are apt to assume. Parents who indulge their own desires for rich foods which they deny their children, and then rationalize by pious observations about such things being reserved for grown-ups, are apt to build up suspicions in the youngsters. The son of a most splendid and idealistic social worker developed a violent feeling of injustice because his father insisted upon occupying the bath-room for half or three-quarters of an hour in the morning, reading his paper, while the rest of the family waited, and because, when reproached by the boy, the father flew into a temper.

Even more damaging is any display of favoritism between the children.

Not merely actual injustice, but anything which creates the sense of injustice must be avoided if the parent is to retain fully the loyalty and confidence of the children. The traditional attitude of authoritative parents has been not to condescend to even discuss with their children the justice of parental decisions. It is only an illusion that such pretense to infallibility can maintain love and respect. The sense of justice of most children is too keen and penetrating to be thus put off. Not only should parents explain in friendly frankness the real reasons for any actions which appear to the child as unjust, but, if the father or mother has done an injustice to the child, due apology should be made.

Fraud is one of the surest methods of losing the confidence of one's children. The lies commonly told by parents, about where babies come from, lay the foundation for disillusionment and contempt when the children learn the truth from other sources. Pretending to an

adopted child that he was born into the family is another dangerous fraud. One enlightened child-placing agency requires as a condition of placement that the foster mother, on the first evening when the child comes into the home, shall begin to repeat the formula: "You are my own, darling *adopted* son," and shall continue the habit from day to day until the words darling and adopted have come to be firmly linked in the child's mind. Here is an admirable illustration of the creative solution of a problem involving potential conflict.

The use of ridicule or contempt is another technique which is apt to be fatal to the loyalty without which the task of intelligent parenthood is impossible. The parent who tries to control the child by jeering is likely to build up a wall of misunderstanding and resentment, and to provoke a withdrawal on the part of the child, which will effectually cut off further confidence and trust.

In addition to injustice, fraud, and contempt on the part of the parent, a fourth way of building antagonism is the use of thwarting and coercion. Anti-personalities are composed chiefly of the things and people which obstruct as well as those which damage us. The sound rule is to avoid, just as far as it is humanly and socially possible, the thwarting of childish impulses and activities. Innocent but inconvenient explorations, boisterous explosions of energy, interminable questions, absurd flights of fancy — such things are potentially creative, but with the persistent snubbing of the eternal "don't!" the child is forced into meek conventionality or into dangerous rebellion. The irreducible minimum of restraint essential to making the child socially acceptable, is cruel enough.

Create Comradeship. The above discussion has been directed toward the negative side of avoiding antagonism; even more important is the positive side of creating coöperation. Keep out of your children's anti-personalities as far as is feasible; but even more, make sure that you are firmly built into their expanded personalities. But how?

Trivial matters may be of overwhelming importance in creating comradeship. Remember that it is disturbances of the personality which generate emotion and which therefore determine the directions of personality growth. Provide a child with a beautiful home, with the best of wholesome food, with suitable clothing and all the rest of the costly essentials, and the net emotional result may be practically zero, because these necessities come to be taken for granted. They are already adopted into the self, and generate energy only when withheld

or threatened. But stop into the ten-cent store and bring home unexpectedly some exciting little novelty and the emotional reaction is surprising. The thrill of that small but delightful surprise is linked up with the giver. More loyalty is created by such trivial delights than by interminable payments of rent or of doctor's bills on the child's behalf.

Love is the emotion which grows out of the memory and the anticipation of shared exciting activities and purposes. The wise parent romps with the children, goes with cheerful interest to inspect the contraptions which they have created, reads them the stories they like to hear after they are ready for bed. Being weak and human, every parent is apt at times to antagonize and hurt his children; but one can deliberately build up a large favorable balance of affection by watching how the child is playing the game of life, and then leading back into the child's suit. Three little girls came romping down to meet their father at the gate. He noticed that they were strangely dressed, and by quiet observation found that they were pretending to be each other: Janet was Beatrice, Beatrice was Barbara, and Barbara was Janet — clothes and all. He of course entered into the game — so successfully, indeed, that they asked him whether he *really* couldn't tell that it was Barbara, not Janet who had on Janet's clothes.

The youngest daughter, at the age of five gave her father a necktie. It was not exactly his pattern or shade, but it gave vivid delight to the child. It was, indeed, part of her expanded personality which she had bestowed on him, and she liked to have it function. When he first wore it she was so delighted that he gave up his impulse to lose the tie, and made it a rule to put it on unannounced every few weeks. Whenever he wore it, even a year after the gift, the small giver without fail would exclaim in delight: "Good daddy! Nice daddy! You're wearing my tie. You like the tie I gave you, don't you?"

Creative Paternalism. The avoidance of unnecessary antagonism, and the creation of comradeship are preliminary and underlying precautions. The real problem arises in the question as to how the parent is to stimulate and guide the child. However much we may believe in equality and democracy in other relationships, we cannot escape from the fact that parents are radically different from their children in the degree of development of their personalities. The relationship cannot possibly be symmetrical; it is bound to be lop-sided in many ways. The initiative, the self-control, the far-sighted wisdom, the guidance,

must come almost entirely from the parents. This creates a situation where paternalism of a sort is practically inevitable — not the paternalism which *imposes* purposes, but the paternalism which *creates* purposes. How is this creative process to be achieved? How can the child be given freedom, and still learn self-discipline and integration of purpose?

How about Punishment? The impulse of the parent is apt to be to impose his superior wisdom on the child, and to use punishment when the child fails to accept the parental orders. Punishment undoubtedly has its place. Dr. Smiley Blanton and Margaret Gray Blanton make the following suggestions in *Hygeia:*

Physical punishment should be short and sharp and used for the purpose of giving the child a conditioned reflex, which is the most important method of learning with which the child is originally endowed. If the child's finger touches a hot stove, the hand is withdrawn. The next time he sees the stove, even though it is not hot, he remembers the pain and withdraws his hand. If the child is slapped on the hand when he reaches for something, the pain should be sharp enough that he will withdraw his hand the next time at the same place.

Whipping should be used rarely, and should only be a sharp rap on the hand or the use of a switch or leather strap on the calf of the leg. Physical punishment should not be given before the second year or after the eighth year. Usually by the fourth year the child may be reasoned with. One of the most destructive things in connection with physical punishment is that many people use it as a threat, and do not carry it out.

Punishment must be aimed to control a distinct situation. It must be adequate, and it must be immediate on the first offense known to be an offense. Prolonged psychologic punishment, which usually consists in pouting about the child's behavior, is most destructive from the standpoint of mental hygiene. If the child is normal, he is at first distressed, then irritated, then indifferent, and finally antagonistic. If the punishment is effective and the distressed stage is retained, which will occur only with an abnormal child, the child becomes moody, depressed, an anxiety type, and all sorts of disturbances in late adolescence or adulthood may result.[1]

Even under the safeguards suggested by the Blantons, however, punishment has its disadvantages. They regard punishment ideally as a conditioning process — a linking up of undesirable conduct with suffering or disagreeable experience. The difficulty is that when

[1] *Literary Digest,* Oct. 23, '26, p. 25.

painful punishments are experienced they are linked up not merely with the act punished, but also with the person who punishes. Often the effect is more antagonism toward the parent than aversion toward the act supposed to be negatively conditioned. Is there no better solution? Miriam Van Waters observes:

> The willingness to recognize and to use the power of youth to discover fresh solutions is not the same attitude which leaves everything to the child and expects him to discover the good life unaided. Because the ancient mold has cracked, that is no reason to believe no mold is needed. Because discipline in the past has often produced infantile adults, or has resulted in fear and hatred of authority, intense craving for sympathy, antagonism, suspicion, credulity, emotional backwardness, breakdowns, failures, and exaggerated recoils is no reason for the denial of discipline. It is rather a challenge for the recovery, or the creation of genuine discipline.[1]

The purpose of the next few sections is to inquire further into the methods of creating this "genuine discipline."

Letting the Environment Do the Punishing. One of the difficult duties of parents is to teach their children that certain ways of behaving are dangerous or unwise, and will sooner or later get them into trouble. Much the most effective way of teaching such facts is, instead of imposing artificial punishments for acts of this kind, to see that the child discovers for himself, under proper safeguards, the results to which his actions lead.

A certain father saw that his child was playing with matches. Instead of slapping her hands, in the orthodox way, he told the youngster to take a match and to rub the business end against the sandpaper on the box. The child promptly burned its hands. The father put out the fire, and the youngster thereafter displayed a wholesome fear of matches.

A girl eight years of age displayed rather atrocious table manners. The parents arranged to have the child take her lunches with some of her school mates. The first day she came home crying because her fellows had said such horrid things about the way she ate. The parents were deeply sympathetic, and talked over with her gently the ways in which she could so improve her conduct as to avoid such suffering in the future.

The younger children in this family had the habit of coming to the

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 139.

table with dirty hands. It came to be a custom to call out at the beginning of the meal: "Let's all hold up hands!" Without further suggestion those who had not washed would scoot away to clean up in order to avoid the disgrace of being the dirtiest. Soon the children got to taking the initiative by washing their own hands and then calling for a hold-up to display results.

A modification of this putting of the child up against the actual facts is the "ultimatum method," used successfully in many homes to get a child to do something about which he is reluctant. It may be, for example, that the child is neglecting to eat the spinach which has been put on his plate. The father says: "How about the spinach, son?" A few minutes later, seeing the same mound of green remaining, he asks: "Would you like to have father take out his watch?" Perhaps a forkful or two goes, but still the task lags. Then comes the ultimatum: "It is now 1:14 by this watch. If that spinach is not eaten by 1:19 there will be no ice cream for you to-day." The result is almost always cheerful compliance. A vital point, however, is that if the conditions of the ultimatum are not fulfilled, the threat must without fail be carried out, or the method loses its whole value. One or two rigid enforcements will make the ultimatum effective in many subsequent emergencies.

Putting the child up against the actual results of his own misconduct can be used only within limitations. One cannot very well teach children to avoid carbolic acid by letting them drink a little, or have them discover the dangers of immorality by experimentation. Here, however, imaginary functioning can be substituted for real experience. The effects on others of such misconduct should be made vivid — not in any exaggerated way, lest the deception lead to the catastrophies which usually follow fraud — but simply, honestly, and as far as possible by the study of stories of actual cases.

Inducement. The dangers which go with linkage of bad conduct with pain do not attend the linkage of good conduct with pleasure. Lillian Wald had a summer camp at which most of the children slept in a big farm house. One week-end, when the camp was crowded, it was necessary for part of the children to sleep in the annex, a cottage perched on the top of a knoll. Nobody wanted to leave the familiar headquarters and go to the new sleeping place until Miss Wald confided the fact that the annex was really a "Wendy" house; then, led by the spirit of Peter Pan, there was a surge of volunteers.

Sometimes a certain family had difficulty in getting the children to drink all of their milk. On one occasion, however, the father suggested that they clink their glasses, explaining that this was a ceremony in drinking a toast, and that of course one must drink after clinking. The game was taken up with enthusiasm, and the milk was promptly absorbed.

In that same family quite effective use was made of the title "Good Sport." It came to be recognized that good sports don't cry for small hurts, that good sports share their toys, that good sports do their share of the work. By not over-working the term, it became an effective inducement to sportsmanlike conduct. For a time the family had a flourishing organization called "The Amalgamated Association of Good Sports."

An important principle in the use of inducement is that, just as punishments should ideally be the natural and inevitable outcome of bad conduct rather than artificial penalties imposed arbitrarily, so inducements should be as far as possible the natural and inevitable outcome of good conduct rather than artificial rewards arbitrarily imposed. Certain children were in the habit of dawdling on their way to bed. Scolding was tried, but still they lingered long past bed-time. Finally the father established the custom that after they were in bed ready to sleep he would read for as much time as was left before eight o'clock. Undressing then became almost instantaneous.

Inducement is often used unconsciously to encourage bad conduct, because of the fact that the parent, without realizing it, rewards misbehavior with something deeply desired by the child. For example, a certain child who belonged to a family living at the top of a tenement, used, whenever it had the slightest bump or scratch, to come screaming into the house, and bawl loudly all the way up the stairs. The neighbors would all look out to see what was the matter, and the mother would come out scolding with vexation. Careful analysis uncovered the fact that the child loved the attention gained in this way, and also got a teasing satisfaction from angering its mother. When the neighbors and the mother were persuaded to ignore these exhibitions they promptly ceased. Similarly many a child gets the attention which it craves by sucking its thumb, or refusing to eat its peas, or getting a "headache." When cases of this sort arise, the needed treatment is to see that the desired attention gets linked up with the best behavior which the child shows, not the worst. Discriminating

praise, and judicious conferring of responsibility, combined with ignoring the bad behavior through which attention has been sought, will probably work a transformation.

Facilitation. Closely allied to inducement is facilitation. The former sees that good behavior gets its natural and normal rewards; the latter, after discovering the purposes and possibilities of the youngster, provides opportunities and equipment for him to function in the best ways which he himself desires and is capable of. In our discussion of teasing, an instance was cited of two youngsters who had been doing systematic mischief in their neighborhood. Patrick Geddes, who tells the story, says that this delinquent period was terminated by a " conversion ":

> In this case, our conversion was to the new and frightful joys of experimental chemistry, for which — after our burning holes in carpets, and blackening all brass and silver utensils in the house, and with odors unendurable — the wise father (who had in previous years shelved me a disused porch as a museum) had an outdoor lean-to shed erected as laboratory; and with carpenter's bench as well. Temptations to mischief, and even in these new forms, did, at rare times, appear, but were now resisted; and soon after came an experience which ended them altogether, and gave a new constructive purpose which has lasted through life — that of going to a real joiner's workshop in the mornings of a summer term, and to the art-school later in the day, with evening in the laboratory.[1]

The extent to which undesirable behavior may be eliminated by suggesting and stimulating as a substitute some desirable form of behavior is too little realized and applied. The best method of stopping a child from crying is to offer some absorbing topic of interest, or some exciting activity. Instantly the tears will be forgotten. And yet the usual cure for crying is scolding or spanking! That is a good deal like using cupping as a remedy for loss of blood.

Cultivate the Natural Goodness of Children. An astonishing thing to the parent who begins to study his or her children is the extent to which they really love to do good things. Lillian Wald gives a vivid instance of the spontaneous helpfulness of a child:

> I cannot efface from my memory the picture of a little eight-year-old girl whom I once found standing on a chair to reach a washtub, trying with her tiny hands to cleanse some bed-linen which would have been a task for

[1] *Survey*, Sept. 1, '25, p. 574.

an older person. Every few minutes the child got down from her chair to peer into the next room where her mother and the new-born baby lay, all her little mind intent upon giving relief and comfort. She had been alone with her mother when the baby was born.[1]

Some children overheard their parents speaking about other children in Europe who were starving. Without any direct suggestion they brought their banks and asked their father to send the money in them to " the little Europe children." It was done. The parents added their own contributions, and the whole sum went forward with an explanatory letter to a relief agency. A few weeks later a return letter from those who had received the money renewed and consolidated the thrilling sense of helpfulness. The effect on the attitudes of the givers was incomparably better than mere sermons could have achieved.

A girl of six who was just learning to read, asked her father to read her a story. Instead of doing so he persuaded her to struggle through a little poem, with his help. When she had mastered it he suggested that she read it to her mother. She then insisted upon reading it again to her father, and still again to her younger sister. Then she came back to her father, stamping her feet with excitement and smiling jubilantly. Helping children to help themselves is not only sound pedagogy, but it gives to the children thrills which they would not otherwise have.

The parent who is on the alert sees repeated instances where the children spontaneously demand fair play for others, where they volunteer to share with their fellows, where they run to help the one who is in trouble or is hurt, where they demand an opportunity to help with the tasks about the house, where they inquire with eager scientific curiosity about plants, animals, machinery, electricity, history, literature, or philosophy. These are the golden opportunities of the parent. Here are wholesome purposes in the making. Encouragement of these impulses — not by taking the child's initiative away, but by providing information, materials, and opportunities for him to build up the purpose himself — this is the highroad to successful parenthood.

Self-Government for Children. Only extremists would suggest that children should be given full responsibility for governing themselves.

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 74.

Yet I remember the salutary shock which came to me at the age of eight or nine when I was given a " privilege week " in connection with my birthday, in which I might do very much as I chose. To my astonishment I discovered that what I chose was very much like what I had supposed that my parents were making me do.

When a perplexing problem of discipline arises, a solution may often be reached by putting the question squarely up to the child himself. Ask the son or daughter: " What rules do you think you ought to follow here in our home? Give me your suggestions, and we will talk them over together." Many times the child will work out an admirable program for himself and will follow it with far more energy and persistence than he would a less stringent set of rules imposed arbitrarily by the parent.

Accommodation between Family Purposes. In the discussion up to this point it has been assumed that the initiative and the creative planning are to originate with the parents. While this is likely to be chiefly the case, especially while the children are young, the purposes of parents and children do have to be adjusted to each other by a process of mutual stimulation and modification: in other words, accommodation as well as creative paternalism are called for. As the children approach maturity the place of creative paternalism becomes smaller and smaller, while mutual adjustment is more and more vital. Certain suggestions as to facilitating this process are therefore in order.

Family Councils. Joint formulation of family purposes is a fundamental of successful democratic coöperation. Just as soon as the children are old enough to understand the family problems to which they are related it becomes valuable to hold more or less formal family councils, in which the youngsters get full opportunity to express their views, and out of which policies are developed to which all feel that they have contributed and to which all give agreement. The children should understand, in confidence, the financial situation of the family, just what the possibilities are and just what the inevitable limitations. Many of the bitterest family conflicts grow out of simply misunderstanding and failure to maintain frank interchange of facts and feelings.

Areas of Common Purpose. As in other types of social conflict, family controversies are usually due to conflicting *formulations* of basic purpose rather than to essential inconsistency between the purposes themselves. A prime strategy of accommodation, therefore, is to

discover or invent ways in which the purpose formulations can be so adjusted as to fulfill the essential purposes of both parent and child.

A mother planned to have guests for dinner at seven o'clock, and in order to have the coast clear she ordered the children all to be in bed before that hour. This roused rebellion in the eldest, who was a good deal of a book-worm. She said that it was not fair for mother to cut an hour from daughter's reading time just for those old guests. She appealed to father. Father inquired from mother whether it would interfere with her plans if the daughter read from seven until eight in bed? Not at all! Everybody happy!

The youngsters want father to read to them. They bring him certain very babyish books which he has read until nauseated. He refuses to stultify his intelligence any longer with such truck. But he suggests that if they can find some book interesting both to the children and to him he will be glad to read to them. They agree on Dr. Doolittle, or A. A. Milne, or Johanna Spiri. The children find that they love it. Their tastes are developed. Father gets acquainted with some new classics. Everybody happy again!

Abandon Non-Essentials. Creative adjustments of this sort depend upon willingness to give up trivial details and momentary formulations of purpose. Naturally, the parent must take the lead in this process. One way of keeping young is to cultivate the habit of being able to function in such versatile ways that at a moment's notice one can shift the organization of one's purposes and fit into a new plan with enthusiasm and joy. He who allows his purposes to become encrusted so that they cannot be altered wthout shattering, is growing as old in spirit as the man who is dying of hardened arteries is old in body.

Here is where the demand for justice so often proves fatal to family harmony. In so far as one builds his family program upon insistence upon his rights he is crystallizing his purposes into a set form which lacks the essential plasticity needed for successful accommodation. If such people only realized it, they could attain far more than their rights if they were willing to give up non-essential points in order to achieve joyful family coöperation.

Residual *Laissez-faire* in the Family. Not every family conflict needs to be fought out or even to be accommodated. Life is too short. Often the simplest way is to arrange some avoidance solution. Two boys, full of energy, always stimulating each other, persist in getting into pillow-fights long after the time when they and the house should

settle into peace. Rather than spend the energy needed to work out a creative solution of this conflict between parental and childish purposes, the simplest method is to put the two boys to sleep in different rooms, even if they have to be moved later. Or the greater maturity of one of them may be recognized by giving him half an hour longer of sitting up, so that the brother will be asleep.

A wise father said that good parents are usually blind in one eye. Not every issue needs to be cleared up. Not every fault needs to be noted.

Courage! Conscientious parents are much too apt to get discouraged. Personality building is a very slow process. Splendid results are achieved in spite of even very grave mistakes, provided that earnest efforts are persistently made. See what splendid men and women the human race has produced in spite of the atrocious methods which parents in general have used!

Above all, keep on believing in your children. Hold fast to whatever is best and noblest in them. Do not doubt their essential soundness and their capacity for noble achievement, whatever they may do for the moment. Your faith in them is one of their most precious assets.

Supreme Parenthood. Some of the immigrant parents have set a high example of the meaning of parenthood. Lillian Wald cites these examples:

"My father," said a young physician of Polish parentage, "came an illiterate to this country because the priest of his parish happened not to be interested in education, not because my father was indifferent. He has struggled all his life to give his children what he himself could never have, and has worshiped the country that gave us opportunity."[1]

Miss Wald tells of one woman who had given up her home, had relinquished her wardrobe, and had sold her own grave in order to finance her son's education. Of another group she says:

The passion of the Russian Jews for intellectual attainment recalls the spirit of the early New England families and their willingness to forego every comfort that a son might be set apart for the ministry. Here we are often witnesses of long-continued deprivation on the part of every member of the family, a willingness to deny themselves everything but the barest necessities

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 305.

of life, that there may be a doctor, a lawyer, or a teacher among them. Submission to bad housing, excessive hours, and poor working conditions is defended as of "no matter because the children will have better and can go to school — maybe college." [1]

"It is not poverty we fear," said the Jewish women. "It is not money we are seeking here. We do not expect things for ourselves. It is the chance for the children, education and freedom for them."

Devotion of this sort is vital to the highest parenthood. Children are, to a great extent, at the mercy of their parents. The personalities of the parents are largely formed already, and are growing relatively slowly; the personalities of the children are being formed swiftly, and their capacity for wholesome functioning and for harmony of purpose with those about them are being determined to a considerable extent, for better or for worse, by parental influence. Moreover, wholesome development requires that the children grow away from the parents; children have instinctive stirrings to break away in adolescence, but parents apparently have to learn to let go of their children or else suffer or make their children suffer by misguided attempts to perpetuate childish relationships.

A first principle of parenthood must therefore be that the parent must learn to function vicariously through the child rather than attempt to make the child function as an annex to the parent; he must seek his satisfaction not in any service which the child does for him, but in the delight of seeing the child develop into a happy, wholesome, useful personality. Those who have made the experiment do not need to be told it is supremely worth while.

Summary

A. Children, like other stimuli, may be regarded as either menacing or promising; four different fundamental attitudes are taken toward them, with corresponding emotional and behavior results:

1. Quite often children are considered burdens, nuisances, irritants, or obstacles.

a. Many people dread having children because of being financially or physically unable to be fit parents; others object to the assaults which children make upon the personalities of adults.

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 99.

b. Disease, death, delinquency, truancy, retardation, and psychopathic personalities are often the results of being unwanted or unwelcomed children.

2. Other parents look on children as resources to be exploited
   a. As economic assets;
   b. As objects for the exercise of the craving for power and authority;
   c. As means of vicarious display or vicarious gratification of thwarted ambitions;
   d. As love-objects to gratify parental emotions.

3. Others feel heavily their responsibility to prepare their children to live in a real world.

4. A modern view is to regard the child as a personality with purposes and possibilities which have value for their own sake.

B. Sound parenthood must take account of whatever is valid in all of the above four attitudes.

5. The first step is for the parent to face frankly what are his own attitudes and purposes toward his children.

6. Integration of purpose within the parent and between the parents is an important prerequisite to integration between parent and child.

7. Understanding by the parent of the purposes and possibilities of the child is the next essential; the parent may be helped by understanding of
   a. The general principles of social motivation;
   b. The special sorts of behavior to be expected of children;
   c. The special abilities, possibilities, and disabilities of particular child in question;
   d. The real purposes of the child in each behavior crisis.

8. Avoiding the generation of antagonism in the children is vital; such antagonism is apt to arise from
   a. Rousing a sense of injustice;
   b. Using fraud or deception;
   c. Using contempt or ridicule;
   d. Applying physical or psychological coercion.

9. Creating comradeship is even more vital.
   a. Apparently trivial treats may generate loyalty.
   b. Entering into the enthusiasms of the children is a pass-key to comradeship.

10. The successful parent must practice creative paternalism — must create wholesome purposes, not impose them.

a. Physical punishment, though necessary at times, is likely to create antagonism toward the parent instead of aversion toward wrong-doing.

b. Helping the child to discover the natural results of his misdeeds makes the environment inflict effective punishment.

c. Inducement links up good conduct with pleasure — preferably with the natural results of the good conduct itself.

d. Facilitation provides opportunities and equipment for the child to function in the best ways which he himself desires and is capable of; it capitalizes the inherent abilities and good traits of the child.

e. Encouraging the child to make its own rules of conduct, subject to parental review, often helps.

11. Besides creative paternalism, mutual accommodation between purposes of parent and child is needed. This involves:

a. Joint formulation of family purposes;

b. Discovery of areas of common purpose;

c. Abandonment of non-essential causes of conflict;

d. Wise avoidance at times.

C. Supreme parenthood finds its satisfaction in seeing the child develop into a happy, wholesome, useful personality.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

18D1. What is the ideal number of children for a family to have? What considerations enter into your decision?

18D2. Taking into account the various attitudes which parents may have toward children, do you think it advisable that parenthood should be intentional or accidental? What should be the policy of the state toward birth control information?

18D3. Judging from people whom you have known, or from actual cases of which you have read, what attitudes develop toward step-children? To what extent is current prejudice on the subject justified? What, if anything, can be done about it?

18D4. What is the best age for a child at the time of its adoption? Why? How do you know?

18D5. In what ways not discussed in the text is the older generation exploiting the younger? What movements against these sorts of exploitation do you know of?

18D6. Suppose that a parent says that a child may make its own rules about a certain sort of behavior, and then finds that the rules proposed by the child are very dangerous or unwise. What would be the effect of refusal by the parent to let the rules stand? How might such difficulties be avoided?

18D7. In the discussion of creating comradeship between parent and child it was pointed out that quite trivial sharings of joyful experience might have powerful effects. To what extent is this true of incidents which antagonize the child? Give specific illustrations.

18D8. To what extent, and in what connections, do parents attempt to control the behavior of their children by deceiving them, lying to them, or exaggerating the dangers of things which they do not want them to do? What are the effects of these methods? What are the dangers of perfect frankness on such matters? What would you recommend?

18D9. A certain father wanted to be chums with his children. He decided therefore to take a weekly walk with them. The children were busy about other things when he suggested the walk, but he finally succeeded in coaxing them to go with him. How successful would you expect his attempt to be? In what ways, if any, could his plan be improved?

18D10. If parents wish to develop devotion to religion in their children, what policy should they adopt about requiring them to go to Sunday-school? To church? How would your conclusions apply to the problem of required attendance at public school?

18D11. Miriam Van Waters gives the following case:

A girl, nearly nineteen, wrote the other day that she was thinking of leaving home as life was becoming unbearable. Her mother earned a good salary in the motion pictures; she was rarely at home and when she was there she criticized her daughter for everything, "for lying down after dinner to take a nap, for sitting on the over-stuffed sofa to shell the peas, and for hanging the dish-cloth on the door knob." The girl worked in a telephone office and I answered her letter there, suggesting that she think twice before leaving home for such trifles. In a few days the following answer came:

"My dear Friend: I know that you'll think I am a peculiar creature of moods but after your letter and a detailed talk with my dear father I can

see how foolish my idea would be and what ill consequences might come of it. I've always been so attached to a home that I can't quite realize how it would be to tear home bonds like I had planned. So I won't bother you any more with such ideas — for I suppose the conditions are of my own making. We quarrel over the most trivial of incidents but 'it takes two to make a quarrel' — I'm going to try, for your sake and my dad's, to be as nice and congenial as I can, trying to make the environment more ideal for all concerned in home life.

My work seems to be progressing fine and I'm soon due for a raise (naturally, I feel bad?). Although the telephone work isn't as choice as many other professions — I feel as though I'm satisfied for the time being. I'm now trying to locate a means to attend the public part-time school, in order to take up typing and shorthand — which I think will be a benefit to me.

There is only one more grievance and that is the old one of having my mail read. I *wish* I had privacy on that score. I don't mind my father reading it but it simply infuriates me when my mother reads the letters and makes her comments.

Trusting that I may come out all right and be all that you expect me to be, I want to remain,

Sincerely with love,
Jane.

P.S. Is it wrong for me to have a friendly chat with Ruth? There is much opposition when I even mention her name — I like Ruth as an old friend and really feel there is no harm in the association." [1]

What sorts of solutions would you consider in dealing with a family conflict of this sort?

18D12. In commenting on the above case, Miriam Van Waters observes:

To such parents and to others who see only loss of authority in modern homes, family life appears to be degenerating.

Would you agree that this is a chief source of the anxiety felt by the older generation about the changes in home life?

18D13. A Quaker father did not believe in corporal punishment. His son, however, had behaved so badly that he felt that something radical had to be done. So he called the boy out into the shed, gave him a horse-whip, and told him to thrash his father. The punishment was carried out, and the father had no further trouble with his son. Upon what factors would the success of such an experiment depend?

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 138.

18D14. A famous college professor has three sons. When these boys reached adolescence he called them together one day and said: "Sons, we are members of a family with high traditions. Your grandfathers and great-grand-fathers have made a name for themselves. Let us carry the family name to new heights!" Discuss reasons for and against this sort of appeal.

18D15. A prominent educator has a son four years of age. Like most children of his age, the boy spilled a good deal of food over himself at his meals. One day his father playfully let the lad wear the father's tie. The boy was greatly elated, and asked to be permitted to keep the tie on during dinner. Consent was given, and he went through the meal without any of his customary slobbering. A week or two later the father mentioned that he needed to purchase a new tie. His son clamored to go with him, and proudly helped to pick out the new neckwear, delightedly trying it on before giving his judgment.

What points for special comment do you see in this episode?

18D16. Adolescent boys and girls frequently show a decided tendency to "loud" clothes and extreme styles. How can this fact be explained? What different attitudes might parents take toward such conduct? What effects would each of these attitudes be likely to have?

18D17. A committee presided over by Prof. Goodwin Watson of Columbia drew up the following annotated list of punishments applicable to school discipline. Give examples or parallels of each type as applied to parental discipline, as far as they do apply. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the positions taken in the comments made by the committee?

Defects of Corporal Punishment.

1. Teaches wrong things such as resentment or cunning. (Kilpatrick)
2. Does not train. (Judson)
3. Is not usually an immediate consequence.
4. Cannot be quantitatively measured.
5. Brutalizes the child. (Adler)
6. May break the child's spirit.
7. Tends to weaken the sense of shame and lessens the hope of moral improvement.

Expulsion and Suspension. This does not reform the wrong doer or protect society against the offender.

Ridicule. This promotes a feeling of inferiority.

Demerits and Fines. They give rise to an attitude that outward forfeiture can atone for anti-moral spirit which inspires act.

Extra School Tasks. School work becomes an affliction — a very bad attitude toward the work is developed.

Detention. No reform is carried out and wrong things such as resentment and day dreaming are taught.

Quick Rebuff or Rebuke. This depends upon the respect the pupil has for the teacher and upon the way in which it is given for its effectiveness. Properly administered, it appeals to the child's higher motives.

Punishments Having Character Building Values.

Those punishments which take into careful account the conditions bringing about an undesirable act.

Punishments which are proportionate to the seriousness of the fault to be corrected.

Punishments which are quick and decisive and not based on long moralizing harangues.

Those which are the natural consequences of the act committed. This is not practicable except in a few cases. Where they can be used without exacting too severe a penalty they are good. They may serve as a means to give the child confidence in parent's judgment.

Those which do not result in a sense of fear.

Those which do not lessen a child's self-respect.

Those which do not leave a sense of inferiority.

18D18. In a certain school the children are classified, on the basis of grades given by older students, as first, second, and third class citizens. The grades are supposed to be based on conduct and coöperation. Third class citizenship involves deprivation of privileges and a certain degree of disgrace. The older students consult with teachers about the grades which the students give. What favorable and unfavorable features do you see in this system?

18D19. Dr. Samuel Leopold of Philadelphia, in the *P. C. A. Herald*, of January, 1927, p. 8, published by the Pennsylvania Public Charities Association, says about "Temper Tantrums":

To fight is a natural impulse. The emotion of anger prepares the individual for the fight by placing at his ready command an increased supply of physical energy. While we do not wish to smother the aggressiveness or fighting instinct which has for its purpose the attainment of a desired end, we do wish to teach the child to meet situations rationally and without a prodigal expenditure of energy. Temper tantrums, being destructive in character, must be controlled or eliminated. They must be met on their first appearance in such a way that the child will be impressed that nothing will

be gained through such actions, in fact, that such actions lead to a disagreeable or painful experience.

What comments have you to make on this statement in the light of principles developed in our text?

18D20. Furfey, in his *The Gang Age*, p. 122, gives the following information about a certain group of boys of which he made a special study:

Nearly all the boys have chores to do around the house. The following six cases are typical instances.

A. Washing dishes, scrubbing vestibule, shoveling snow, sweeping sidewalk.

B. Keeping the garage and auto clean, cleaning the entry, cutting grass, taking up the ashes.

C. Running errands for a very large family.

D. Taking care of the furnace, cutting grass, bringing up coal and wood, shoveling snow, sometimes washing dishes, on Saturday help clean the house, *e.g.* by washing windows.

E. Running errands every Saturday, taking out the ashes about three times a week, drying the dishes about twice a week, and washing them about as often.

F. Chopping wood and taking care of the furnace and lawn, occasionally making minor household repairs.

How generally do boys nowadays have chores to do? Which of the above types are possible and which impossible in your neighborhood? What types of chores do the girls do? How important is it for children to have regular jobs? Should they be paid for them? If so, why, and on what basis? If not, why not?

18D21. Study the following case, presented by Dr. Frederick H. Allen, Director of the All-Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic in his mimeographed report for November 5, 1925:

Kenneth was referred to clinic at the age of 11½ because of stealing and untruthfulness. His offenses had been minor ones until shortly before his referral. Just previous to this, he had led his playmates in entering and robbing a neighbor's home. He had been arrested and taken to the juvenile court but was released upon probation. His foster mother — he was an adopted child — was quite upset and declared that she almost wished that he had been sent to a reformatory. Like many other foster parents, she was ready to regret that she had ever adopted a child.

She knew very little concerning Kenneth's own parents or his early development. She had adopted him when he was five years old. His first two

years had been spent in an orphan's home, the next three with a family who treated him very harshly. When he first came to her he was in constant terror of punishment, and would dodge even when she picked up the hair-brush to brush his hair. His present home was exceedingly comfortable, and he was given every care. The foster mother was a rather unexpressive, controlled type of personality, however, so that her affection was manifested in seeing that Kenneth had proper food, clothing, etc., rather than through any demonstrative manner toward the boy.

When the boy came to clinic, his physical condition was very good, and his intelligence was found to be normal. Both the physical and psychological examinations were negative so far as throwing any light on his conduct was concerned. The psychiatric examination presented a different picture. The outstanding feature of his chat with the psychiatrist was the evidence of the important part that imaginative and make-believe play held in his life. For a boy of his age, he had done an unusual amount of reading. Stories of ancient civilizations, of knighthood and chivalry, were his favorites. He also expressed a great fondness for movies, particularly those dealing with romantic themes, such as Sea Hawk, The Ten Commandments, Robin Hood, When Knighthood Was in Flower, etc. All these stories and movies were woven into the play activities of his group. Their favorite pastime was to dramatize the latest book or movie.

Kenneth was always the leader in their attempts to "act out" stories. Frequently, he entered too thoroughly into the character he was impersonating. For example, he had run away from boarding school with one of his playmates when they were pretending to be Robin Hood and his merry men. When anxious searchers found them in the woods, where they had lived for two days upon berries, Kenneth was still reveling in the spirit of the mad adventure, although his friend was completely disillusioned.

In view of the importance of the make-believe in Kenneth's mental life, his difficulties were explicable. His recent appearance in court was simply one episode. He and his playmates were trying to reproduce the discovery of King Tut's tomb. They had constructed pyramids and a sphinx in the back yard, but after the stage settings were completed, they lacked the proper costumes. They must have King Tut beads and belts, but none of their mothers could be interested in providing these. So they transformed themselves into a band of robbers, and looted the neighbor's house for funds. To Kenneth, the anticlimax was when his playmates insisted on spending their stolen treasure for sodas and candy instead of the beads and belts, rather than when he was arrested next day.

What features of this case illustrate points previously brought out in the text? What should be the essentials of the treatment given a boy of this type under these circumstances?

18D22. William H. Burnham, in an article in the *Survey* for May 15, 1926, p. 258, says:

> Such are some of the imperative aims of adolescent training:
> 1. Self discovery: and for that end an introduction to many activities.
> 2. Integration of the personality: and for that end training of attention.
> 3. The doing of a worth while task: and for that end a maximum of freedom.
> 4. Significant accomplishment: and for that end the habit of success.
> 5. The development of the fundamental social virtues: and for that end the development of interest in the fundamental forms of social welfare, together with social training.
> 6. Social success: and for that end the development of such superiority in something that one may render a distinct social service.

Which of these "imperatives" are logical corollaries of principles developed in our text? What other elements are presented here by Dr. Burnham?

18D23. Miriam Van Waters, in the *Survey* for November 1, 1926, p. 138, says:

> The world has paid tremendous costs for its changes. After wars, epidemics, revolutions, migrations, starvations, and industrial upheavals we have altered fundamentally our way of life and often for the better. Probably youth has a rôle to play in bringing about changes which has never been adequately recognized until lately. The tendency of the youth to differ from their parents is doubtless one of those formative forces that make for social growth if stimulated and guided with a view to construction.

How important do you consider the rôle of youth in bringing about changes? How, if at all, ought this function of youth to be facilitated?

18D24. When children propose some wild idea like building a tree house, or sleeping in the garage, or starting a cold drink stand on the front lawn, what should be the attitude of the wise parent?

18D25. Watson, in his *Behaviorism*, tells of an experiment in which a young child who was afraid of a rabbit was told interesting rabbit stories, shown pictures of nice rabbits, given models of rabbits to handle, and the like, and was still as much afraid as ever of *real* rabbits. What bearing has this experiment on child training? What bearing on the learning of sociology?

18D26. A certain little girl hated arithmetic. Every day when arithmetic period came around, she developed a stomach ache which required her absence from the room. What would you call this type

of behavior? What similar instances do you know of? What sorts of treatment might be applied?

18D27. A certain father developed a system of paying his children every night a bonus of three cents for good behavior. Each night at supper he asked for a report on behavior during the day, and, for small offenses, deducted one cent, for larger offenses two cents, and for considerable misbehavior the entire three cents. What arguments for and against this plan can you suggest?

The mother in this same family later took over this plan and gave out the money. Soon, however, she changed it so that the bonus was payed at the end of the week instead of every day. What effects would this change have?

18D28. What advantages are there in giving children allowances? How large should such allowances be? What, if anything, should the children be required to buy out of them?

18D29. In what ways might parents utilize the principles of contagious behavior in their control of children?

18D30. In certain wealthy families it has come to be the custom to employ professional entertainers at their children's parties. What advantages or disadvantages do you see in this plan?

18D31. Lillian Wald makes the following statement:

> There are many examples of touching fidelity to immigrant parents on the part of their grown children; a young man, who day after day, attends ceremonies which no longer express his religious convictions and who makes his vain effort to interest his Russian Jewish father in social problems; a daughter who might earn much more money as a stenographer could she work from Monday morning till Saturday night but who quietly and docilely makes neckties for low wages because she can thus abstain from work Saturdays to please her father.[1]

How far should children go in accommodation of this sort to the personalities of their parents?

18D32. Read the following statement by Miriam Van Waters:

> The truth is that the family is an ever present reality in the midst of changing concepts. In modern times we have seen it shorn of ancient duties and privileges, yet it survives. Children are born in hospitals. Infant feeding is an esoteric business that few homes can encompass without outside, technical assistance. Children's sicknesses are far better cared for by experts. Nur-

[1] *House on Henry Street*, pp. 247–8.

sery schools understand much more about habit and character training than average parents do. Education has been taken over by specialists. Adventure comes from summer camps. Books, pictures, storytelling, and handicrafts come from the library and the museum. The home is no longer equipped to give vocational training or to provide work for children. Homes lack adequate space to furnish recreation. Religion is taught by the church. Parental authority is supplemented by the school and the court.

Yet the family is none the worse.[1]

Can you think of any other functions which the family has lost in recent years? Can you think of any new functions which it has taken on? Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the conclusion "Yet the family is none the worse." What, if anything, should be done about trends in this matter?

18D33. Under what circumstances might family solidarity be socially pathological? What specific instances can you cite?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

18F1. Visit your local registrar of vital statistics and ask him how many unidentified dead human infants are found each year in your locality. Ask him to explain the causes for the phenomena reported. (Two hours)

18F2. Visit the most progressive private or public elementary or pre-school in your vicinity. Observe the work done, trying especially to discover what fundamental attitude toward children the teachers take, and just how this attitude works out.

18X3. Arrange to take care of a family of young children for at least two hours during the absence of the parents. What difficulties do you encounter? Give details. Talk over the children with one or both parents, in the absence of the children. What do the parents say as to the differences between the children? What problem do they find most difficult in relation to the treatment of the children? Write a brief summary of your experience. (Four hours)

18K4. Present your comments on Earnest Groves's "Parents Who Haven't Grown Up," in *Harper's Magazine* for October, 1925, pp. 571–9. (One hour)

18K5. Make a study to ascertain to what degree the conditions stated as follows as being true of Philadelphia families in 1926 are true

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 139.

of your own community, and what efforts are being made to avoid such developments:

Hundreds of families, poor and in trouble, cannot obtain in Philadelphia the help they need. Hundreds of other families are receiving assistance wholly inadequate to their necessities. Every day mothers are asking the courts and other agencies to take their children from them. These mothers are in poverty because of the death or incapacity of the bread winner and seek to place their children only because they cannot obtain the help they need from the organizations devoted to keeping children with their own parents. This condition has existed in Philadelphia for the last seven years.

Philadelphia in 1925 expended $1,178,015 in relief to families, *i.e.*, in supporting children at home with their own parents.

It expended $4,070,497 in caring for children in institutions and through child-placing agencies, *i.e.* away from their own homes and their own parents. Philadelphia's philanthropic expenditures have unfortunately been in the direction of breaking up the family rather than in keeping the family together. Experience has shown that this is contrary to the best interests of the children, is the most expensive method of child care, and is not in accord with the best practice in social work.

On April 1, 1926, the Trustees of the Mothers' Assistance Fund in Philadelphia were administering aid to 777 families with a total of 2,534 children under sixteen years of age. On the same date there were on the waiting list for care 622 families, some of whom had been waiting their turn to receive aid for a year and a half. In these families there were approximately 2,200 children under the age of sixteen years. Of these families on the waiting list there are many who frequently come back and write to appeal for help in situations that have become desperate, and the pictures these present are distressing in the extreme. They tell a story of hopeless wandering about in search of aid, with the undernourishment and even death of children, and the attempt at suicide on the part of one of the mothers.

The Jewish Welfare Society with its more limited field and better support has been able to respond to all calls of its people and to give adequately while the Family Society has not been able so to respond. It has even been obliged to make serious cuts in practically all the budgets of the families it was carrying, bringing them down to the bare necessities of rent and food. It is this inability to respond on the part of the agency to which the public naturally turns for help which constitutes one of the most serious features of the relief situation. There have been long seasons when no applications were received by the Family Society — from May till October in 1919, from October, 1924, to February, 1925; and again this spring it has been obliged to refuse new appeals for relief. Moreover, it has since October, 1919,

ruled against taking any applications of widows, and cases of straight unemployment have not been received since July 1, 1925.[1]

18K6. Around what problems of the Parent-Child relationship does the play *The Goose Hangs High* by L. Beach, revolve? To what degree would you regard the family described as typical of families who send their children to college? (Three hours)

18K7. Present your analysis of the case presented by Dr. Frances Sage Bradley in the *Survey* for November 15, 1926, pp. 220–1. (One hour)

18K8. In the *Survey* for January 1, 1927, pp. 433–9, Miriam Van Waters discusses, with instances, "Nineteen Ways of Being a Bad Parent." Try to relate these 19 types of mistake to the analysis of parental relations presented in our text. What additions or modifications does her material suggest? (Two hours)

18K9. Make a study of the campaign for a child labor amendment to the constitution of the United States, collecting especially data bearing upon the sources of the opposition to such an amendment. (Time credit to be arranged)

18K10. How much validity is there in the position taken by 12-year-old Elizabeth Benson in her article in *Vanity Fair* for September 1926, on "Are Children People?" (One hour)

18K11. Analyze the case presented in The *Family* for March, 1926, on "The Effect of an Unsatisfactory Mother-Daughter Relationship upon the Development of a Personality" by Dr. Jessie Taft. (Two hours)

18K12. What light upon sound principles of child training is shed by Mary B. Mullett's interview with Dr. F. E. Williams in the *Woman's Home Companion* for May, 1926, under the title: "Are You a Crape-Hanger?" (One hour)

18K13. Send 10 cents to the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, 370 Seventh Ave., N. Y. City, for Dr. D. A. Thom's pamphlet "Habit Training for Children." Analyze the rules there presented according to the general principles which we have been discussing. (Two hours)

18K14. Amy E. and Frank D. Watson, in *Progressive Education*, Vol. 3 (1926), pp. 323–32, summarize movements for parental education.

[1] Abstracted from the *Report of the Philadelphia Relief Study*, by William H. Pear, 1926.

Read the article, and then make a written report on the facilities for such education in your own community. (Time credit to be arranged)

18W15. Make an analysis of significant cases presented in *Case Studies in Educational and Vocational Guidance*, by John M. Brewer and Others, Ginn & Co., 1926. (Time credit to be arranged)

18W16. Bring up to date Ruth R. Pearson's summary of current literature on " The Behavior of the Preschool Child," in The *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 31 (May, 1926), pp. 800–11.

18W17. Review the symposium " Concerning Parents," published by the *New Republic*. (Four hours)

18W18. What insight into child psychology is displayed by A. A. Milne's *Winnie The Pooh?* (Two hours)

18W19. Go over the back numbers of *Children — The Magazine for Parents* and make an annotated list of the articles which they contain which are of the most scientific value in the study of the parent-child relation. (Time credit to be arranged)

18W20. Examine as many different studies of child psychology as you can, and make a comparative analysis of the stages through which they represent the child as passing. Upon what data do they base these conclusions? (Time credit to be arranged)

18W21. The present chapter has concentrated most of its attention upon the relationship of parents to children. Either individually, or coöperatively with other members of the class, gather the necessary materials, and build a chapter on " The Child-Parent Relation." (Time credit to be arranged)

18W22. Do the same for " The Teacher-Student Relation " or for " The Student-Teacher Relation."

CHAPTER XIX

CONFLICTS BETWEEN RACIAL AND CULTURAL GROUPS

The Chicago Race Riot. On the night of June 21, 1919, in Chicago, a Negro named Sanford Harris was returning to his home. He passed a group of young white men, who threatened him. As he started to run away one of the group shot him, and he died soon afterward. Policemen who came on the scene made no arrests, even when the assailant was pointed out by a white woman witness of the murder. On the same evening another Negro, Joseph Robinson, was attacked, apparently without provocation, while returning from work, by a gang of white " roughs," and was stabbed to death.

A little over a month later, on July 27, 1919, on a bathing beach used by hundreds of white and Negro bathers, a stone fight between the two races began over the imaginary boundary between the sections which they used. During this fight a Negro boy was drowned. A white policeman refused to arrest the white man pointed out by the crowd as having caused the drowning, but did at that moment arrest a Negro on complaint of a white man. Negroes then attacked the officer, who summoned help. A Negro fired into the group of policemen who were summoned, and was killed by a Negro policeman. These events brought to a head the racial antagonism which had been seething for some weeks, and a series of race riots developed in which 38 persons were killed, 537 injured, and about 1,000 rendered homeless and destitute. After three days of almost uncontrolled mob violence the state militia was called out. It was not until August 6 that danger of further clashes was regarded as past.

This Chicago riot was not the first violent manifestation of race antagonism in Illinois. In 1908 Springfield had been the scene of an outbreak, and in 1917 East St. Louis was torn by a bitter and destructive riot which raged for nearly a week, and was the subject of a Congressional investigation. Other cities besides Chicago, moreover, had serious outbreaks of interracial violence in the year following the World

War. The same summer witnessed the riot in Washington, D. C., about a month later; and then the week of armed conflict in a rural district of Arkansas due to exploitation of Negro cotton producers.[1]

The Negro Problem Is Part of a Much Broader Problem. Why do outbreaks of this sort occur? Is it some special result of the past enslavement of Negroes by whites, or of the peculiar history of the relations between these races since the Civil War? One might think so but for the fact that we shall find that the antagonisms between Americans and Japanese on the west coast, or between Jews and Gentiles in New York, or between Mexicans and citizens of the southwestern states, or between Italians and immigrants of earlier years, are essentially similar to the antagonism between Negroes and whites. Each of these conflicts has its special aspects, but the central and basic causes are the same, and it is toward discovering these underlying antagonizers that this chapter is directed.

Groups That Look or Act Differently Are Treated Differently. Antagonisms between racial or cultural groups have essentially the same causes as other social antagonisms — that is, they arise from conflicts between the opposing groups over the use of the same land or houses or equipment, or over the holding of jobs, or over attempts at exploitation of one group by the other, or over implications of inferiority or superiority. But racial and cultural conflicts have this special peculiarity, that they are organized about the differences felt between members of the opposing groups. Strictly speaking, *racial* conflicts occur between groups of people set off from each other by some obvious physical characteristic; people of black skin arrayed on one side, and people of white skin on the other, or people with Japanese eyes and complexion on one side and people with other sorts of eyes and complexion on the other. Actually, however, the classification is likely to include a great many strictly cultural characteristics.

Often language is the test. People who speak Yiddish, or who go to stores and theaters with Hebrew signs on them come to be classed as Jews. During the War, people who spoke German, or even who had German names, were often classed as "enemies." Instances in which the mere speaking of Russian got people into trouble during and just after the War were frequent:

[1] References in this chapter to the Chicago race riots are based on *The Negro in Chicago*, the official report of the Chicago *Commission on Race Relations*, University of Chicago Press, 1922.

In Duquesne, Pennsylvania, a representative of a government bureau lecturing on "Abraham Lincoln and American Democracy" to Russians was arrested and imprisoned as a Bolshevik because he lectured in Russian. It took the government thirty-six hours to free its own agent. He said: "After they found out who I was and set me free, I asked the mayor of the city whether he would allow me to deliver my lecture now. He said that he would not." [1]

Often the symbol around which the culture conflict is organized is some form of religious behavior, such as crossing oneself, using a rosary, refusing to eat pork, saying "Thee" and "Thy," having certain religious images or pictures, or praying toward the East at certain hours. Or the sign of belonging to one or the other of antagonistic culture groups may depend upon a wide range of varieties of behavior — singing certain songs, dancing certain dances, eating certain foods, or even eating the same food in a peculiar way. For instance Jane Addams tells of the superior little Italian boy who refused to sit beside uncouth little Angelina because "we eat macaroni this way," — imitating the movement of a fork from the plate to his mouth, — "and she eat her macaroni this way," holding his hand high in the air and throwing back his head, that his wide-open mouth might receive an imaginary cascade.[2]

Outstanding among the badges of cultural differences, of course, is costume. The Chinese laundryman in native dress attracts insults and abuse from street gamins who would ignore him in European dress; an East Indian in turban and flowing robes sets himself off when in ordinary American clothing he might pass unobserved.

But these symbols may still all be lacking and yet the individual may incur the antagonism given his racial or cultural group if he simply gets applied to him the group name. The guest who is cordially welcomed at the summer resort, or the student who is being urged to enter a school or to join a fraternity, may meet with sudden chilling rebuff if it comes out that he is a Jew. The almost perfectly white girl, who has been taken enthusiastically into a social group, may find herself an outcast if it comes to be known that she has a trace of negro blood. That it is having the name of the group rather than having its characteristics that brings antagonism, is brought out by the reactions of people who mistake other individuals for members of a hated race:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 32, quoted from Jerome Davis, *The Russian Immigrant*, Macmillan 1922, p. 171.

[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 103.

An East Indian who attended a religious convention in Washington a few years ago walked into a cheap restaurant and ordered milk and sandwiches. After a while the waiter came back with the sandwiches but brought no milk. To an inquiry he replied, "We cannot sell you milk." After more questions the waiter confessed that in a white restaurant they were not supposed to sell to colored people. The Indian explained that he was not a Negro and showed him his delegate's badge, telling who he was. The waiter then apologized profusely.[1]

On board an Italian liner, writes an American woman on vacation in Europe, I observed a young woman palpably with colored blood. It was not difficult to recognize her as a southern Italian with an African mixture, whether near or far back.

This woman shared a cabin with two women, one of them of Irish birth, long in the United States and married to an Italian; the other an Italian from Massachusetts, never wholly Americanized. The latter confided to me they were both exceedingly disturbed when they came on board and found they would have to be with a "negress," and that they were much relieved when they discovered that the woman was Italian.[2]

People Make Individual Negroes or Japanese Suffer for the Defects of the Worst Members of Their Races. The very essence of race prejudice, or culture group antagonism, is that the individuals identified with the hated group are not accepted on their merits, but are at once regarded with all of the antagonism which has been built up against the group as a whole, or against its least desirable members. It is a special case of linkage. Persons who despise Negroes have linked up in their minds the concept "Negro" with a whole group of undesirable characteristics — laziness, immorality, disease, criminality, ignorance, mental inferiority, and the like. Negroes as a class tend to be put into this person's anti-personality. Any individual Negro, then, even if he have a Ph.D. degree, or is the president of a bank, or is a distinguished musician, is likely to incur the aversion built up for Negroes as a group. For instance, Constantine Panunzio, in *The Soul of an Immigrant*, tells the following incident:

The Italian Government was about to open a sub-consulate in the city of Portland, and Signor V. was assigned to the post of Vice-Consul. He was a man of fine and keen intelligence, tall and pleasing in appearance, and a gentleman in every sense of the word. I assured him that we would be able to find a desirable dwelling for him and his family, but everywhere we were

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 151. [2] *Ibid.* case 3.

turned down. Finally I discovered that the chairman of the Committee which was in charge of the Mission I was serving had a house for rent, but even he was not ready to rent a house to the Italian Vice-Consul.

"And why?" I asked. "Because the neighbors would object to having an Eyetalian next door to them." [1]

The same point of view is expressed more subtly in the action of the lady in the following incident:

A son of a leading lawyer of Naples came to this country and was soon holding a fine position and making a good living. He met at church an American lady who told him that she would be very glad to see him the next day at her house. At the appointed hour our young gentleman went there and handed his card to the servant. "Oh, yes," she said, "the lady gave me something for you," and she thrust into his hand a dilapidated suitcase and a note. The note said:

Dear Sir:

I have been called away suddenly, but my maid will give you the article which I intended to present to you in asking you to call. As I no longer have use for this suitcase perhaps it would serve you on your next trip to Italy.

Trusting to see you at church next Sunday,

Sincerely yours, . . . [2]

Individuals Try to Escape from Repressed Groups. The fact that members of races and of culture groups regarded as inferior suffer from all the contempt, abuse, and repression of their group no matter how superior they themselves may be, puts upon them a strong urge to escape from the despised group at the earliest opportunity. Jane Addams says:

We were often distressed by the children of immigrant parents who were ashamed of the pit whence they were digged, who repudiated the language and customs of their elders, and counted themselves successful as they were able to ignore the past.[3]

The escape may be relatively easy when the badge of the group is merely language, costume, religion, or customs, though even here there is a rupture of personality which produces painful conflict on the part of those who escape and on the part of those left behind. When the

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 142.

[2] *Ibid.* Case 49, From Enrico C. Sartorio, *The Social and Religious Life of Italians in America*, Christopher Publishing House, 1918, p. 54.

[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 36–7.

badge is an obvious racial difference, escape becomes more difficult. Each Negro generation, however, contains a large number of individuals who are so nearly white as to be able to pass successfully as members of that race. That a multitude of mulattoes take advantage of their light color to "go white" is admitted by all who know the facts. Indeed, it can be shown from census data that at least a quarter of a million Negroes per decade successfully break away from the colored race and establish themselves as white. Census data also indicate that the same sort of thing is happening among the foreign born.[1]

Racial Invasion as a Cause of Conflict. Racial and cultural conflicts, then, develop between groups set off from each other by some obvious difference either in bodily appearance or in cultural behavior, such as speech, costume, religious practices, diet, or the like. But the conflicts which occur between the groups thus set off are essentially the same as social conflicts between husband and wife, or parents and children, or between economic groups. As in all types of social relations, a basic source of racial and cultural conflict is the question of rivalry over the use of the sub-social environment.

It follows from the discussion in the chapter on "The Dynamics of Personality" that the amount of emotional intensity generated in a racial or cultural conflict will depend in part upon how serious a menace the native whites think the Negro or immigrant group behavior makes toward the expanded personalities of the native whites. The attack may come in the form of encroachments by the new group upon territory or facilities or jobs which the native whites have regarded as their group property. An editorial in the *Survey* for December 15, 1925, p. 369, cites the following instance as presented in a report published by the Portland, Oregon, Council of Churches:

> Japanese labor was brought into Toledo last spring by the Pacific Spruce Corporation. A resolution protesting against bringing in Japanese was at once passed by a citizens' mass meeting and also by the Business Men's League and the Chamber of Commerce. The Japanese labor agency refused to send workmen to Toledo unless these resolutions were rescinded, as proof that the sentiment of the community had changed.
>
> Following the application of pressure on the part of the mill, the resolution was withdrawn at a joint meeting of the Business Men's League and the Chamber of Commerce by a vote of 45 to 11. A few days later the Lincoln County Protective League was organized "to protect the community

[1] Hornell Hart, *Selective Migration*, pp. 28–31.

from the employment of Japanese labor or any other Oriental labor." Thirty-five Japanese were nevertheless brought to Toledo and quartered in houses built for the purpose on mill property. The next day a mob of five hundred citizens forced their way to the Japanese quarters and compelled the Japanese to leave immediately. Five of the mob leaders were arrested and then released. Neither the mill nor the local officials prosecuted the case.

Resentment against Negro invasion of "white" occupations is shown in the following incidents:

William Townsend, a Negro, passed the requirements for appointment to the fire department of East Orange, N. J. When he was called and reported for duty the dozen or more firemen who stood smoking or lounging about remained rigidly fixed and silent to his morning's greeting. In the rounds of the day, as Townsend repaired upstairs they repaired down and *vice versa*. Soon racial epithets intended to be insulting poured forth. When Townsend returned to his room from exercising, his clothing had been virtually destroyed. While asleep, the Negro was covered with an itching powder. On his return from medical treatment he found his fire coat cut into bits; later his rubber equipment was thrown from the rig and placed under the wheels of the engine. His boots were stolen and hidden.[1]

A colored doctor of medicine in New Orleans told me the case of a friend of his born in a town on the banks of the Mississippi. He left home for college, graduated, and returned a qualified medical man. He opened practice in his native town, his clients being those of his own race, as custom would not allow him to treat white patients, although the white practitioners had no scruple in treating Negroes. He heard rumors of trouble which culminated in his receiving from the practicing medical men of the town notice to quit. He was given to understand he would leave the town without a stain on his character — they had nothing against him personally, but they would not have a Negro doctor in the place. He had no alternative but to go and seek to make a living elsewhere.[2]

Bernard J. Newman, managing director of the Philadelphia Housing Association gives the following instance:

In September, 1923, two colored nurses bought a house on Cumberland Street in the 2400 block. People in the neighborhood broke the windows, disconnected the bath tub, turned on the water in the house, wrote K.K.K. on the wall and woodwork.[3]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 98.

[2] *Ibid.* case 85, from Maurice S. Evans, *Black and White in the Southern States*, Longmans, Green & Co., 1915, p. 161.

[3] *Ibid.* case 144.

The Chicago race riot, referred to at the beginning of this chapter, had its fundamental cause in the fact that the Negro population of the city increased from 44,000 in 1910 to 110,000 in 1920, an increase to two and one-half times its former size. This sudden increase in population necessarily involved for great numbers of whites invasion of their personalities at various points by persons of a markedly different race, considered by many of them to be inferior. This invasion was felt vividly in the matter of housing. The report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations says on this point:

> Practically no new building had been done in the city during the war, and it was a physical impossibility for a doubled Negro population to live in the space occupied in 1915. Negroes spread out of what had been known as the "Black Belt" into neighborhoods nearby which had been exclusively white. This movement developed friction, so much so that in the "invaded" neighborhoods bombs were thrown at the houses of Negroes who had moved in, and of real estate men, white and Negro, who sold or rented property to the newcomers. From July 1, 1917, to July 27, 1919, the day the riot began, twenty-four such bombs had been thrown. The police had been entirely unsuccessful in finding those guilty, and were accused of making little effort to do so.[1]

Another connection in which racial contacts and invasions of personality occurred was on crowded street cars. The commission says:

> Transportation contacts, at least on crowded cars, involve physical contact between Negroes and whites, which rarely occurs under other circumstances and sometimes leads to a display of racial feeling. . . . Most of the difficulties in transportation contacts generally complained of seem to have centered around the first blundering effort of migrants to adjust themselves to northern city life. . . . On the afternoon following the drowning of Eugene Williams, white men and boys living between the Stock Yards and the "Black Belt" sought malicious amusement in directing mob violence against Negro workers returning home. Street-car routes, especially transfer points, were thronged with white people of all ages. Trolleys were pulled from wires and the cars brought under the control of mob leaders. Negro passengers were dragged to the street, beaten, and kicked. The police were apparently powerless to cope with these numerous assaults. Four Negro men and one white assailant were killed, and thirty Negro men were severely beaten in the street-car clashes.[2]

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 3.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 6, 619, and 621.

In the actual rioting these transportation contacts apparently served simply as stimuli to set off an antagonism already at high tension. The basic points of personality invasion seem to have been in matters of housing, at the bathing beach, and to a less extent in the use of other recreational facilities. Because labor was in such intense demand during the war the entrance of Negroes into Chicago industries was not so much resented.

Racial Vengeance for a "Hero." The antagonisms just referred to grew up out of invasions felt by the dominant race to be menacing to the expanded personalities of the group. In the cases cited the elements menaced were chiefly sub-social — residence areas, jobs, and the like. But the same process works out similarly when a person held dear by a group is attacked by members of a racially or culturally different group. The *Survey* gives this instance:

On the brown Jersey flats, not far from Perth Amboy and Elizabeth, there are a number of "black towns," settlements of Negroes who work in the big industrial plants, or do hand laundry and other domestic service for "summerers". Late in April, John Carroll, Caucasian by race and boxer by profession, was killed in Carteret, a little town containing one of these small Harlems, by an unidentified Negro. John Carroll was by way of being a hero among the rougher element of the community. A mob of 150 of his friends, a few of them men, but most of them youngsters, set about avenging his death by terrorizing all Negro residents of the vicinity. Colored citizens passing peaceably along the streets were set upon, beaten, kicked and in at least five instances badly injured. The little Negro church was burned to the ground in spite of the young pastor's plea that the mob "respect God's sanctuary." The Fair Haven School at Red Bank, attended by Negro pupils exclusively, was also burned, and according to the *Times*, Raymond Davision, chief of the Fire Department, "said he had found unmistakable evidences of arson." The Negroes fled the community in terror, whole families hastily gathering together a few possessions and creeping away under cover of darkness.

There is reason for believing that Carroll's murder was only one of several causes that led to the outbreak. For some time there has been "trouble" between white and colored labor in the chemical factories and other local industries, the same kind of friction that led to the ghastly "race riot" in Chicago several years ago.

Conflicts over Racial and Cultural Inferiority. Closely related to rivalry over the use and control of residence areas, jobs, recreation facilities, transportation, and the like is rivalry as to the relative

superiority of the two groups. As was shown in the chapter on Cultural Functioning, every group tends to think of its own culture as superior to other cultures. We all tend to exalt everything that is part of our expanded personality; hence we inevitably tend to exaggerate the value of our own culture. Not only do ardent Christians regard Christianity as vastly superior to Mohammedanism and Buddhism, but ardent Mohammedans and Buddhists regard their religions as vastly superior to each other and to Christianity. Not only do Europeans and Americans regard Occidental culture as vastly superior to Oriental, but Orientals regard their culture as vastly superior to that of western peoples. Not only do many Americans feel intensely superior to Europeans in idealism, but many Europeans feel that the old world has an ethical point of view vastly superior to that of Americans. When these conflicting points of view come into close and dramatic contact the extreme sensitiveness of human beings to being regarded as inferior makes natural the development of inter-cultural antagonism.

This sense of group superiority is illustrated by the reactions of a city official in California when approached on the subject of a scientific survey of race relations. He said:

"The white race is ordained to rule. As soon as the colored races get the idea of equality or of mixing in their heads, social and racial balance is upset and anarchy begins. The man who tries to give these people any gleam of hope of changing their status is a public enemy and comparable to those long-haired Boston reformers who have tried to educate the Nigger. Your survey plan is all bunk. California knows more in ten minutes how to handle these Japs than your Eastern folks will know in a thousand years. You had better tell your New York committee to forget it, and not mess into a situation that they know nothing about." [1]

In the United States the dominant group has been the native white Americans. Negroes and immigrants have done the lowest paid and most disagreeable work, have lived in the most crowded, run down, and undesirable houses, and have in general been fitted into our civilization in a position of inferiority. This situation has been accepted by the great majority of native whites as a natural and desirable arrangement. But individuals and groups among the Negroes and among the immigrant peoples have aspired to rise out of their inferior position and assume equality with whites. Attempts of this sort have been re-

[1] Quoted by J. M. Davies, *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 140.

garded as a menace to their expanded personalities by many of those who pictured themselves as inherently superior to members of other races and cultures. Each of the following instances illustrates some phase of this tendency:

I worked in a book store which was managed by a young white fellow from Georgia, writes a Negro student. The manager disliked colored people very much, and whenever any came into the store his air was far from pleasant. I stood this as long as I could. One day I said to him "Why do you hate us so? It isn't because of our color. If it were merely this, you would paint your Ford car white, shave off your black hair, and sell all the black chickens in your yard. I'll tell you why. Your hatred is aroused only when you see us attempting to be your equals. It is an envious fear."

"That's a lie," he retorted with an oath.

Continuing, I said, "If I came here with no collar on, my shoes burst on side, and generally unkempt, if I called you 'Cap' and 'Boss' and allowed you to kick me whenever you felt like it, you would be telling your friends that I was a 'good nigger,' and you would be willing to make any reasonable sacrifice on my behalf. But if I came with a clean collar on, shoes polished, and generally neat in appearance, answered you 'yes' and 'no' and could talk with you intelligently about any question of interest, you would tell your friends that I was a 'bigoted nigger.'"

"I'll be blamed if you aren't right! I had never thought about it that way."[1]

Some years ago at Blue Ridge, North Carolina, a college girl who was attending a conference came to me in distress and said she was short of money and needed work to pay for her entertainment. We did not need another worker, but to help her we opened the way for her to join the other college girls who were serving in the dining hall. She prepared her table for the first meal, but when the guests were seated there was no waitress. She had disappeared. When found, her only explanation was that she simply could not do it — that is, she could not do what had once been the office of slaves — and in her own home had always been the task of Negro maids.

The secretary of a charitable organization in the South who had been brought up in the North came in for much criticism when he went counter to the deep-rooted objection of using the term Miss or Mrs. in reference to colored members of his staff. Some of these women were college trained, of mature years, and undoubted position and character. It was impossible for him to fall in with the custom of the white members of the board, and other white citizens, to address these colleagues as Mary, Jane, and the like.[3]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 50.
[2] *Ibid.* case 46, from W. D. Weatherford.
[3] *Ibid.* case 47.

Long before Hollywood was settled by eastern Americans or became the Mecca of the moving picture industry, it was occupied by the Japanese and was cultivated as Japanese gardens. The rise in property values, and the tremendous development of the district in recent years have crowded the Japanese out, but there is still quite a handful of them in the center of the Hollywood district.

Not long ago the Presbytery of Los Angeles organized a Japanese church among them, and a lot was purchased to erect a church. Protests of infuriated property owners delayed the erection, and the city building department was influenced not to grant a permit. At a mass meeting, circulars were distributed which declared: "You sent your children to our schools; we stood for it. You opened up your fruit stands; we stood for it. Now you want to build a church, and we will not stand for it." It is to be understood that the structure which these Japanese desired to build was not a Buddhist temple but an evangelical church, and as such would tend to make the people who worshiped there less like Japanese and more like Americans.[1]

At a national conference in Washington, the ten Negro delegates who were on hand to take part in a discussion on Negro Migration Northward, with two exceptions either rode on the freight elevator or walked up the nine flights of stairs to the meeting. A colored professor was finally able to ride up on the elevator accompanied by a white member of the society. When he got on the elevator to come down the operator did not notice him until the third floor. He reversed the elevator and returned to the ninth floor. He ordered the colored man off. Upon the latter's refusal to comply, two passengers pitched him off the elevator and asked him why he did not return to the jungles of Africa. A policeman was called and forced the colored man down on the freight elevator. The society was unable to get the manager of the hotel to permit colored members to ride in the passenger elevator. So the conference moved down to the first floor.[2]

At the time of the war a northern colored man was commissioned in the U. S. Army. He was ordered to proceed to the School of Fire at Fort Sill, Oklahoma. Since the journey to Fort Sill would take several days, he naturally took a Pullman sleeping-car. At a small town in Oklahoma, although he was wearing the uniform of an officer of the U. S. Army, he was dragged from the train, beaten, thrown into jail, fined next morning for disturbing the peace, and sent out of town on the Jim Crow car.[3]

The effect of having one's personality attacked by being regarded as inferior should be perfectly plain from previous discussions. The

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 175.

[2] *Ibid.* case 155, from *Opportunity* for June, 1923, and February, 1924, with additions from correspondence.

[3] *Ibid.* case 146.

following quotation from a letter written by a Russian laborer from Ohio serves as an illustration:

> We have here too many Americans. I worked in other places, and have only seen a few of them. But here wherever you go you see Americans, and they look upon you as if you were a low thing and they were great men. I hate them![1]

Injustice Aggravates Group Antagonisms. When a racial or cultural group is regarded as inherently inferior, and particularly when it comes to be classed with the anti-personalities of a dominant group, one result is that the people against whom antagonism is felt are no longer treated as if entitled to justice. They are classed as enemies, as out-siders. Just as primitive people felt that it was despicable to injure a member of the in-group, but praiseworthy to injure a member of the out-group, so there is a tendency for native whites to feel at times that economic privileges, humanitarian considerations, and even political and legal rights, do not belong to the Negro, or the Japanese, or the Mexican, or the Italian.

Since the problem at this point involves a great deal of controversy, let us try provisionally to define the meaning of racial and cultural injustice. Let us say tentatively that when members of one group, purely because of this membership, are given less favorable treatment than members of other groups, and when this difference in treatment is not a necessary result of the cultural or racial differences, then injustice is done. This may be made clearer by some cases of unfavorable treatment based on race and culture which are not unjust. If a Russian woman who could not speak English applied for a position as a teacher in a public school in the United States, the rejection of her application would not be unjust. If a black-skinned actor sought to be cast as Julius Caesar in a moving picture it would not be unjust to refuse him the opportunity to serve as this character on account of his color and features. If a Baptist asked to be given a chance to serve as altar boy in a Catholic cathedral, it would not be unjust to take his religion into account in considering his application. With this tentative definition in mind, consider the following instances of racial and cultural discrimination:

> A Negro woman student asked the ticket agent in a North Carolina station when her train would be due. She continues: "As the man did not

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 184.

answer, I thought that he had not heard and asked the question the second time. At this he looked up and said in a rather exasperated manner, 'Damn it, I don't know. It may come in three hours and it may come in six. Just wait until it does.' I turned away. Just behind there was a white man who asked the same question. I heard the ticket agent say in a very courteous manner that the train was due in four hours, but that it was usually an hour or so late."[1]

A colored college professor went to a hotel in a southern city to take a foreign visitor out to his school. Three white men sitting in the lobby told him to take off his hat. He refused to do so as all the other men had their hats on in the lobby. The three men threatened him with violence. The clerk asserted his neutrality in the affair. The colored man left the hotel.

The dentists of an eastern state held a convention in a large city. A few days before the convention met, the colored dentists of the city received word from their professional brethren that they might attend the convention provided they used the fire escape at the rear of the building and sat in seats that would be reserved for them.[2]

Real and Alleged Employment Discrimination. Not long ago a young Mexican of good family, accompanied by a social worker, went to an employment office in San Francisco to seek work. The man in charge of the bureau inquired as to the applicant's nationality and on learning that he was a Mexican replied that there was no work to be had.

Later on, the Mexican youth, still in great need of work, returned to the same office to apply again. When asked for his nationality he said that he was Spanish from Argentina, whereupon his application was duly entered without the slightest objection.[3]

The following evidence of the feeling of many foreign-born that they are discriminated against in the assignment of jobs comes from the investigators' notebooks in the Interchurch World Movement inquiry into the steel strike of 1919:

M. U., a Czech, feels that he is discriminated against because he is a hunky. Several times when he has asked for promotion he has been told that the good jobs are not for hunkies.

A. T., a Czech, worked during the war as a millwright but had been demoted since and feels that he is discriminated against because he is a hunky.

P. Y., a Lithuanian, six years a citizen, declares that while wages are insufficient, his chief grievance is discrimination and contempt. The foreigners are given the dirtiest and hardest jobs and are lorded over by the skilled

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 147. [2] *Ibid.* case 88. [3] *Ibid.* case 80.

American workers. He is always told to wait by the foreman when he asks for a better job, although his hands are maimed because of the hard work which he must do. In the meantime young Americans who have worked in the mills only a short time are promoted over him to the better jobs.

K., a Pole, says that the foreigners get the hardest and most unpleasant jobs, and are always discriminated against. It makes no difference about the foreigner's ability or whether he speaks English, he is looked down upon, and considered fit only for jobs Americans won't take.[1]

About three years ago, the post office of a California city, according to its custom, had advertised that the Civil Service examinations for employees in the office would be held at a certain time. Two colored girls passed with the highest marks for the particular positions that were vacant. They were called into the office and told by the postmaster, with expressions of his profound regret, that they must step aside and allow white women to take the positions although they had every right to them. He told them that if they insisted on their right, every one would leave the employment of the post office; and that he could not have the whole of his office personnel disorganized by injecting colored girls into their midst. He admitted that there were a number of colored mail carriers in the city, but argued that the case was different. He put it up to the girls to say how, in view of the situation, he could possibly act differently.[2]

Not long ago, a colored man graduated from a good engineering school. Just before commencement the school received a letter from a large corporation asking for five of their graduates and guaranteeing them positions at $3500 per annum and a chance for promotion if they made good. Among the five men sent to them was the Negro. Following commencement they reported to the office of the corporation. The colored man was the first to be shown into the private office of the president, who looked at him for a minute without saying a word and then asked, "Are you Mr. Jones?" "Yes." "Well — er — just wait a few minutes."

The president left the room and after a while returned and said, "Come back in the morning and we will give you work. Good morning."

The next day Jones returned. The president was all apologies, but they had found that they only had room for four men. If they needed more they would let him know without fail, and so forth — the same old story. Jones never heard from the corporation again.[3]

A young man who had given four years of satisfactory service as an elevator tender in a New England city lost his job through a disagreement with his employer. He walked the streets for two weeks in search of steady employment, without success. Then he went to an officer of a church institution who knew him and asked for his help in finding a job.

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 79. [2] *Ibid.* case 71. [3] *Ibid.* case 86.

A day or two later this gentleman found in the want column of one of the daily papers an advertisement for a teamster with the name and address of a well-known local steam laundry. He immediately inquired whether the place was still open. On learning that the young man was connected with one of the city churches, that he was honest, reliable, industrious, temperate, and physically strong, the manager on the telephone said: "Please send him in, we shall be glad to talk with him." "But suppose you find when you see him that he is a Negro?" "Oh, is that so? Well, I am sorry, but I fear we could not employ him." "Why not?" "Well, er — er — er — we couldn't put a colored man on our team, for our customers would kick and we should lose trade. I am sorry, but it would be useless for him to come in. Good-by."[1]

Wage and Rent Contrasts. Other contrasts are economic. According to a resolution recently passed by the Organization of Teachers of Colored Children of the State of New Jersey, Negro teachers in the counties of Salem, Cape May, Cumberland, and Monmouth are in many cases receiving from $100 to $200 less annually than white teachers. This difference, it was claimed, was based on racial grounds only and not on consideration of the teacher's worth. The resolution voiced the opinion that this salary preference was breaking down the morale of the teaching force and attracted an inferior grade of teacher to the colored schools, thus denying the children in these schools equal educational opportunities.[2]

The manager of a large lithographing establishment that was greatly in need of labor, stated that the initial wage was $10 a week. But the colored girls who applied for positions there were offered $7. When the employer was questioned concerning the discrepancy in wages he stated that that was the wage paid to white girls and he really was not aware of the amount paid to colored girls, although in one department they were doing the same work. He said he was ready to assure any colored girl that her wages would be rapidly increased if she showed a willingness to stay. And yet one of his colored girls interviewed started at $7 a week and did not receive a raise until three months later, and then she had to ask for it: another worked five months before her wage was increased to $9. A white girl who started at $10 was given a raise of $1 after two weeks.

Colored girls had worked for months as assistants to the press feeders, but when a vacancy came as pressfeeder, a white girl who had been there only a few weeks was given the job. The employer apparently did not realize that there might be any connection between this and the exceedingly high turn-over among the colored labor, and the continual friction between the white and the colored in his shop.[3]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 77.

[2] *Ibid.* case 84, from *N. Y. Times* for Feb. 17, '24.

[3] *Ibid.* case 82, from *Colored Women as Industrial Workers in Philadelphia*, Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania.

Bernard J. Newman, of the Philadelphia Housing Association, tells the following:

On January 7th, 1924, an inspection was made at 1942 N. 21st Street. At that time, the house was occupied by three *white* American families, one of which was renting the house for $60 a month, and subletting one room on the second floor for $20 a month and two rooms on the third floor for $25 a month. In April, 1924, an inspector found the house occupied by three *colored* families, each paying rent separately to the agent. The first floor now pays $45 a month, the second pays $12.50 a week or $56.25 a month, and the third floor $12.50 a week or $56.25 a month, making a total rent from the house $157.50.

We have not hitherto found rental rates in areas occupied by both Negroes and whites appreciably higher for the former, says Mr. Newman. We have made three comprehensive surveys in the past in such areas. However, in December, 1923, when our last rent study was made, we did find that Negro rentals had increased more than rentals for white families of the same economic grade. This, I believe, is due more to the extraordinary recent influx of Negroes and is a reaction to the housing shortage rather than racial prejudice. There are individual cases, of course, where prejudice reacts against expansion of the Negro population.

Exploitation of Immigrant Ignorance. The term "injustice" is hardly strong enough to cover the innumerable instances in which the lack of education, absence of business experience, ignorance of the English language or economic and political helplessness of a group of people is used to exploit them. The following instances simply suggest types of which great numbers of cases could be collected.

Lillian Wald was searching for a patient in a large tenement in the Bowery. She says:

I knocked at each door in turn. An Italian woman hesitatingly opened one, no wider than to give me a glimpse of a slight creature obviously stricken with fear. Her face brought instantly to my mind the famous picture of the sorrowing mother. "Dolorosa," I said. The tone and the word sufficed, and she opened the door wide enough to let me enter. In a corner of the room lay two children with marks of starvation upon them.

Laying my hat and bag upon the table, to indicate that I would return, I flew to the nearest grocery for food, taking time, while my purchases were being made ready, to telephone to a distinguished Italian upon whose interest and sympathy I could rely to meet me at the tenement, that we might learn the cause of this obvious distress.

My friend arrived before I had finished feeding the children, and to him the

little mother poured forth her tale. She, with three little children, had arrived some days before, to meet the husband who had preceded her and had prepared the home for them. One *bambina* was ill when they reached port, and it was taken from her, why she could not explain. She was allowed to land with the other two, and join her husband, and the following day, in answer to their frantic inquiries, they learned that the child had been taken to a hospital and had died there. Then her husband was arrested, and she, unacquainted with a single human being in the city, found herself alone with two starving children, too frightened to open the door or to venture upon the street. She thought her husband was imprisoned somewhere nearby.

My friend and I went together to the Ludlow Street jail, and here a curious thing occurred. We merely inquired for the prisoner; we asked no questions. His cell door was opened and he was released. Later I learned that he had been arrested because of failure to make a satisfactory payment on a watch he was buying on the installment plan. There must have been gross irregularity in the transaction judging by the willingness to release him and the fact that his creditor failed to appear against him. It was hinted at the time, that there was collusion between the installment plan dealers and the prison officials.[1]

John R. Commons gives the following outline of a typical form of exploitation of immigrants:

These people have worked for a number of years saving up money. It is their ambition to buy a home or get a farm. They see an advertisement in one of the foreign language papers. They learn of glowing possibilities. They buy the farm. They place a mortgage on it or sign a land contract. They go on the farm, find a sandy soil, with much clearing to be done. They work it a year of so and use up their money. The mortgage is foreclosed and they scatter back to the city.[2]

Lillian Wald says:

It is impossible to compute the sums that have been lost by immigrants through fake banks, fake express companies, and irresponsible steamship agencies.

Exploitation of the ignorance of language and customs usually favors the native white against other groups. Sometimes it works in the opposite direction, as in this case cited by Eliot G. Mears in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 148:

[1] *House on Henry Street*, pp. 287–8. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 4–5.

Throughout California, Orientals have been generally considered better risks than any one else and they have secured funds more readily. In the rice-growing districts a great many bankers, land-owners and merchants are still suffering from the losses entailed in 1920, when credit was extended to any one who even entertained the idea of planting rice. When heavy rains caught the rice crop before it was harvested, a great loss was inevitable. That happened in 1920. The greatest blow, to those who had extended credit, came when the bulk of the Hindus simply changed their names and ignored any responsibility for their indebtedness.

Political and Legal Injustices. Sometimes the laws themselves discriminate against racial or cultural groups. The psychological effect of laws limiting the rights of racial groups is suggested in a note by the Japanese ambassador on June 4, 1913, in which he expressed the attitude of his government as follows:

The provisions of law, under which it is held that Japanese people are not eligible to American citizenship, are mortifying to the government and people of Japan, since the racial distinction inferable from these provisions is hurtful to their just national susceptibility. . . . When that distinction is made use of, as in the present case, for the purpose of depriving Japanese subjects of rights and privileges of a civil nature, which are freely granted in the United States to other aliens, it becomes the duty of the Imperial Government, in the interest of the relations of cordial friendship and good understanding between the two countries, to express frankly their conviction that the racial distinction, which at best is inaccurate and misleading, does not afford a valid basis for the discrimination on the subject of land tenure.[1]

Much more frequent than legislative discrimination, however, is the difference in the enforcement of laws as applied to different racial and cultural groups:

The registration booths were open, writes a southern white woman, and in the line stood a quiet, intelligent Negro woman who, I happened to know, was a teacher in the schools of one of the great industrial companies here. I watched to see what the registrar would do, for I was sure he would not let her register.

When she came to the polls he asked about the Constitution of the United States. Her replies were fine until he said, "What is the fourth line in the third paragraph?" She stopped a moment as if repeating it to herself. At once he said, "Step out of line and come back when you can meet requirements."

[1] R. E. Park, *Survey*, May, 1926, p. 194.

Again and again we see this done, the Negro simply has no chance at the polls, and the number who vote in this big county, is, I believe, about 12,000 or less. Why do they not rebel against it? Simply because of the old feeling that they would not stand a chance. They would not either, for this state is determined to keep its electorate white.[1]

In a city of Oklahoma in March, 1924, the annual school election was held. A leaflet published by a committee of the high school for white children stated that "any person qualified can vote in this election and does not have to be registered. A citizen of the United States who has lived in Oklahoma one year, in — County six months, and in the precinct thirty days, can vote. The colored people are not permitted to vote at this election."

Several years before, in this same city, the colored people were induced to vote $80,000 for school purposes with the understanding that $60,000 would be for a white school and $20,000 for a colored school. After the vote for the appropriation was carried the entire $80,000 was used to build a white high school and none for the Negro school. Later, two rooms were added to the four rooms of the old building of the Negro school. The population of the two races in the city is about equal. The white children now have a four-year accredited high school with twenty-one units; the Negro children none.[2]

A recent appeal in the Tuskegee-Hampton endowment estimates that " the Negroes, constituting about one-tenth of the total population, receive less than 2 per cent of the billion dollars annually spent here for education; and of $875,000,000 spent annually on public schools, only a little more than one per cent is expended for Negroes."

The enforcement of criminal laws is likely to discriminate against the under-privileged racial and cultural groups:

In South Carolina a white man stole an automobile and was sentenced for thirty days; on the same day and by the same judge a Negro who stole a bicycle was sent to the chain-gang for three years.[3]

The report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations contains the following:

State's Attorney Hoyne said before the Commission, "There is no doubt that a great many police officers were grossly unfair in making arrests. They shut their eyes to offenses committed by white men while they were

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 68.
[2] *Ibid.* case 112.
[3] *Ibid.* case, 57, quoted from Benjamin Brawley *Your Negro Neighbor*, Macmillan, 1918.

very vigorous in getting all the colored men they could get. . . . I don't know of a single case where the police have apprehended any man who has blown up a house."

Negro distrust of the police increased during the period of the riot. With each clash a new cause for suspicion seemed to spring up. The most striking instance occurred on the first afternoon when Policeman Callahan refused to arrest the white man whom the Negro crowd accused of causing the drowning of Williams, the Negro boy. This refusal has been called the beginning of the riot because it led to mob violence of grave consequences.[1]

Here is a recent conversation in a southern city following an accident when a colored boy driving an automobile injured another colored boy. A colored man went to the police station to see if he could get the driver out on bail. The officer in charge at the station said, "No, indeed. We couldn't possibly let anybody out on bond under these circumstances. We don't know yet whether the injured party will live or not." Then the officer asked this question, "Was it a white boy or a colored boy that this driver hurt?" The answer was that it was a colored boy. Then he said, "Oh, yes, you can get him out; $100 bond will be all right." The offending chauffeur was duly let out on bond.[2]

A case concerning the support of an illegitimate child by a wealthy colored man came before a southern court a few years ago. The defendant offered to pay $300 on condition that all further claims be waived. The social worker who represented the colored girl-mother refused to settle for this sum which, he said, was much smaller than men of substance had been obliged to pay in other similar cases. However, the court overruled his objection, stating that this was the largest amount ever given to a colored woman in a case of support for an illegitimate child.[3]

The head of the associated charities stated that one employer had been fined for employing white children, but "the laws are not applied to the Negroes as stringently as to the white people, and therefore more Negro children than white work."[4]

Here again, although we are apt to think of discrimination as peculiarly a Negro or Japanese issue, it is actually a factor appearing in various cultural conflicts:

A certain city in the Middle West is known for the bitterness with which the old antagonism between Poles and Jews finds occasional expression. The Board of Health officer who is a Pole has been charged in the press of

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 34.
[2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 61.
[3] *Ibid.* case 59.
[4] *Ibid.* case 102, quoted from Viola I. Paradise, U. S. Children's Bureau.

giving any Polish woman who applied for it a license to practice midwifery, provided she can pay the fee, whether she is qualified by training or not. A Jewish woman who had resided in the city for years and was known as a person of fine qualities went to Chicago to study midwifery and returned to practice. She took the examination in another part of the state and was issued her license within twenty-four hours. But as she was going to practice in her home city, she applied for a license to the health officer already mentioned, passed the examination, but was kept waiting for her license seven weeks.

Several requests were made by her and on her behalf to have him issue the license, but he found ever new reasons for delay. Although he knew that the woman had been a resident of the city for many years, he told her some one would have to certify that she had lived there for a certain number of years. A social worker and a physician testified that they had known her as a resident for four years. She was then told she needed one more witness. She secured him and was then told a fourth was needed, whom she also secured. When the four certificates were presented, the health officer asked the woman's citizenship papers and thus was able to prolong the delay still further. This officer is known for his political activity; he is the member of an organization of Poles which makes it its special object to boycott Jews in business.[1]

Oppressed People Also Oppress. In seeking a remedy for interracial injustice, the tendency of some idealists is to assume that the whole problem arises from the wickedness of the oppressing group. This conception is not so easy to hold when it is recognized that the same sort of attitudes from which Negroes, Jews, and other victims of culture conflict suffer are taken by these same peoples toward other groups. For instance:

A few years ago, a Negro officer of the Y. M. C. A. stationed in the Panama Canal Zone, complained at a conference of the organization that the film, *The Birth of a Nation*, was being shown at certain Y. M. C. A.'s in that region, and that a religious organization, particularly one concerned so much in the uplift of Negroes, ought not to permit such a thing. Several other Negro officers supported the appeal, and after some discussion it was decided that not only should the showing of this particular moving picture be stopped, but that more care should be given to prevent the distribution of films that might be offensive to the dignity of any race or nationality. What was the remorse of the colored secretaries when, pleased with this action, they walked down a street in the Negro section of this city where the conference was being held and discovered that the largest theater owned and patronized by Negroes was just then showing a film entitled *The Yellow Peril*.[2]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 75. [2] *Ibid.* case 12.

One of the foremost Negro leaders has a six-year old daughter who goes to a mixed school. She recently told her father that she would not play with such and such children because they were "dagoes."

An old family church in a middle-western city was changing to meet new conditions. Large numbers of foreign-born established themselves in the streets around the church, and later there was an influx of southern Negroes. The church developed institutional features, and finally became a social and religious settlement.

During the earlier phase of the change, some of the older members expressed uneasiness over the fact that a number of Jews were attracted to the settlement. The younger people did not see why a "bunch of Jewish fellows" should be allowed to keep out their own set on given nights. For a time a clean-cut division between old-timers and new-comers went through all activities. At council meetings their representatives would sit at opposite sides of the room. But tactful leadership, a really democratic organization, above all innumerable social contacts between individuals, wore down the invisible barrier.

Trouble again arose when the Negro element in the neighborhood grew larger. Among the organized groups of the settlement a colored girls' club and a colored boys' club sprang up. At a meeting of the Intermediate Boy's Council it was voted, after much discussion, not to admit this colored group into their activities. This matter was referred to the House Council for consideration, and here also a vote was passed, almost unanimously, that the group not be admitted to the house because admission of this club would tend to create a further influx of colored groups.

It is interesting to note that Jews were on the two councils that voted for the exclusion of colored groups. Memories are short. It is not impossible that Negroes will vote for exclusion when the next large group of immigrants knocks at the gate.[1]

Sometimes people of the same nationality will not work amicably together. A southern Italian found employment in a web factory near New Haven where many northern Italians were employed, but these made the life of the "new hand" so wretched the first day that he did not come the second. The foreman asked the northern Italians why they objected to the man; their answer was: "We don't want no Dago here."[2]

Social workers find that among the worst exploiters of the ignorance of newly arrived immigrants are the immigrants of a few years earlier who have learned enough of the language and customs and have gotten enough start economically to take advantage of their more defenseless

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 174.
[2] Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration*, Macmillan, 1912, p. 75.

fellow-countrymen. Among the worst landlords of congested tenements are immigrant owners. Among the worst employers are immigrants who have themselves come up out of the evils they are inflicting.

Believing the Worst of Peoples and Races. It has already been shown that we tend to believe ill of people, things, and ideas which we have consigned to our anti-personalities. This applies to races and peoples against whom antagonism has developed, and the result is to aggravate still further the conflict.

Abundant instances are given in the report of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations. Some brief excerpts follow:

> Rumor was often the first step in crowd formation and often opened the way for sharp transformation of a crowd into a mob. . . . The desire to tell a "big story" and create a sensation was no doubt an important factor. With so much bitter feeling there was also considerable conscious effort to provoke animosity by telling the worst that the teller had heard or could imagine about the doings of the opposite race. The latter type of rumor circulation especially fed the riot from the beginning to the final clash. It continues to be a constant menace to the friendly relations of the races.[1]

Among the instances cited by the Commission is the persistent circulation of a false report of an attack on a woman, or women, with a child.

Here is the story as told in the white press:

Chicago Tribune, July 29:

There is an account of "two desperate revolver battles fought by the police with colored men alleged to have killed two white women and a child."

It is reported that policemen saw two Negroes knock down a woman and child and kick them. The Negroes ran before the police could reach them.

Herald Examiner, July 29:

Two white women, one of them with a baby in her arms, were attacked and wounded by Negro mobs firing on street cars. . . .

A colored woman with a baby in her arms was reported at the Deering Police Station, according to this item, to have been attacked by a mob of more than 100 white men. When the mob finally fled before the approach of a squad of police both the woman and child were lying in the street beaten to death, "it is said."

Daily News, July 30:

Alderman McDonough described a raid into the white district the night before by a carload of colored men who passed Thirty-fifth Street and

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 25–6.

Wallace "shouting and shooting." The gunmen shot down a woman and a little boy who stood close by.

Here is the "injury done to women" story as it appeared in the Negro press:

Chicago Defender, August 2:

An unidentified young woman and three-months-old baby were found dead on the street at the intersection of Forty-seventh and Wentworth. She had attempted to board a car there when the mob seized her, beat her, slashed her body to ribbons, and beat the baby's brains out against a telegraph pole. Not satisfied with this, one rioter severed her breast and a white youngster bore it aloft on a pole triumphantly while the crowd hooted gleefully. The whole time this was happening several policemen were in the crowd but did not make any attempt to make a rescue until too late.

The Commission adds this note:

Concerning all of these stories it may be stated that the coroner had no cases of deaths of women and children brought before him. There was nothing in the police reports or the files of the state's attorney or hospital reports or the reports of Olivet Baptist Church, which would give any foundation for reports of the killing of a woman and child, white or Negro.[1]

The same sort of process was at work in the following incident:

A teacher of sociology in a midwestern college was giving a course on race problems. Among other outside speakers who appeared before the class was a young colored woman, a trained and experienced case-worker, who spoke on housing conditions among the colored people of the community in which the college is located. A few days after she had appeared before the class, the president of the college received a letter stating, "You ought to know that you have a class in your college, taught by a colored woman, in which intermarriage is being advocated." The note was signed, "Two Indignant Mothers." As a matter of fact, the colored woman had said nothing on the subject of intermarriage, nor had the subject of intermarriage been discussed up to that time in the course.[2]

Disadvantaged and oppressed groups are ready also to believe ill of the dominant group. Miss Addams says:

An Italian expressed great surprise when he found that we, although Americans, still like pictures, and said quite naïvely that he didn't know that Americans cared for anything but dollars.[3]

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 30–1. [2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 131.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 372.

The absorption of antagonistic traditions may begin very early in life. Miss Wald cites the following:

An Irish boy observed to one of our residents that on Easter Day he intended to kill his little Jewish classmate. . . . The soft-eyed Francesco chimed in that he was also going to destroy him "because he killed my Gawd." "But," said the teacher, "Christ was a Jew." "Yes, I know," answered the young defender of the faith, "He was then, but He's an American now." [1]

When antagonism has become inflamed, minor incidents are seized upon and played up to reinforce the conflict:

"Learn to swim" was the slogan of a campaign carried on by some social institutions in a northern city. Tickets entitling boys to swimming lessons were given out through some of the schools. One got into the hands of a colored boy and was presented at the address indicated on the card, a social center used exclusively by white boys. He was passed to the showers with the other boys. The swimming pool attendant held him up at that point and told him that he must get his lessons in swimming at another center. On learning of this incident, the boy's father charged discrimination, and poor judgment in giving out the tickets, but went away from an interview apparently satisfied. One of the colored papers, however, took up the incident, saying:

"The ——, a supposedly Christian institution, informed a colored boy who along with his white classmates was about to enjoy a plunge in the —— pool, that 'niggers could not swim in this pool.' Hundreds of incidents happen every week in church, school, and other institutions which should arouse any people, yet we falter." [2]

The deliberate policy of stirring up racial conflict by emphasizing antagonistic incidents and beliefs is illustrated in the following statement by Eliot G. Mears:

The most pronounced public opinion in the state against Orientals appears to be centered at Sacramento. The reasons are historical traditions which played up the worst features of the Chinese, the present large segregated communities, and the powerful influence in the past of the Sacramento Bee with its bitter news stories and editorials. The circulation of this daily, which covers a large rural area, has a direct effect upon local opinion in outlying regions as well as in the capital city itself.[3]

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 302. [2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 161.
[3] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 148.

Language and Culture Differences Accentuate Misunderstanding. Differences in language and in other cultural traits not only serve as the badge with which antagonism is linked up, but also in themselves make mutual understanding more difficult. For instance:

"What is one to do with these foreigners?" said a sincerely well-meaning plant manager. "Sometimes the Polish workers — usually women — get together in a corner of a room gesticulating and jabbering in their language, and nobody in authority is able to understand a word of it! Then one of them who can make herself understood may come up to the foreman, or to me, and say, 'The workers want so and so.' Meanwhile the workers stand around as expressionless and stolid as this radiator beside me. The leader who comes forward is soon spotted as the one who has been doing most of the talking. She may tell what is wanted and I might say, 'Well, we can meet you half-way. We will do this much.' Then more gesticulating and more foreign language talking, and set faces, and stubborn resistance. Nothing but all will do — no matter what the mill owners' inconvenience in the matter."

In his very next sentence, this man answered his own question. He had had a clear illustration of what would work among these women — and yet he had never thought to apply it. He said that on an occasion similar to the one described, a Polish woman secretary from the International Institute of the Y. W. C. A. spoke to the disturbed group of women in their own language, and her ability to reason with them and to make herself understood quieted them and settled the trouble.[1]

This sort of insulation is particularly thick in the case of our relations with Asiatics. Professor Park says:

Orientals live more completely behind the mask than the rest of us. Naturally enough we misinterpret them, and attribute to disingenuousness and craft what is actually conformity to an ingrained convention. The American who is flattered at first by the politeness of his Japanese servant will later on, perhaps, cite as a reproach against the race the fact that "we never know what is going on in their heads."

All this changes, however, in the second generation. The contrast between the Chinese born in this country and their parents is sometimes startling. The native sons are likely to be brusque and familiar.[2]

An incident told by Miss Addams illustrates how old cultural traditions may be involved in inter-group misunderstandings:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 35, quoted from William Leiserson.
[2] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 137.

One resident lately returned from a visit in Sicily was able to interpret to a bewildered judge the ancient privilege of a jilted lover to scratch the cheek of the faithless sweetheart with the edge of a coin. Although the custom in America had degenerated into a knife slashing after the manner of foreign customs here, and although the Sicilian deserved punishment, the incident was yet lifted out of the slough of mere brutal assault, and the interpretation won the gratitude of many Sicilians.[1]

Professor Park well summarizes this section when he says:

The problem of group understanding is made even more difficult because not only does isolation produce antagonism, but antagonism also promotes isolation.

Miss Wald says:

An unsocial attitude in the country naturally drives the stranger to an intensive colony life which accentuates the disadvantages of the barriers he and we build up.[2]

The Contagion of Racial Antagonism. Conflicts between racial and cultural groups, like other conflicts, are contagious. Like other forms of behavior, these group conflicts spread both because of the infectiousness of emotions and ideas, the consolidation of conflicting groups with their allies, and the seeking by idle people for exciting action-patterns. All of these factors were at work in the Chicago riots:

As part of the background of the Chicago riot, the activities of gangs of hoodlums should be cited. There had been friction for years, especially along the western boundary of the area in which the Negroes mainly live, and attacks upon Negroes by gangs of young toughs had been particularly frequent in the spring just preceding the riot. They reached a climax on the night of June 21, 1919, five weeks before the riot, when two Negroes were murdered. Each was alone at the time and was the victim of unprovoked and particularly brutal attack. Molestation of Negroes by hoodlums had been prevalent in the vicinity of parks and playgrounds and at bathing beaches.

The race riots began on Sunday afternoon, July 27. At midnight, Monday, a general strike on the surface and elevated lines brought a complete street-railway tie-up for the remainder of the week. On Tuesday morning men were killed en route to their work through hostile territory. Idle men congregated on the streets and gang-rioting increased. A white gang of soldiers and sailors in uniform, augmented by civilians, raided the "Loop," or downtown section of Chicago, early Tuesday, killing two Negroes and

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 446. [2] *House on Henry Street*, p. 300.

beating and robbing several others. In the course of these activities they wantonly destroyed property of white business men.

Gangs sprang up as far south as Sixty-third Street in Englewood and in the section west of Wentworth Avenue near Forty-seventh Street. Premeditated depredations were the order of the night. Many Negro homes in mixed districts were attacked, and several of them burned. Furniture was stolen or destroyed. When raiders were driven off they would return again and again until their designs were accomplished.

The contagion of the race war broke over the boundaries of the South Side and spread to the Italians on the West Side. This community became excited over a rumor, and an Italian crowd killed a Negro.

Wednesday saw a material lessening of crime and violence.

Rain on Wednesday night and Thursday drove idle people of both races into their homes. The temperature fell, and with it the white heat of the riot. From this time on the violence was sporadic, scattered, and meager.

Gangs and their activities were an important factor throughout the riot. But for them it is doubtful if the riot would have gone beyond the first clash. Both organized gangs and those which sprang into existence because of the opportunity afforded seized upon the excuse of the first conflict to engage in lawless acts.[1]

As in other instances of similarity of behavior, however, it must not always be supposed when neighbors treat a racial or cultural group in the same way, that they have borrowed the action-patterns from each other. It may be that they are merely reacting similarly to similar situations. This appears to be the case in the treatment of Asiatics by California. Chester K. Rowell says:

California, in that respect, has been merely the most conspicuous example of a policy adopted by every state inhabited by a predominantly European population around the whole rim of the Pacific. Oregon and Washington, where oriental population is actually small, but whose people are acutely conscious of the potentialities of its increase, have also adopted discriminatory laws, and have joined California in leadership of the movement for a national exclusion policy. British Columbia has had its own anti-oriental policy and has practically made a similar policy by the Dominion its price for the continued union of Canada. Canadian law excludes Chinese, and saves Japanese sensibilites by a Gentlemen's Agreement which amounts practically to the same thing. Australia and New Zealand have laws which are non-discriminatory on paper, but amount in administration to a complete exclusion of oriental immigration. The Spanish-speaking states of America

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, pp. 3, 7, and 11.

are not of predominantly European population, but even they, wherever the problem becomes practical, tend to welcome European and to discourage or reject Asiatic immigration.[1]

Race Hatred May Extend to Helpers of the Hated Race. The hatred against a people is often so intense that it is promptly extended to any one who shows friendliness toward them. We have here a perfect illustration of the principle that one's antagonism tends to spread to include objects and things allied with one's anti-personality. For instance:

In a large southern city, some colored men had bought a number of building lots at public auction. A certain section of public opinion was outraged and persuaded the owner not to have the lots delivered. The auctioneer informed the buyers that the owner refused delivery of the lots. Thereupon they went to one of the best-known lawyers in the city, a man whose father and grandfather had practiced law there before him. He said, "You have not got a good case, since you have nothing in writing. But if you had the best possible case, I would not take it for ten thousand dollars. For, if I took it, I should for ten years to come lose every case that came before a jury of poor whites. They would hold against me that I had 'helped those niggers to get those lots.'" [2]

An educated young Negro was invited by a white friend to take dinner with him at a café where he worked during the noon hour. Before the two had finished eating, the manager called the white employee into his office, asked whether the Negro were a friend of his, and learning that he was, at once discharged the white man.

An American of Italian birth and his American-born wife came to San Francisco from the east. He was in business and his wife was a teacher of elocution and dramatics. Asked by a social agency to teach a Japanese girl who had shown marked dramatic talent, she gladly consented.

One day this woman noticed in the parlor of the hotel where she was staying that an American woman with whom she had had some friendly chats turned abruptly away and cut her. She went up to her and asked for an explanation. "I have heard that you have a Japanese pupil," replied the other. "And why," asked the easterner in astonishment, "should my having a Japanese pupil prevent you from speaking to me?" "Because I don't like Japanese." "What reason have you for disliking the Japanese?" "I don't know, —," replied the one-time friend, evidently searching for a

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 174. [2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 62.

good reason, "but I hate the Japanese and" — with a vicious inflection and sweeping out of the room — "and I hate Italians." [1]

Mr. Burgess, an attractive young graduate of a northern university, went south to teach in a college for Negro youth. On the Sunday morning after he took up his duties he went to a large church in the town. At the close of the service he was greeted most cordially by many persons in the congregation. They showed marked interest in the stranger and made him feel welcome in their midst. In the course of his conversation with them Mr. Burgess remarked that he had come to Mariaville to teach in Alpha College. Immediately the conversation lagged, though he did not comprehend till later that the fact had marked significance.

Next Sunday Mr. Burgess returned to the church and took a seat in the pew which he had occupied before. Presently another man entered the pew, sat down, and then hastily rose and went to another part of the church. Mr. Burgess sat alone in the pew surrounded by other empty pews. After the service he was ignored by every one. He never again returned to that church.[2]

Violence Reinforces Bitterness. As has appeared in many instances already cited, actual physical attack, murder, and massacre are the outcomes of group antipathies at their worst. Tendencies in this direction are shown even by little children. Jane Addams speaks, for instance, of

> . . . the Italians whose fruitcarts are upset simply because they are "dagoes," or the Russian peddlers who are stoned and sometimes badly injured because it has become the code of honor in a gang of boys to thus express their derision.[3]

Such actions are too often smiled at as pranks; really, however, they are direct kin to the thousands of lynchings which have disgraced our country, to the massacres of Armenians by Turks, and to the Russian pogroms. Lillian Wald says:

> I saw at Ellis Island little children with saber cuts on their heads and bodies, mutilated and orphaned at the Kishineff massacre.[4]

Dean Pound and other lawyers secured and published a number of affidavits testifying to the brutal methods of the government agents in the United States. For instance, Mitchell Layrowsky, a teacher of mathematics, swore to the following:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 134. [2] *Ibid.* case 133.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 255. [4] *House on Henry Street*, p. 229.

"I am fifty years old. I am married and have two children. I was principal of the Iglitsky High School for fifteen years in Odessa, Russia. I declared my intention to become a citizen of the United States. On November 7, 1919, I conducted a class at 137 East 15th Street, New York. At about eight o'clock in the evening, while I was teaching algebra and Russian, an agent of the Department of Justice opened the door of the school and walked in with a revolver in his hands and ordered everybody in the school to step aside. Then he ordered me to step toward him. I wore eyeglasses and the agent of the Department of Justice ordered me to take them off. Then he struck me on the head and simultaneously two others struck and beat me brutally. After I was without strength to stand up, I was thrown downstairs; and while I rolled down, other men beat me with pieces of wood which I later found were obtained by breaking the banisters. I sustained a fracture of the head, left shoulder, and right side. Then I was ordered to wash myself and was taken to 13 Park Row, where I was examined and released about midnight."[1]

Physical violence, however, is only the occasional spectacular outburst of an antagonism which by its own activities keeps reinforcing itself, embittering hundreds of thousands of lives, and destroying the happiness and welfare of countless members of even the dominant race. How can this vicious circle be broken? To this question the next chapter will be devoted.

Summary

A. Racial and cultural conflicts are special cases of the general problem of social conflict:

1. Antagonism between Negroes and whites is not an isolated problem; it has essentially the same causes as antagonism between Japanese and Americans, Jews and Gentiles, Italians and Polish.
2. Racial and cultural conflicts are distinguished from other social conflicts by the peculiarity that the antagonism involved is linked up with some racial or cultural badge, such as color, shape of eyes, language, ceremonies, costume, or even mere group name.
3. Bearers of the racial or cultural badge of a despised group are made to suffer for the defects of the worst of their people.
4. Members of oppressed groups therefore frequently attempt to escape by losing the badge of their people.

[1] *And Who Is my Neighbor?* Case 63.

B. The sources of antagonism between peoples are as follows:

5. Any encroachment by the subordinated group upon residential areas, on amusement facilities, on occupations, or on other parts of the sub-social or social environment regarded by the dominant group as its property, is taken as a menace and generates antagonism.

6. The dominant race or cultural group asserts its inherent superiority over the group in conflict and resents any assertion of equality by its members; varying proportions of the subordinated group resent bitterly the imputation of inferiority and struggle to establish equality; conflict is the result.

7. Antagonism and the feeling of superiority lead to hatred-breeding injustices.

a. Economically, injustice most often takes the form of discrimination against the subordinated group in opportunities for employment, in wages and in rentals charged, and of exploitation of the ignorance and helplessness of the group.

b. Politically and legally, injustices may be done in immigration legislation, in illegal exclusion from voting privileges, in inferior provision of educational privileges, and in discriminatory enforcement of criminal laws.

c. Racial and cultural injustice is not due, however, to the peculiar wickedness of the oppressing group: the oppressed themselves are apt to turn into oppressors when occasion arises.

C. Racial and cultural antagonisms are aggravated by the following factors:

8. The tendency to believe the worst of racial and cultural antagonists further inflames the antagonism.

9. Language and cultural differences make mutual understanding more difficult.

10. Mob violence is infectious.

a. Apparent contagion, however, may be due at times merely to similar reactions to similar stimuli.

11. Persons defending hated groups come to be hated.

12. Violence reinforces bitterness.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

19D1. J. Merle Davis, in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 202, says:

> One California clergyman informed us that the contact of the races was governed by biological laws and that nothing in man's intelligence or moral convictions could change the working of those laws.

Give your reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the clergyman.

19D2. On p. 174 of the same number of the *Survey*, Chester K. Rowell says:

> But there is also an impulse which is more than economic, and is expressly and biologically racial. Not in all the occupations into which Asiatics go do they displace workers of European race. In California the Chinese largely did work which there were no white workers to do, and the Japanese have improved lands which we left waste, and developed products which we overlooked. There is no economic conflict here, but there is still hostility. Into the places vacated by departing Orientals now flow, not Americans, but Mexicans. Nobody objects, because nobody else wants those jobs. Tropical Australia is retarded in its development because it needs labor which British immigrants will not do; yet it refuses, on racial grounds alone and to its economic loss, to admit Chinese immigrants eager to do it. When Japanese move into a city neighborhood, in California, Americans move out, not because there is any economic competition, but because they will not live where persons of a different physical race live. American farmers sell out, when Japanese buy their neighbors' farms, because they will not have their children in a school where the other children are mostly Japanese. There is nothing else against these children. They are just as bright as American children, speak as good English, and have the same manners and impulses; they are American citizens; and of course there is nothing economic in which to compete. It is sheer racial caste. But it makes the American farmer move out, even at an economic loss.
>
> "Temporary prejudice, based on ignorance," the idealists say. But is that all? Consider what would happen if this situation, now confessedly within manageable limits, were allowed to increase by any extended mass migration. Unlimited immigration would, of course, simply annex our western states to the Orient. Just the annual increase in Japan's population, exported to California, would in five years duplicate the present white population. One per cent of China would swamp the western half of America. And neither of these quantities would be sufficient to affect the situation in the oriental homelands at all. The resultant decrease in the death rate would leave the remaining population unchanged. The Orient is a

limitless human ocean. No pumping process could change its level; but it might easily flood the lands on which it was discharged.

Now go back and reread the first sentence in the quotation from Mr. Rowell. Compare it with the statement of the clergyman previously quoted. What comments have you to offer?

19D3. Which side would you regard as being right in the following controversy? Why? What accommodative solution, if any, might have been reached?

A middle western city which had grown rapidly employed an expert to systematize the numbering of streets and to weed out duplicates in the naming of streets. His report mentioned the existence of a Lincoln Avenue and a Lincoln Street in the same part of the city and suggested that the former be renamed Pulaski Street after the great general in the American Revolution. This name would please the Polish residents who occupied the southern part of the street.

Immediately there was a protest from the residents in the northern part of the street who, for the most part, were native Americans of North-European extraction. They did not want to live in a street called after "some old immigrant." Many of them had never heard of Pulaski; but even when the significance of this great patriot to America was made clear to them, it did not change their mind.

One particular irate lady admitted that the post office frequently delivered parcels in Lincoln Avenue that were destined for Lincoln Street; she admitted that a fire which had broken out in the street not long ago had proved very nearly ruinous because the hose and ladder company, misunderstanding the call, had gone to the avenue and wasted time before ascertaining where the fire was. She even admitted that Lincoln himself probably would have preferred to relinquish the honor of having two streets named for him in favor of one of the founders of America freedom. But the prejudice against a foreign name could not be downed with any reason; and the parcels still take their erratic course between street and avenue.[1]

19D4. What did Prof. Robert E. Park mean when he said (in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 136):

Race prejudice is a function of visibility. The races of high visibility, to speak in naval parlance, are the natural and inevitable objects of race prejudice.

19D5. Discuss the special significances of the following incident, related by Prof. Park in the same article.

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 33.

I recently had the curious experience of talking with a young Japanese woman who was not only born in the United States, but was brought up in an American family, in an American college town, where she had almost no association with members of her own race. I found myself watching her expectantly for some slight accent, some gesture, or intonation that would betray her racial origin. When I was not able, by the slightest expression, to detect the oriental mentality behind the oriental mask, I was still not able to escape the impression that I was listening to an American woman in a Japanese disguise.

A few months later I met this same young woman after she had returned from her first, and perhaps her last, visit to Japan. She was unusually reticent about her experiences, but explained that it was impossible for her to remain longer in Japan, although she had had every intention of doing so. She had found herself at a peculiar disadvantage there, because, though she looked like a Japanese, she was unable to speak the language; and besides, her dress, her language, everything about her, in fact, betrayed her American origin. The anomaly struck the Japanese public as something scandalous, almost uncanny. When she appeared on the streets, crowds followed her. They resented, perhaps even more at the time because of the recent passage of the Alien Land law, the appearance of a Japanese woman in the masquerade of an American lady.

19D6. "Where Do We Get Our Prejudices?" is the title of an article in *Harper's* for September, 1926, in which Robert L. Duffus summarizes certain data collected by the *Inquiry* as to childish experiences which developed antagonistic linkages with certain racial and cultural groups. What instances can you cite which are similar to the following taken from the article by Mr. Duffus? Where do such causes fit into the analysis given in our text? How important do you regard such linkages in childhood, as compared with invasions of the expanded personality in adult life?

"When I was a little girl," a woman wrote, "some one told me that in all Catholic churches guns were stored, ready at the slightest provocation to be used against Protestants. Since then, some of my best girl friends have been Catholics, but I could never get rid of my first impressions."

"My childhood," one confession began, "was spent in a community in which lived but one family of Jews — Mr. and Mrs. B. and their son Henry. As we were neighbors Henry and I used to play together until one fatal day I happened to break one of Mrs. B.'s milk pitchers, for which Henry admonished me and frightened me terribly. . . . I never played with Henry again. In later life I have had many pleasant dealings with Jews and Jewesses. Yet when one mentions the name 'Jew' I am liable to grow angry or condemn the

Jewish race, for my childhood experience comes to mind." A trivial incident, but a million such trivialities make a mountain of prejudice.

One of the correspondents disliked the Spaniards because he had read of Spanish cruelties in the conquest of America. A boy of 12 tied a can to a Mexican's dog, was terribly alarmed when its irate master chased him, and now, as a grown man, still feels "a natural repugnance" whenever he sees or hears the word "Mexican." One woman admits a prejudice against the Negro. She adds, "I don't know why, unless it is because when I was a small child a story was told me of a white girl who was kidnaped by two Negro renegades. The picture, even to-day, is very vivid to me.

"When the word 'foreigner' is mentioned," another young lady admitted, "I think of limburger cheese. In grade school an immigrant girl of respectable family sat opposite me. During school hours she continually ate limburger cheese, keeping a great smelly piece in her desk. I mentioned it to some friends. They laughed and said, 'Oh, well, she's a "foreigner."' "

19D7. What experiences have you ever had which help you to understand the reactions of the young New York lawyer who is quoted as follows in William P. Pickett's *The Negro Problem*, p. 106:

It chanced that I found myself in an unfamiliar, modest restaurant at the luncheon hour. I had seated myself, and the waiter had just served my order, and with good appetite I was about to enjoy my midday meal, when there entered two Negroes, fairly well dressed, gentlemanly in their conduct, evidently above the ordinary laboring class, and, as I should judge, clerks or small business men. I observed that my waiter did his best to convince them that there was no room for them, but observing two unoccupied seats at my table, they placed themselves opposite me and proceeded to give the waiter their orders. The effect of their presence so close at hand did not tend to give zest to my appetite. Abruptly ending my meal, I arose and, calling the waiter, paid my bill and departed. As I left the table the Negroes instinctively noted the situation, but I could not overcome my dislike to their presence at my table. The waiter said to me, "I am sorry, sir, but I couldn't help it, they just took those seats." I felt sorry for them, sorry for the waiter, and ashamed of myself as an American gentleman, but the fact remained that the repugnance to their presence was not to be overcome.

19D8. What is likely to be the reaction of a Negro, a Jew, or a Japanese who fails in fair competition with native white Americans? Why?

19D9. Compare race conflict with the inferiority, or failure complex, as to their (*a*) nature, (*b*) symptoms, and (*c*) remedies.

19D10. In the instance where the Negro was thrown out of the

elevator, would it have made any difference if it had been pointed out to the authorities that other elevators were run by Negroes, who necessarily had to ride with the white passengers? Why or why not? In the case of the Negro put out of the sleeping car, why did not the objectors eject the Negro porter?

19D11. What reasons can you give for agreeing or disagreeing with the position taken by Prof. H. E. Barnes in the *Nation* for May 6, 1925, pp. 515–17, which has been abstracted as follows:

The Race Myth Crumbles. — Race myths are based on pseudo-history. Scholars show that the Aryan race never existed; that our civilization is not the result of the Nordics; and that our own variant, the "Anglo-Saxon Myth," has no physical or cultural basis. A theory of racial determination of history is made impossible by racial mixture.

19D12. According to the *Inquiry*, the Southern writer George Madden Martin, in a recent report to the Kentucky Inter-racial Conference, on the history of the Negro in public school texts, says among other things:

"In no text-books that your committee has examined is the American Negro shown, in a creditable sense, to the pupil, white and colored, as a people, a race group, with a past and authenticated history of their own in Africa. Again, no text-book that we have examined tells the pupil that practically every people in the world have been enslaved by some other people, at some period in their history; no text-book that we have examined explains to the pupil, white and colored, that slavery is a condition imposed, endured, not necessarily merited.

"Your committee, in a word, has found no school text-book which, first, presents and considers the Negro as a race group, with the rights and attributes of such a group, and next, as a slave group, contributory to the economic development of America."

Think back over the text-books which you have used. Do you think that the above charge is true as applied to them? Why or why not?

19D13. Prof. E. A. Ross asks: "Ought native Americans to show or hide their scorn of their Slavic neighbors who with no greater need make their daughters work in the field?"

19D14. Give your reasons for approving or disapproving of the position taken by the Japanese, as reported in the following quotation from a writer in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926:

They do not aspire to be "white" men, and they are too intelligent to suppose it would be a promotion if they were, but they do aspire to be Occi-

dentals, and they resent any definition of Occidentalism which would base it on color of skin rather than on culture and institutions. They are not ashamed of their race, but they do regard it as a distorted sense of proportion which would classify them with nations of inferior achievement, to which they are allied only by race, rather than with the nations to which they are allied by every other qualification.

19D15. In the instances of employment discrimination given in this chapter, who, if any one, was unjust — the person who did the employing? or the fellow employees? or the customers? or some other party?

19D16. Under what conditions would it be just to discriminate against an applicant for a job because of his racial or cultural characteristics?

19D17. Discuss the elements of justice entering into the following incident. Which do you think was right, and why?

The executive of a religious institution went to an important industrial plant in his city to solicit larger support. He was asked to see the head of the firm and lay before him his request and his plans. These stressed more particularly the work of the institution's activities on behalf of young working men. The manufacturer listened carefully to him. Then he asked, "Is it true, Mr. ——, that you admit Catholics and Jews to membership only in a given proportion?" The secretary admitted it was so, stating the percentage quotas.

"Do you know," said the manufacturer, "that we employ in this plant several hundred young men without inquiring into their religion or nationality? Why do you expect me to support an institution that is going to provide for the leisure time of only a part of these men and leave the others out in the cold?" [1]

19D18. What is your reaction to the handling of the following incident by the mother:

It was Easter morning on the second-class deck of the S. S. *Olympic* enroute to America. A New England mother was quietly reading the story of the Crucifixion to her three children. In the midst of the story one interrupted and asked — "So it was a bunch of Jews who killed Jesus?"

The mother started to nod assent when her eye fell on the occupants of several adjacent steamer chairs and, like a flash, she said — "Yes, it happened to be Jews who killed Jesus, but He Himself was a Jew. If He had been living in America today, it would have been Protestant Christians like ourselves who would have killed Him."

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 172.

19D19. A settlement was confronted with the issue of admitting or excluding two clubs of colored children:

It was argued that any discrimination would be not on the basis of color but because of the danger of mixing, especially in the adolescent groups, those carrying on the established moral standards with those of a group with much lower moral standards. They were influenced in this view not so much by prejudice as by the considered opinion of school principals, social workers, the juvenile court, church workers and others, which was based on actual experience. For instance, many of the Negro children, being educationally backward — of course for reasons for which neither they nor their parents were to blame — were at school with much younger groups and had been found to induce these younger children to a knowledge of sex in quite undesirable ways. There had recently been a scandal in the city in which colored children of both sexes were found inmates in a house of ill-fame. Immoral practices had been reported from playgrounds. In all these cases, the danger lay not in the presence of Negroes who had been a substantial though not very large part of the population for a long time but in that of Negroes from the South who had not yet been educated to North-American ideals.[1]

Would it be just to exclude the colored clubs under these circumstances?

19D20. Consider on its separate merits each of the following incidents, and give reasons for arguing that the position taken was just or unjust:

The president of one of the largest sugar beet factories in Michigan not long ago defended his attitude of hostility on a change in the law concerning the employment of children on the ground that "25 per cent of all the beet workers in Michigan fields are Mexicans."[2]

A young Jew, after graduation from a medical school, went to train in a hospital which had a reputation of being by tradition anti-semitic. Those around him, according to his account, banded together to make life miserable for him, and those in authority did nothing to help him or change the situation. One day when he was out, some of the internes went to his room, stuffed the cracks and keyholes, and lighted a sulphur candle, a symbol of their feeling that he was not clean enough to associate with them, and that he was undesirable. He was not permitted to attend any of the social functions, or ever invited to take part in any of the voluntary activities in the hospital. When the superintendent was asked why he allowed these conditions to prevail, he said he was powerless to improve them.

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 174. [2] *Ibid.* case 103.

After some of the young interne's belongings had been taken away and he had been subjected to several insults, he had a lengthy discussion with the Board of Managers, who advised him to leave the hospital and go to a place where he could adjust himself better. But the references given him were so unsatisfactory that he failed to gain admission to any of the institutions where he applied. After several futile attempts he gave up the idea and secured work as a salesman in a clothing shop. He no longer intends to finish his training because he feels that circumstances are absolutely against him.[1]

Enough district schools exist at Yankton, South Dakota, to give school facilities to every child, but attendance is not up to standard because of failure to enforce the truancy laws. It is the old story of the white people, on the whole, not being favorable to enforcement of school attendance on the part of the Indians, and the Indians themselves not yet being sufficiently advanced to feel keenly about education.[2]

A Pullman porter, named Griffin, was arrested in Montreal, charged with stealing a pocket-book, but the charge was not substantiated and he was released. He thereupon brought suit against Daniel F. Brady, who caused his arrest, and obtained a verdict for $2500 in damages. The Supreme Court of New York reduced the damages from $2500 to $300. Upon an appeal by Griffin, the appellate division of the Supreme Court sustained the order reducing the damages. The following is a part of the opinion of Judge Drugo of the Supreme Court whose order was sustained: "You cannot say that he (Griffin) is just the same as a white man, when you come to say how much his name will suffer. He might suffer more. But, after all, what are the probabilities about it? Is it likely that when a colored man is arrested and imprisoned he feels just as much shame as a white man of any circumstance might?" [3]

Mr. A., an educated and gentlemanly colored man, returned from serving in France "to help make the world safe for democracy" to his home in a northern state. He took a civil service examination for a position in the customs service and was notified by mail that he stood first on the list of candidates, with a grade of 98.5 per cent. When he went to the office to see about his appointment, the woman in charge was dumfounded to discover that he was a colored man. "I didn't suppose that would make any difference," said Mr. A. "In this case it does," said the woman. "The position puts one in charge of ten white women."

The position was given to a white man who rated 75 per cent on the examination.[4]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 89. [2] *Ibid.* case 116.
[3] Gilbert Thomas Stephenson, *Race Distinctions in American Law.* D. Appleton & Co., 1910, p. 276.
[4] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 72.

19D21. What instances have come to your notice parallel to the incident in which false stories of a mob attack on a woman and a child were published against both whites and Negroes by papers of the other race?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

19F1. Visit a Negro, Chinese, or Japanese district if there is one near you. Before going, get introductions to leading members of the race in that area. Interview these leaders and get their views about the relations between the white Americans and their people. Write a summary of what they tell you. What additional points do you gather from your visit to the district?

19K2. Make a study of the lynching problem. How many whites and how many Negroes have been lynched in recent years? In what parts of the country have the lynchings taken place? What causes have been alleged? What has been the trend in the number of lynchings? Why? What further preventive measures are promising? (Four hours)

19K3. What attitudes have the official bodies of various denominations of the church taken on the subject of race conflict? What definite steps have they taken for solving the problems? (Four hours)

19K4. Make a study of the caste system in India. (Time credit to be arranged)

19K5. What traces of caste can you find in American industrial and racial relations? What light can you get on the changes in the degree to which caste has been present in American life? (Time credit to be arranged)

19K6. Make a study of the various persecutions under which the Jews have suffered. Try to discover the underlying causes for the antagonism against this people. What preventive measures can you suggest to improve Jewish relations in the future?

19K7. Study the history of the relations between Armenians and Turks, with a view to discovering the causes of the antagonism and possible remedies.

19K8. Review the literature bearing upon racial and cultural antagonisms in the Balkan states.

19K9. Summarize the conclusions of recent scientific studies of the problem of racial inferiorities and superiorities.

19K10. Review the book *What Makes Up My Mind on International Questions?* by the *Inquiry*, 92 pp. (Three hours)

19K11. Analyze the cases presented in the article summarized in the following abstract:

> The Americanization of 1–A–10. A freshman class in English, extremely low in intelligence tests, contains members of fifteen nationalities between the ages of twelve and sixteen. The article presents the themes written by these foreign immigrants after being in America a few weeks. The trend of their thought is shown by the contrast between the dreams they had of America, and the fulfillment of life as it actually is. — Nichols Adelaide, the *Survey*, February 1, 1925, pp. 511–12.

19K12. Review the article on "Illegitimacy among Negroes" by Ruth Reed, in the *Journal of Social Hygiene*, February, 1925, pp. 73–91. In this connection review in some detail the findings of the U. S. Children's Bureau as to the illegitimacy rates among whites as compared with Negroes in Baltimore, Md. (Three hours)

19K13. Review Donald R. Taft's *Two Portuguese Communities in New England*, 357 pp. Of this book Prof. Robert E. Park says:

> This is a careful and cautious statistical study of the Portuguese in New Bedford, Fall River, and Portsmouth. It is introduced with a review of the accessible literature in regard to the racial composition of the Portuguese, particularly with reference to the extent of admixture of the native Iberian stocks with the Negro.
>
> The study shows that the Portuguese are, by all the accepted standards, a low-grade people, and one that responds very slowly to supposedly better economic and living conditions of the American environment. It shows pretty conclusively that this inferiority cannot, so far as present knowledge goes, be explained in racial terms. Inferiority in physical stamina, in culture, and in living conditions seems to be due less to fundamental racial than to local and historical factors. (Five hours)

19K14. Make a comparative analysis of various historical instances of the mingling of peoples of markedly differing cultures. (Time credit to be arranged)

19K15. From *The Mind of the Negro as Reflected in Letters during the Crisis*, 1800–1860, by Carter G. Woodson, select and classify materials which help to illuminate the problems of racial conflict. (Time credit to be arranged)

19K16. From Edith Abbott's *Immigration: Select Documents and Case Records* and from her *Historical Aspects of the Immigration*

Problem — Select Documents pick out and classify materials which shed light on the nature of cultural conflict and its solution. (Time credit to be arranged)

19K17. Make a critical analysis of recent discussions of the contribution of immigrant stocks to the dependency, deficiency, and delinquency of our population. (Five hours)

19K18. Analyze critically in some detail the methods used in collecting, classifying, and interpreting the case materials included in the book *And Who Is My Neighbor?*

19K19. It is sometimes alleged that Negroes cause depreciation of property values when they move into a district. Others assert that Negroes pay higher rentals for the same accommodations than do whites. Investigate the facts on these points in your community.

19W20. Select some one of the following books, and study it with the special purpose of determining the sources of its data, the scientific techniques employed by the author, and the reliability of the conclusions reached:

Abbott, Grace *The Immigrant and the Community*
Davie, M. R. *A Constructive Immigration Policy*
Davis, Jerome *The Russian Immigrant*
Davis, Michael *Immigrant Health and the Community*
Dowd, Jerome *The Negro in American Life*
Grant, Madison *The Passing of the Great Race*
Jenks, J. W. and Lanch, W. J. *The Immigration Problem*
Kellor, Frances *Immigration and the Future*
Odum, Howard W. *Social and Mental Traits of the Negro*
Steiner, E. A. *On the Trail of the Immigrant*
Thomas, W. I. and Znaniecki, F. *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*
Woodson, Carter Godwin *The Negro in our History*
Woofter, Thomas Jackson *The Basis of Racial Adjustment*

CHAPTER XX

REMEDIES FOR RACIAL AND CULTURAL CONFLICT

***Laissez-Faire* as a Remedy.** Avoidance is one of the natural reactions to people and objects against whom antipathy is felt. Segregation, minimum interference, and *laissez-faire* are the basis of a great many of the impulsive reactions to racial conflicts, and are even urged as the only sound solution. Racial segregation, setting aside of definite districts for colored or foreign groups, " Jim Crow " cars, " nigger heaven " sections in theaters, confinement of Negroes to such jobs as porters, servants, and cotton pickers, or of foreigners to certain laboring jobs, laws forbidding intermarriage, and the like, all express the idea that if the two groups can be kept apart, with the Negroes and the foreigners in their " proper places," conflict will be avoided. A great difficulty is that this policy of segregation and avoidance practically always implies inferiority, and hence is bitterly resented.

Instances of avoidance are numerous. Lillian Wald gives the following:

> We were seeking lodgings for two intelligent and attractive young Italians who were working on a dam at one of our settlement country places. Incidentally, the work they were doing was quite beyond the powers of any native workers in the vicinity of whom we could hear. We asked an old native couple, squatters on some adjacent land, to rent an unoccupied floor of their house to the two young men. The man, despite their extremely indigent condition (the wife went to the almshouse a short time after), absolutely refused, fearing the loss of social prestige if they "lived in the house with dagoes." [1]

An instance from *And Who Is My Neighbor?* has some similarities with and some differences from the above:

> In one of the congested quarters of New York City is a small Protestant church whose members are Americans, largely of Scotch and German stock,

[1] *House on Henry Street.*

most of them of the working class. They are good, thrifty, self-respecting people. Some time ago, a group of Italian Protestant Christians who had been holding services in a store, were obliged to find temporary quarters pending the completion of a church edifice. They asked for permission to use the church just described; they were willing to take it on any terms, holding their services at an hour that would not interfere with the regular appointments of the church. The American-born church members, however, were unwilling to grant this permission. They were almost scandalized at the request. "What," they said, "let those dirty dagoes use our church! It wouldn't be fit for decent people to come into after them."

It was pointed out to them by one whom they respected and who knew the Italians well, that these were a very decent crowd. But this had no influence on the children of an earlier immigration as they felt that all Italians were dirty and undesirable. It was also suggested to them that their attitude was scarcely Christian, but this had no effect.[1]

The city club of a middle western city was afraid it might have to face the color problem when a Negro was recommended for membership. The issue was dodged; the Negro's application was "tactfully withdrawn," "without offence" — so it was alleged. The city club has been for many years the most stalwart defender of public rights and public morality; it is a club which people enter, for the most part, to render public service in one way or another and not simply for its social amenities.[2]

At a meeting for the promotion of international friendship through the churches, a retired naval officer spoke with enthusiasm of the peace movement in a western city. As he described it, his hearers got the impression that practically every citizen in that community was a member of one anti-war organization or another. Some one from another western city, apparently with a real desire for information, asked the speaker whether the Japanese in his community were entitled to membership in the various organizations which he had mentioned. This quite nettled the speaker, who failed to see any connection between the problem of the prevention of war and the relations between whites and Orientals in America.[3]

Lillian Wald tells the following:

An educated Chinese merchant who once called at the settlement apologized for the eagerness with which he accepted an offer to show him over the house, explaining that although he had been thirty years in this country, ours was the first American home he had been invited to enter.[4]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 178.
[2] *Ibid.* case 169.
[3] *Ibid.* case 22.
[4] *House on Henry Street*, p. 301.

This same sort of avoidance has occurred in China:

An American in Shanghai not long ago asked two Chinese friends to lunch with him at the American Club the next day. He waited for them in vain. A few days later, meeting them on the street, he reproached them for failing to keep the engagement. "We came," they replied, "but the doorkeeper would not let us in. We were only Chinese."

The writer who cites the incident comments: "Such things sink deeper than the finest speeches."[1]

In a southern city, a young East Indian who had graduated from one of the American universities, went to the public library to spend the afternoon reading. He was refused admittance. He told the chief librarian that he was from India and that he was a graduate of an American university. But this explanation did not help him. Not only was he not admitted, but he was warned never to come to the library again.[2]

As a bit of political diplomacy in a suburb of New York a colored woman was appointed as one of the watchers at the polls on election day:

When she presented herself at the school where the voting took place, she found several white women in attendance as watchers who were sitting along one side of a long table and chatting to the electors. One of them put a chair close to the door, at the long end of the large room, for the colored woman, gave her a list and pencil and asked her to check off the colored voters only, as they took care of the white ones. None of them exchanged a word with her all day.[3]

The Chicago Race Commission notes:

The trial of the three Negro policemen before the Merit Committee of the Police Department because they refused to use the "Jim Crow" sleeping-quarters in a police station doubtless added to race feeling, particularly in view of the publicity it received in the "Black Belt."

Here is an instance of another type of avoidance:

The Friendly Visitor had been asked to call on a young Russian Jewish woman who had not been long in this country. She found the young woman homesick, lonely, and despondent in spite of her new and shining American home. The husband, an ambitious American Jew, had evidently done his best to encourage the Americanization of his wife by taking an apartment in a

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 216. [2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 135.
[3] *Ibid.* case 69.

section of the city settled largely by the older immigration, but the newcomers had been conspicuously ignored by their Gentile neighbors, and the young wife felt bitterly alone. The Friendly Visitor was welcomed with almost pathetic appreciation as the young woman was soon to become a mother and was fearful of the experience amid alien and unaccustomed surroundings. On leaving, the visitor, who had offered to make necessary arrangements with doctor and district nurse, said cheerfully, "Now if you are alone and need me quickly just call one of your neighbors, and she can telephone me." The shadow of despondency again settled on the face of the young woman as she answered, "There isn't any one to call. All the people who live around here are Christians." [1]

In the early days of our work, writes Owen R. Lovejoy, general secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, we found a widespread indifference on the part of the Protestant clergymen and school teachers to the conditions of children in coal breakers and glass factories, chiefly on the ground that they were foreigners and if they went to church or school, went to the Catholic Church and the Parochial School.[2]

One of the innumerable instances which might be given of the adoption of a definite policy of segregation is the following:

In a western city of about 50,000 inhabitants, with a Negro population of probably between five and six thousand, colored and white children attend the same high school. In 1923 the city completed a new million-dollar high school with recreational equipment, including a gymnasium with swimming pool. Some of the parents of the white children raised objections to the colored children going into the swimming pool. They brought the complaint to the school board; a delegation of colored citizens made strong representation in a hearing before the board for no distinctions to be made in the treatment of children in this public high school.

The board, however, finally agreed that colored children should be formed into separate classes for use of the swimming pool. The liberal members of the board recognized this as a compromise, but thought it expedient to give in on this point for fear of reaction among the white citizens of the community which might result in a campaign for a separate high school for colored children.[3]

The minimum interference solution of racial conflict usually involves the supposition that the colored or foreign group shall do the menial labor. An instance of the sort of adjustment worked out on the basis of inferior economic status and segregation is given as follows by Winifred Raushenbush:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 18. [2] *Ibid.* case 19. [3] *Ibid.* case 121.

The most anti-Japanese farmer in Florin, a man who has lived in Florin for seventy-four years, is sure, however, that the Japanese have never driven away a single white man.

"I don't see why Japanese shouldn't be allowed to farm this kind of land," he said. "Certainly no American wants to do it, and the Japanese children don't want to do it either. The Japanese children all go to school and everybody knows what that leads to. The kind of people we want to work this land are the uneducated classes."

In spite of the suppositions of the anti-Orientalists, the white farmers of Florin are not afraid of being driven off the land by the Japanese. The Americans and the Japanese have by this time lived together in Florin for thirty-two years but the only relations between them are business relations. During all this time, these two racial groups have shared no common enterprise and during the last six years their contacts, instead of increasing, have become even more restricted than before. In 1920 the Florin Fruit Growers' Association, a coöperative marketing organization, which handles 60 per cent of the fruit in the Florin district, barred further Japanese from membership because the white members were afraid that ultimately the Japanese would propose one of their race for the board of directors. In 1921 the citizens of Florin, finding that the work of the American children was being retarded, decided to build two school houses and segregate the Japanese. Florin proves, certainly, that, while it is possible to put two races like two chemicals into the same test-tube, they will not necessarily mix.[1]

Caste. The policy of keeping the weaker racial groups isolated in an inferior status, with avoidance of all contacts except those involved in menial service, leads toward the formation of a caste system. Indeed, it may be said that as soon as the subordinate race accepts its status of avoidance and inferiority, caste has been established. Bishop Charles H. Brent, who was in the Philippines for many years, contributes the following instance:

I went to a town where one of the progressive business men was an American Negro married to a Filipino wife. His house was the only hostelry in the place, and I often put up at it. It seemed to me that it was absurd to be willing to sit down at the same table with Filipinos and not do likewise to this very respectable Negro. I proposed it one night when he was sitting back, waiting for me to finish my meal. I could see that he was quite shocked. Of course I did not press the invitation because I could see that he would be uncomfortable.[2]

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 142. [2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 27.

The great majority of Negroes, particularly in the Southern United States, become adjusted to their status of inferiority and accept it with little or no protest. To the extent that this is true, caste has been established.

Racial Paternalism. A status of superiority and control on the part of one racial group may go with a very keen and active interest by the dominant race in the welfare of the subordinated groups. The following instance is given by William Allen White:

> The actual government of Hawaii is in the hands of a white industrial and financial oligarchy. Again speaking broadly and allowing for many exceptions, this oligarchy is the second and third generation from the missionaries of the first half of the nineteenth century who came to Hawaii out of New England. There was no question but that the old missionaries of the 1820's, '30's, '40's, and '50's came without purse or script and were consecrated souls. They acquired no property. This world's goods did not interest them — but their children were Yankees. With commendable eagle eye for the main chance, these children acquired the arable land in the Islands and their grandchildren and their great grandchildren established the sugar plantations, erected the sugar mills, planted the pineapple fields, built the great canneries, the hotels, the public utilities, the wharves, the boats to the mainland. The commerce of the Island is theirs. Of course, the years brought a few newcomers and if they were thrifty and honest, the newcomers have thrived.
>
> But the big important distinctive thing which the ruling oligarchy has done is to maintain Christian ideals in the Island. It is a benevolent oligarchy, one of the few in the world. And by benevolent one does not mean that these commercial captains of the Island go around piously doing good works. More or less their piety is submerged, but in spite of its submersion their good works are greatly in evidence as enlightened self-interest. They have restraints and restrictions, these oligarchs, in handling the business of the Island. Everywhere one sees welfare work, clinics, hospitals, playgrounds, schools — multitudes of schools — and excellent school laws admirably enforced even for the poorest coolie children on the Island.
>
> So an odd thing has happened, a grotesque thing which must make our English cousins in the colonizing business smile wisely. No benevolent despot is your English colonizer. He is more patriotic than benevolent. He is colonizing for the glory of England in India, in Egypt, in Africa. He is after cheap labor to produce dividends for English share-holders. He knows that when the native goes to school, the native is hard to exploit. Hence the British are not so excited about schools in their dependencies as the Americans are. But these benevolent, Congregational rules have allowed

their altruism to affect their profits. As one racial group after another has come to the Island as coolies — the Chinese, the Koreans, the Japanese, and now last of all the Filipinos — the welfare work which these benevolent oligarchs have instituted, the schools, the clinics, the hospitals, the playgrounds, the employment agencies, the churches, the fair trading at the company stores, the ideal of a decent, minimum wage, have taken one group after another out of the coolie class into a trading class! The thing that has happened in Honolulu to the Asiatics is comparable with what happened in Boston to the Irish. Coming as common laborers they have become, first, skilled laborers, then merchants, and their children are going into the professions. And the fact that a fourth of the marriages on the Island are across race lines indicates how much self-respect these benevolent oligarachs have unconsciously injected by their institutions into the minds and hearts of these who were brought to the Island in another day and generation as mere hewers of wood and drawers of water.

And now this picture must have quick shading down. The white men in Hawaii are not mushy idealists. They would break a strike as ruthlessly as Judge Gary. Organized labor has small toe-hold in the Island. Agitators there are, too, among the Japanese, but many races and many tongues among the actual laboring classes make the agitator's work difficult, and naturally the oligarchy is happy about it. Now lest this qualifying stroke may seem too harsh, it must be added again immediately that in few places in the world has the ruling class such an intelligent, scientifically conscious view of the duties and obligations of capital as the ruling group in Hawaii.[1]

Competition and Racial Adjustment. Competition between racial and cultural groups, instead of having a wholesomely stimulating effect, seems to increase the bitterness of the antipathy and fan into flames latent conflict. The following are instances:

It is only within the last twenty years that Jewish boys in New York have taken an active interest in athletics. The settlements that worked among the Jews realized that the boys were devoting themselves too much to literary and intellectual pursuits and decided, about that time, to stimulate an interest in sports.

I remember, writes the headworker of one of the settlements, one of the first basketball games that our Settlement Athletic Club played with a group from one of the downtown settlements. Their opponents were all Jews, and our Irish and German boys regarded them with contempt mixed with amusement. This was before the game. To their astonishment and chagrin the Jewish team beat them.

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 178.

I thought it was a wholesome lesson but did not anticipate the consequences. The Jewish boys politely said good-by, but not long afterwards they came running back to the gymnasium breathless and demanding protection. It seems that our Athletic Club boys had gone down to the street and waited for the victorious team to appear and then had proceeded to give them the kind of a licking which the rules of the game would not permit on the gymnasium floor.[1]

The superintendent of a Playground Association in an industrial city of the middle west writes:

Our biggest problem from a recreational standpoint has been to know what to do concerning games between colored and white teams of adults. Children mix on all teams in our section of the country without much friction, but after high school age, colored men and women are rarely seen mixed with white players. For instance, the schools of our city do not draw any race lines, and we have about ten thousand colored people in a population of about 125,000.

Five years ago, when we started a city football league for men, there was one team composed of colored players who wanted to enter. A few white teams objected mildly, but by talking to the managers personally, we overcame the objection. The colored team was well coached and disciplined, and at the end of the season some of the white managers who at first objected said that the colored team was the whitest aggregation of sports in the league.

The next season the colored boys won the city championship over about eight white teams. Then the colored section of the town became intensely interested in and proud of their team. So, for the third season the team had a huge following and felt a tremendous responsibility to win. Perhaps they could not take defeat in as sportsmanlike a way as at first.

Anyway, feeling gradually grew to fever heat. The last game witnessed some free fights, and the following season the white teams absolutely refused to allow colored teams in the league. It is to be noted that this did not happen at the end of the second year when the colored boys had won the city championship but at the end of the third season.

A rather similar evolution took place with young women's basketball under the Girls' Athletic Federation. There was very little objection at first. Colored girls got better and better, won a north side championship after a year or two, played another year, and then were voted out of the federation by a kind of universal players' boycott. This year, trying my best, I have been unable to get them a single game, even outside the federation.

In baseball for both men and women the colored teams are now barred, in spite of the fact that when they played audiences were large and collections good. Along this last line, the feeling has not extended to professional cir-

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 182.

cles — in that field our former men's colored football team has been invited to play two games with our professional team, and both sides made money and no trouble arose. But in amateur circles the cleavage is complete in all sports.[1]

In one of the residential towns of Long Island, a local society decided to hold a costume ball at the state armory to raise funds for the hospital. In order to create greater interest, this event was preceded by a beauty contest: the local newspaper was to print a ballot each day, and the girl receiving the largest number of votes was to be queen of the "Spanish court," the setting contemplated for the dance.

Within a few days it became clear that a colored girl, daughter of a postal clerk, a relative of a high church dignitary, and freshman at a New York college, was coming close to lead in the competition. A few days later, the votes given to a young Jewess, student at a business college, brought her close to front rank, which then was held by a girl clerk in a credit store. At this time two persons whose names have not been divulged called upon the editor and proposed to him that he print at their expense 10,000 extra copies of the paper, credit their votes to a contestant of white native parentage to be designated by the society that was organizing the ball, and destroy them. The editor refused to do so. The visitors then offered him the same amount of money, $200, if without going through this procedure he would simply destroy enough of the votes given for the colored and the Jewish girl so that the decision would be sure to be in favor of a native white girl. He again refused to do so and advised his visitors to work for their candidates and win fairly. As a final proposal, he was asked to close the contest as soon as a candidate of desired parentage had been pushed to first place. This also he refused to do.

Within a few days, these facts having leaked out and the contest having been conducted with fever heat, the Jewish girl was driven back to the third place and the colored girl to eighth place. At this point, officers of the society denied all knowledge of the visit to the editor but declared that "due to the many misunderstandings the contest will not be held." At the next meeting of the society it was said that the original announcement of the contest had been unfortunately worded, that there had been no intention of electing in this democratic manner the "queen of the court" but only a lady in waiting, and that, as a matter of fact, Mr. X and Mrs. Y. had already been chosen to act as king and queen.

The colored girl said she had not been eligible anyhow since she lived in a neighboring town, and the Jewish girl was evidently more than pleased with the testimonial to her popularity without worrying greatly about the abandonment of the contest. The general feeling of the community, as ex-

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 163.

pressed by a leading citizen, was that the contest had, quite unnecessarily, "stirred up a great deal of bitterness, discord, and trouble." [1]

Moves toward Interracial Justice. Attempts at constructive, creative relationships between cultural and racial groups will be severely handicapped as long as any people involved is constantly brooding over instances in which its members, merely because of racial or cultural badge, are shut out of opportunities to function for which they are fitted. The most powerful antidote to such injustice is the frequent and prominent occurrence of instances in which the special abilities of members of the disadvantaged group are given adequate recognition. The *Literary Digest* for June 5, 1926, p. 35, gives this instance:

"Up from Slavery" might well entitle the life story of the Rev. H. H. Proctor, Negro head of one of the most important organizations of the Congregational churches of America, the great majority of which are composed of white congregations. For tho this Negro preacher was not a slave himself, he was born a few years after Appomattox of parents who had been slaves. He is now the Moderator of the New York Association of Congregational Churches, to which he was unanimously promoted from Vice-Moderator by 400 delegates, most of them white men and women. The total membership of the group represented, according to press reports, is 31,000, of which less than 5,000 are colored.

The election of Dr. Proctor is the culmination of a career of striving. He was born in 1868, near Fayetteville, Tennessee, the son of Robert and Mary Proctor, who worked on a plantation as slaves until the end of the war. He was graduated from Fiske University, Nashville, Tennessee, in 1891, receiving the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and in 1894 he received the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. In the same year he was called to a church in Atlanta, Georgia, where he remained twenty-five years. When the United States entered the World War General Pershing commissioned him to visit the Negro troops at the front and to act as their spiritual advisor. He became pastor of the Nazarene Congregational Church, Brooklyn, in 1919. The New York Moderator, we are told, looks upon the honor accorded him as an evidence of Christian liberality and of the decline of race prejudice.

In the *New York World* for August 29, 1926, appears a two column head: "Negro Woman Doctor Points Way for Girls." Under the head is a two-column portrait. The article includes the following:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 166.

When five ambulances dashed from the Harlem Hospital the other day to the West 135th Street station of the Lenox Avenue division of the I. R. T. subway, where four persons were injured and a score cut from broken glass in a rear-end collision, observers noted a colored girl of about twenty-eight giving first aid to the sufferers. Her name is Dr. May E. Chinn, and it was learned she is the third colored doctor connected with a hospital in this State. "I'm glad to be a doctor," she said, "and, while I dislike talking about myself, I'll gladly do it if there is any colored girl who may be interested and wish to follow in my line.

"What was my most thrilling experience? Oh, horrors! Sewing up a tongue! I was just starting out on my first day's work when a child was brought to me who had fallen and bitten its tongue so that it was almost hanging out of its head. I felt a bit faint, but went to it — sewed the thing up as you might a dress, and after that — it was easy. I could do anything!"

Dr. Chinn began her education in this city by attending a downtown kindergarten; then she went to P. S. 93, then Morris High School and finally to Columbia University, where she took a four years' course and specialized in science and bacteria. Later she attended New York University for special courses in medicine and studied at Bellevue. She held a position as bacteriologist at Flower Hospital for two years and has been with the Harlem Hospital since June.

When the evil effects of sensational racially antagonistic news is being dwelt upon it is well to remember the services of intelligent and forward-looking papers in such friendly interpretations as the above of race to race and people to people.

In 1921, in a Pennsylvania city the park director refused to obey an instruction of the council to discharge employees of foreign birth so that their jobs might be given to American-born taxpayers. He was upheld in that refusal by many leading citizens, including the director of the local Bureau of Americanization, who said: "Those who seek to divide our residents into jealous camps are enemies of true Americanism. Only the refining fire of intelligent patriotic influences can fuse the polyglot elements of our population into true, comprehending and hence, loyal American citizens." He also referred to a demand that the foreign language newspapers of the city be excluded from the award of city advertising. Both the Polish and German paper, he said, had responded to every call made to them by city, state and nation.[1]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 73, from the *Survey* for July 16, '21.

Typical of the spirit of fairness which helps to promote inter-group coöperation, is the following:

The rabbi of an old synagogue appeared before the Juvenile Court in Philadelphia one day in 1922, to lodge a complaint against eight gentile boys who had been arrested for entering the synagogue, tearing down hangings, and smashing valuable furnishings, ornaments, and vessels. After presenting his testimony, the rabbi pleaded with the judge for a release of the culprits, requesting, however, that the parents be reprimanded for the bad upbringing of the children. In doing so, the judge said:

"I would not like to discharge these boys without imposing at least a light sentence. I think the least the parents can do is to pay for the damage wrought which amounts to $56.75. They must pay this before I set the boys free.

"The parents as well as the boys must be made to understand that in this land of ours each one is free to worship God according to his own conscience.

"Had Jewish children committed such a desecration in a Catholic or Protestant Church, such a hue and cry would have been raised that it would have resounded in the heavens. Nor can we dismiss the matter when gentile children conduct themselves so shamelessly in a Jewish synagogue." [1]

If he who feels antagonism against a people can be led to put himself into the other's place his attitude may change. Jane Addams gives the following instance:

I recall one old man, fiercely American, who had reproached me because we had so many "foreign views" on our walls, to whom I endeavored to set forth our hope that the pictures might afford a familiar island to the immigrants in a sea of new and strange impressions. The old settler guest, taken off his guard, replied, "I see; they feel as we did when we saw a Yankee notion from down East," thereby formulating the dim kinship between the pioneer and the immigrant, both "buffeting the waves of a new development." [2]

An attempt to develop the spirit of fairness toward Negroes in industry is given in the following:

The superintendent of a tannery with 175 Negroes out of a total of 600 employees notified his foreman that he intended to use Negro labor, and that any foreman who felt that he could not teach colored workers would have to yield his place to some one who could. Frequent lectures to foremen were

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 30.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 108.

necessary to make them realize that fairness to Negro labor meant tolerance of a beginner's awkwardness and shortcomings and refraining from the use of insulting terms, such as "nigger."[1]

Miss Wald says:

The best conceived plans . . . will be fruitless unless, throughout the country, an intelligent and respectful attitude toward the stranger is sedulously cultivated.[2]

Open-Minded Search for Facts. The tendency to believe ill of groups differing in race or culture can be offset by a deliberate attempt to get at facts, to face truth, to get into touch with reality through the fog of misunderstanding and prejudice. The open-minded research spirit of this little white child is not a bad example:

A Negro student at a northern theological college writes:

Not long ago I spent a week-end with a friend at whose church I was scheduled to speak. My presence in the home was quite a curiosity to his four-year-old daughter. She had never seen my like before.

I made several friendly overtures, and at length she said, "Have a seat over there," pointing to a large Morris chair. As soon as I was seated, she jumped into my lap, took both of her hands, rubbed them on my face and then examined them to see if any of my color had been removed. Discovering no change in my face and no stain on her hands, she asked with great earnestness and anxiety, "Are you black all over?"

"Yes."

"Are you black under your collar?"

"Yes."

"But I know you don't have black feet?"

"Certainly."

"Did you have to be black? Why aren't you white like Daddy?"

After this grilling cross-examination our friendliness increased and when I left the home, as far as I could see her from the distance, she was waving a fond good-by to the human being she had discovered under a black skin.

When a crucial prejudice tends to interfere with constructive relations between races it is well to try an experiment with a view to testing its truth. The Chicago Commission on Race Relations gives this example:

The superintendent of a foundry employing 2,500 men, of whom 427 are Negroes, said, "The foremen told me one time that they never could get a

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 94.
[2] *The House on Henry Street*, p. 307.

colored man to grind because he was afraid of the wheel. I thought we'd better try out a few of them. We found that it was not the fact at all. One of the best grinders we now have is a colored man." [1]

The attempt to study racial relations on the Pacific Coast, reported by J. Merle Davis in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 140, illustrates the difficulties and the results of the scientific approach to such problems:

The fact that the Pacific coast is divided so definitely on this question intensified the difficulties which an impartial and scientific study always has to face. It was not so much the groups which refused to participate that created these difficulties, as it was the attitude of certain organizations which welcomed the survey in the belief that it would provide them with excellent publicity material either for or against the Oriental, and who were therefore ready to swallow the project hook, bait, and sinker.

"This is a very important proposition with very large possibilities for usefulness," said the secretary of the Japanese Exclusion League. "It gives promise of getting the facts to the public by a technique and organization which will give the public faith and interest in the facts. . . . I doubt whether the investigation will bring in evidence opposed to the policies of the Exclusion League, or the statement of facts that I have made, but if it does bring in clear evidence of error, I am willing to face it and adjust my position to it."

The loyal support of the Japanese Exclusion League was from first to last one of the largest factors in the success of the movement.

The relation of the American Legion to the survey was stated bluntly but honestly by one of its Seattle officials:

"We Legion men don't mind joining with your committee in this survey, but we have gone on record with a policy of opposition to the Oriental and if the survey should dig up facts that show against that policy we would have to drop out of the game and oppose it. I don't see how we can work with you. I do not personally believe in some of the extreme positions taken by the American Legion in its agitation, but I believe it is necessary to be extreme in order to awaken people to the Japanese danger. A statement of the plain facts won't interest people or move them. On a long shot you have got to aim above the bull's eye if you are going to hit it. For this reason I doubt if such a survey as you suggest would have much value."

For a generation the Pacific coast has been fed upon a diet of selected facts regarding the Oriental. Out of the huge reservoir of accumulated experience and factual material regarding the Oriental, his friends and opponents alike had adroitly but naturally picked those items which fitted the partisan picture which they were drawing. Each side claimed to have the

[1] *The Negro in Chicago*, p. 337.

authentic likeness of the situation. Each charged the other with misrepresentation. As a matter of fact, both sides were right in so far as the facts and situations which they presented were true of certain places and individuals and situations up and down the coast. But both were wrong in ignoring equally pertinent and abundant evidence that was not suited to supporting their claims. What was needed was a statement comprehensive enough to supply all the racial facts on the 2,000 mile Pacific frontier from which a complete picture of the Orientals and their relationship to the whites could be gained.

This was a large order. The fact, however, that many individuals and organizations who were at first suspicious of the survey later relinquished that suspicion, and that when the tentative findings were released for press publication they were accepted without great protest by the parties of both camps, shows that the survey has to some extent served the purpose for which it was intended.

Contagious Approval Helps to Break down Prejudice. Much of the favor or disfavor with which people regard members of other races is derived from hearsay. Children readily pick up the attitudes of their adult associates:

A child, just over five years of age, has been attending a Sunday school in which there is a Chinese girl who is "made a good deal of" by the teacher. The result is that little Mary talks very often about the Chinese and asks all sorts of questions about the way the Chinese do things. She seems to have already a decided attitude of friendliness toward the Chinese people.

On the other hand, she was overheard to remark "I don't like Italians." It was found that the experience which lay behind this was that some Italian street laborers had been passing the house several evenings in succession and had apparently made a very unfavorable impression on her by their personal appearance. She said, "Italians are dirty," and again, "Italians talk so funny. Their talk doesn't sound like ours." [1]

The application of contagious approval to heal a growing breach between an immigrant mother and her Americanized daughter is told by Jane Addams:

Angelina always left her mother at the front door of the settlement while she herself went around to the side door, because she did not wish to be too closely identified in the eyes of the rest of the cooking class with an Italian woman who wore a kerchief over her head, uncouth boots, and short petticoats. One evening, however, Angelina saw her mother surrounded by a

[1] The *Inquiry*, mimeographed leaflet.

group of visitors from the School of Education, who much admired the spinning, and she concluded from their conversation that her mother was the "Best stick-spindle spinner in America." . . . She allowed her mother to pull out of the big box under the bed the beautiful homespun garments which had been previously hidden away as uncouth; and she openly came into the Labor Museum by the same door as did her mother.[1]

Dispassionate Contact Leads toward Coöperation. If members of groups which have been antagonistic can be brought together under circumstances which do not stir up conflict, the mere contact with one another under normal conditions sets up the spontaneous tendencies toward understanding, friendliness, and sympathy. The conflict between certain Jewish and Gentile factory girls is an instance:

When the members of a trade union branch, made up for the most part of native American girls, were invited to join in a picnic with other branches known to them to be composed almost entirely of Jewish girls, they protested. "What for should we want to go on a picnic with those Jewish girls?" they asked. However, a majority of them were persuaded by an appeal to union solidarity. The party passed off without a hitch; indeed, all seemed to enjoy themselves greatly, and if they were conscious of racial differences, they did not show it.

One of the native American girls explained it afterwards: "You see, we had expected a lot of these dolls, all painted up, in impossible clothes and shoes in which one can't walk. But when they turned up in knickers and sweaters like ourselves, without gloves and without hats, knew how to make a fire and were just as accustomed to being out in the open as we were, we quite forgot that they were Jewish."

The same process may be observed in the following solution of a conflict between white and Negro social workers:

The staff of a social agency in an eastern city were in the habit of lunching together at the office. When a colored worker joined the staff and sat down to lunch with the others, there was a distinct feeling of resentment and embarrassment. Owing to the unpleasantness of the situation, the staff luncheons were abandoned soon afterwards.

Since then white and colored social workers have worked together for several years under the auspices of this agency, and their professional contact has been a most pleasant and cordial one. Having learned to respect each other professionally, the workers of the two races have lately joined in

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 243–5.
[2] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 39.

staff picnics and other parties without any question of discrimination coming up at all, even in private discussion.

The executive attributes her failure in the first instance and her eventual success in securing a cordial relationship between the white and colored workers to the fact that it was a mistake to assume that social recognition could precede professional recognition.[1]

The solution of a conflict involving antagonism against the religious food customs of Jews is summarized in the following:

In a midwestern college, where the students took their meals in common dining-rooms, it occurred that a second-generation immigrant whom we shall call "A" was seated across the table from two Russian Jews. The meals were eaten hurriedly and with little attention to manners. This probably encouraged a spirit of raillery which invariably culminated in "poking fun at the Jews." On days when the Jewish students refrained from eating certain kinds of meat, the meal-period was usually devoted exclusively to embarrassing remarks pointed at the Jews. As the remarks came to be more and more cruel in their effect, "A" noted that the two Jewish students ate very little. Occasionally they absented themselves from the dining room.

The situation was finally precipitated into one of outward antagonism and friction when the two Jewish students arose from the table in the midst of a meal, faced their chief tormentors with anger, expressed their feelings in no uncertain terms, and left the room. Following their departure, the discussion at the table revolved about the desire to punish the Jews for what was thought to be their effrontery. "A" alone intimated that their action was justified, but his opinion did not prevail.

The incident was soon spread about the campus and naturally at every telling it became so enlarged and interpreted as to mean that the Jews had insulted the Gentiles. This anti-Jew feeling was heightened by the known opposition to "foreign students" on the part of a popular college official. There was talk of driving the "foreigners" off the campus, and by this time the term "foreigners" was used to include Negroes, Japanese, Chinese, and other non-American students.

"A" at this point related the incidents which had led to the friction to a professor who was known to have liberal feeling toward foreign students. As a result it was decided to call a meeting of all foreign students to discuss the situation. Succeeding meetings were held until it became apparent that a permanent organization of foreign students might be helpful. During this period a few minor frictions occurred but the intense emotional excitement diminished. The foreign students called their organization the Cosmopoli-

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 153.

tan Club and soon began to hold open meetings at which noted foreign speakers appeared. The membership in the club was later increased so that one-half of the members were Americans. The meetings attracted considerable attention, offered an opportunity for the foreign students to regain their self-respect and standing in the college community, and incidentally provided an educational forum for dissipating misunderstandings. When it became known that there were over thirty foreign students in the student-body, this fact was even used as publicity on behalf of the college. No violence was done, and the foreign students gained a respected position in the community.[1]

People Who Are Useful Come to Be Tolerated and Liked. The process of inter-racial adjustment through contact is greatly facilitated if it develops that members of the opposed groups may be useful to each other in ways which both groups respect:

The athletic club at a certain settlement is composed of young men between the ages of 18 and 25. There is a membership of about 150. The members are chiefly of German and Irish extraction with a fairly large proportion of American-born Jews of Russian and Polish parentage.

A few years ago when young Italians began to apply for admission to the club there was a strong prejudice against accepting them. Indeed, a boy with an Italian name had no chance. The headworker of the settlement used to argue with the members in behalf of the Italians, citing cases of young Italians he knew who were thoroughly nice fellows, and urged that all applicants be considered on their merits. This had no effect. The club members replied that it was all very well for the chief to talk that way but that they knew these boys in a way he did not; they worked alongside of them, and they knew that any Italian for the slightest grievance would stick a knife in your back. There was no question about this in their minds.

The headworker concluded that it would be foolish to try to force things by insisting that Italian boys should be taken into the club. However, as Italians began to be prominent in sports generally, and as the club members came into competition with Italian members of other clubs, the prejudice began to break down. They were ready to take in an Italian if he looked like a promising athlete, one who might make some sort of record for the club.[2]

An instance in which a man whose purposes had been released by a Negro took the colored people into his expanded personality, is related by Miss Wald:

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 126. [2] *Ibid.* case 180.

A distinguished musician told me not long ago that he gave specially of his time and talent to the colored people of New York because of a debt he owed to a gifted Negro neighbor. When he was a boy, his attempts to play the violin attracted the colored man's attention; the latter offered his services as instructor when he learned that the boy could not afford to take lessons. The colored man had great talent and had studied with the best masters in Europe, but when he returned to America he was unable to obtain engagements or procure pupils, and in order to earn his living was obliged to learn to play the guitar.[1]

Twenty Years at Hull-House is full of instances in which endeavors were made to produce just this sort of personality-expansion between culturally antagonized groups. For instance:

For several years, every Saturday evening the entire families of our Italian neighbors were our guests. . . . Many educated Italians helped us, and the house became known as a place where Italians were welcome and where national holidays were observed. They came to us with their petty lawsuits, sad relics of the vendetta, with their incorrigible boys, with their hospital cases, with their aspirations for American clothes, and with their needs for an interpreter.[2]

One of the very hopeful developments in Negro-white relations in recent years is the increasing interest in Negro art, Negro poetry, and Negro music. That artists of this race should be in great demand by white audiences helps to correct the racial inferiority complex which has led to so much bitterness and violence.

Successful Joint Functioning Solves Conflicts. The instances just cited indicate that coöperation between racial and cultural groups grows out of contacts in which they find ways to function successfully together. Being put into normal working relationships tends to dissolve the antagonisms which conflicts, injustices, and avoidance create.

The experience of a group of colored men who were in training for officers' commissions at Camp Pike, Arkansas, during the World War, shows what a powerful integrator joint functioning may be under even the most adverse conditions. The Negroes had been transferred from Fort Dodge, Iowa, and nobody seemed to want to take charge of them:

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 163.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 232.

Captain G. strode in. Every man stood at attention. He was as handsome in figure and features as any white man I've ever seen. Tall — broad of shoulder — straight as an arrow — every inch a soldier. He looked us over. Not a muscle moved. Not an eyelash fluttered. And then he spoke. We could detect suppressed emotion. "This thing has been forced on me," he said, "I never thought I'd be assigned to train a gang of niggers. Well," grimly, "you'll work like hell, and if any of you get a commission it'll be in spite of me." He said some more but I didn't hear him. Every bit of true American manhood rose in rebellion in my breast and I was blinded with passion. My brain cleared. I looked about. He had gone, but not a figure moved. And then confusion broke. Every one talked at once. There were curses — threats. All sorts of drastic measures were suggested, and bedlam was breaking out anew when a quiet little fellow, scarcely over five feet, gained attention and spoke. "Listen, fellows, we are men and soldiers. We are loyal Americans. We are Negroes. Our honor is at stake. We represent the best that our race affords. The eyes of America are upon us. Let's play square — soldier for the man and trust in God." That was all. No display of oratory. Just a simple quiet message. But it worked. Resentment left us. Hate was replaced by love. We silently agreed "to soldier for the man and trust in God."

And we did "work like hell." No group of soldiers in any camp suffered more than we. When we hiked it was twice the distance and at double the pace of other units. Our guns were never clean enough. We stood at attention for two hours on inspection. At the slightest provocation Captain G. abused and cursed us. My, how that man could curse! He tried deliberately to break us, body and soul, but we stood it like men and "soldiered."

Toward the end he seemed to relent a bit. Our task grew lighter. Final examinations came, and we carried off many honors. Over fifty-five per cent of our company received commissions, and that was not a bad percentage. We were the most fit physically in the camp — hard, intensive training had made us that.

The colored citizens of L. R. were proud of us and gave a "graduation dance." Captain G. was there and when called upon to speak told us a most amazing story which explained much.

"When I was a lad," he said, "my father, who was sheriff of S. County in Oklahoma, was killed in a fight with Negro bandits. On his deathbed, he made my older brother and me swear before God that we would avenge his death by hating all Negroes and taking advantage of every opportunity to do them an injury. I grew up hating all Negroes, placing them all in the same category and determined to carry out my father's deathbed wishes. I became a ranger and was the terror of Negroes with whom I came in contact.

I hated them bitterly. When I found that I was assigned to train colored men for commissions I felt insulted and my hatred increased. Then I saw my chance to avenge my father by making these men under my command suffer. I deliberately set out to wreck them physically and break their souls. I had no idea that they could stand the pace which I set, and that any would earn commissions was not given consideration by me. But they stood the test. They beat me at my own game, and laughed as they did it. I learned first to admire, then to love them. I realized for the first time that the souls of black men were as noble as the souls of white men. I'm proud of Company 8 and I love every man in it and I love all black folk. I'm your friend till I die."

That was all. We were stunned at the revelation and crowded around him to shake his hand. There were tears in his eyes and in ours, also, for in spite of it all we, too, had learned to admire and love *him!* [1]

The central fact brought out by the instances of constructive racial relations given above is well summarized by the following quotation from Professor Park:

It was the intimate and personal relations which grew up between the Negro slave and his white master that undermined and weakened the system of slavery from within, long before it was attacked from without. Evidence of this was the steady increase, in spite of public opinion and legislation, to the contrary, of the number of free Negroes and emancipated slaves in the South. Men who believed the black man fore-ordained to be the servant of the white were unwilling to leave the servants they knew to the mercy of the system when they were no longer able to protect them.

The changes which are taking place on the Pacific Coast are part of the changes that are going on in every other part of the world. Everywhere there is competition and conflict; but everywhere the intimacies which participation in a common life enforces have created new accommodations, and relations which were merely formal or utilitarian have become personal and human.[2]

Summary

A. Minimum interference and *laissez-faire* are impulsive reactions to racial and cultural conflicts, and are often suggested as the only sound solution.

1. Segregation and avoidance, however, are very frequently resented by the segregated race as an implication of inferiority and a limitation of freedom.

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 70. [2] *Survey*, May 1, '26, p. 196.

2. The minimum interference solution of racial conflict usually involves the supposition that the colored or the foreign group shall do the menial labor.

3. The policy of keeping the weaker racial groups isolated in an inferior status, with avoidance of all contacts except those involved in menial service, leads toward the adoption of caste.

B. Racial or cultural paternalism involves active interest by the dominant group in the welfare of the subordinated people.

C. Competition between racial and cultural groups, instead of having a wholesomely stimulating effect, seems to increase antipathy and inflame latent conflict.

D. Instances where special abilities of disadvantaged races are adequately recognized act as partial antidotes to the poison of injustice.

E. Mutual understanding is vital to creative coöperation.

4. Open-minded research is one method of reaching understanding.

5. Contagious approval helps.

6. Dispassionate contact leads toward coöperation.

F. Successful joint functioning is the key to inter-racial and inter-cultural good-will.

7. People who are useful come to be tolerated and liked.

8. Doing things together is the basis of expansion of personality between groups as between individuals.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

20D1. In the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 175, Chester H. Rowell presents thus the alternative between racial amalgamation and caste:

> We have enough of caste already. It has made a farce of democratic institutions and obstructed social and economic progress in one of the fairest sections of our country. Caste means injustice and cruelty to the individual and stagnation to society. Yet, throughout the world, wherever two races have lived long together without amalgamating physically, caste has been the result. On the two sides of an international line, the rivalry of races makes for human progress. But across a caste line, within the nation, it makes for immobility. And, under our institutions, it makes for political confusion, also. Democratic institutions may be conceivable which could operate on a basis of race and caste groups, but we have not devised them. Eastern Europe, despairing of the solution, is escaping it by wholesale and

murderous deportations, to undo the interminglings of past migrations and homogenize national populations.

Do you agree that there is no alternative to amalgamation but caste? Assuming that the choice is between these two, which would you regard as preferable, and why?

20D2. What effect has the present immigration policy of the United States upon the welfare of our native population? Upon the welfare of immigrants? Upon the welfare of the nations from which immigrants seek to come?

20D3. What points are illustrated by the following instance?

The employment manager of a large engineering plant in the middle west said to an interviewer:

"It is true, our war experience with Negro laborers has satisfied us that their employment in certain shops is very advantageous.

"When we began to employ these colored men in considerable numbers, we followed the customary policy of segregating them so far as it was possible from the whites. It was not practicable at the time to construct separate dining halls and recreation rooms for them. So, to avoid any possible friction, we put up a wooden partition and divided the arrangements so that Negroes could be served on one side and the white workers on the other.

" You may imagine our surprise when on one of the first days some of the white fellows had pulled down the partition and were sitting down indiscriminately with the colored men at the same tables. With the division, the service was not as good as it had been, and somehow the white men had got it into their heads that the Negroes were given preference. They were more desirous of quick service than of keeping themselves apart." [1]

20D4. The *N. Y. Times* for January 2, 1927, ran a story two-thirds of a column long under the headlines: " NEGRO WORKER WINS HARMON ART PRIZES — Gold Medal and $400 Awarded to Man Who Washes Windows to Have Time to Paint." What motives probably underly the prominence given this item? What effects is such publicity likely to have?

20D5. What would you do if you found that a team against which you were scheduled to play a game had a Negro member? What would you do if your team had a Negro member and another team refused to play a game scheduled with yours unless a white player was substituted? Why?

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 93.

20D6. What comments have you to offer on the following incident presented by Prof. Niles Carpenter, in the *Survey* for July 15, 1926, pp. 453–4?

When the parish priest took the professor to call on Benedetto, he was getting under $20 per week, "watching" fresh-laid asphalt, and was desperately afraid that presently he would be unable to earn even that little. He and his wife had moved into two rooms in a dismal neighborhood, from which they faced the days to come with frightened bewilderment, howbeit with something, too, of the fortitude with which their peasant forbears had faced hardship.

And yet he wouldn't go back to Italy. He was old, and he was poor, and the future was terribly uncertain, but here in America he was a *man* and back in Italy he would be a peasant. And he wasn't going to be a peasant again!

Painfully rising to his feet Benedetto picked up a hat, set it on his head, snatched it off with a gesture — and stood for a moment the very picture of cowed and brow-beaten servility. And all the while he poured forth a torrent of Anglo-Italian. Thus it was in Italy — one was not a man but a peasant — when one passed a *signore* on the road, one took off his hat, so. When one had to go to the doctor or the lawyer or the *ufficiale*, one stood outside his house, thus, hat in hand. No matter if one was cold or wet or shivering with fever, one stood there thus — for an hour, perhaps — until it was convenient that he should be seen.

But here in America, one *was* a man. Why, there had been a time, when he, Benedetto, had gone to see the Big Boss, the president of the construction company for which he had worked these thirty-eight years. A great man, he was, a millionaire! And yet — Bendetto's eyes gleamed in proud reminiscence — the great man had told him to leave his hat on his head, and had shaken his hand, and made him take a chair — him, an Italian laborer, in his working clothes. That was being a man; that was freedom; that was America. And in America he would live and die.[1]

20D7. How would you go about it to give to a small Negro minority in a high school a normal social life?

20D8. What special difficulties are there in getting correct facts about race conflicts?

20D9. J. M. Davis reports, in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, on p. 140, that when it was proposed to make an unbiased, thorough survey of the race problem on the Pacific coast the following was the reaction

[1] This material has recently been published by the University of Buffalo under the title *Nationality, Color, and Economic Opportunity in Buffalo*, by Niles Carpenter.

of a mission board secretary with a generation of experience with Orientals:

How can you honestly say that you do not know the truth about these people? The facts regarding their unjust treatment on this coast are perfectly clear. When you propose a cold-blooded, scientific survey for finding the "real conditions," you compromise your honesty. Don't sit on the fence on moral issues of this kind. Your survey should publish its watchword, "Justice, truth and fair play for the Oriental" and the data you will find should support it.

What are your reactions to this point of view?

20D10. Discuss the behavior of the persons involved in the following episode:

In a city with many thousand Poles and Germans, a high-grade place of entertainment advertised for girl ushers. A Polish girl, graduate of a high school and of attractive appearance, applied in person. 'What is your name?" the manager asked. "Maria Wasilewska," she answered. The manager, a German Jew, when he heard her name, remarked, "We do not employ Poles."

Three months later, the same concern again advertised for ushers. Maria again called to apply for this position, but this time gave her name as Mary Brown and was employed at once. In a short time she became overseer with the privilege of herself employing girls. One day she betrayed her nationality. The manager was surprised. But since she, with other Polish girls she had engaged, was fulfilling her function to the complete satisfaction of the employer and of the audience, the matter was not further discussed; and one more citizen had been weaned from a race prejudice traditional with his own people.[1]

20D11. The following incident presents two contrasted policies. Of which do you approve, and why? Can you suggest any policy better than either of these?

A sociology teacher in a midwestern state university used to seat her students alphabetically. At the close of a period in which she had seated a class in this manner a white girl asked to have her seat changed. "I am sitting beside a colored girl." "Is she personally offensive? Does she annoy you?" the teacher asked. "No, but she is colored," was the reply. The teacher tried without avail to reason with the student. At the end she said that she could not fairly change the seats, whereupon the white girl dropped the course.

A similar request was made to another teacher under practically identical

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 81.

circumstances. He said to the girl who complained, "I am going to change your seat, not because I think you are right, but because I do not believe that requiring you to keep that seat will make you see colored people in a different light. I do believe, however, that if you take another seat and stay in the class you may learn from what is said in the course about race and from seeing this colored girl as a member of this class things which will make you change your mind." [1]

20D12. What would you do if you were in the position of Kate in the following incident? She had made dates to go to chapel with Susan, a colored girl who was being shunned because of her race:

Kate was not particularly observant, but it was forced on her attention some weeks later that, on the occasions when she went to chapel with Susan, none of her friends saw her, though by this time the place was swarming with her friends. Gossip from the gymnasium said that Susan always had to march with the teacher. Chairs next her in class always stood empty.

Kate spent a good deal of time thinking about the matter. Finally, with a good deal of repressed anger, she said to a sympathetic listener:

"I don't mind the un-Christian part of this business. Making a whole freshman class Christian is likely to take a thousand years anyhow, and that's none of my business. But I must say I don't like the rudeness of the performance."

Her eyes grew hard with indignation.

"Here's a girl admitted by the college; she's working well and she stands well. She's here because no Negro college can offer her as good an education; but she's handicapped by her color, and the girls won't speak to her. Think of her courage in staying here!

"But think, too, of the outcome. When she goes back to her own people to teach, what kind of contribution will she be able to make to racial understandings? What kind of feelings will she have toward white people when we treat her in this way?"

"Have you talked to her about it?"

Kate stared. "Of course not," she said. "She happens to be a lady and does not talk about herself."

"Isn't there anything you can do?"

"That's just the tough part. If she were white, I should not give her a second thought. I don't like her especially — at least not more than lots of white girls whom I dodge when I can. But if I am even decent to her she will think perhaps that she has found a friend. When she learns the truth the lie might cut worse than the rudeness of the other girls. I am sure I don't know what to do about it." [2]

[1] *And Who Is My Neighbor?* Case 129. [2] *Ibid.* case 125.

20D13. Prof. Robert E. Park, discussing the race problem in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, says on pp. 139, and 196:

It was a minor statesman who said: "What is the Constitution between friends?" As the embodiment of a moral doctrine, this question, with its implications, is subject to grave qualifications, but as a statement of psychological fact it has to be reckoned with. What, between friends, are any of our conventions, moral codes, and political doctrines and institutions? It is personal friendships that corrupt politics. Not only politics, but all our formal and conventional relations are undermined by those elemental loyalties that have their roots in personal attachments. There is no way of preserving existing social barriers, except by preserving the existing animosities that buttress them.

We must reckon with the fact that for good or for ill, under the conditions of modern life, these personal friendships are steadily increasing. Trade, travel, literatures, every form of communication, multiply them.

In our estimates of race relations we have not reckoned with the effects of personal intercourse and the friendships that inevitably grow up out of them. These friendships, particularly in a democratic society like our own, cut across and eventually undermine all the barriers of racial segregation and caste by which races seek to maintain their integrity.

What bearings have these remarks upon the solution of race relations?

20D14. What comments would you make on the following episode, presented by the *Inquiry?*

The parents had been at the Christmas "assembly" at school proudly to watch five-year-old Johnny. It was natural that at dinner afterwards the celebration was discussed. One of them remarked on the fact that Henry, a class-mate of John's of Jewish parentage, seemed to have enjoyed the singing of the hymns and a little religious address by one of the teachers quite as much as the Christian children. All at once John flared up: "Don't you call Henry a Jew — he is a friend of mine!"

20D15. The *Living Church* printed a letter written by a Chinese student in this country to a friend in China, which contains the following:

The people here as a whole have a strong sentiment against Chinese, so it is rather hard for a young "Chink" to make acquaintances in refined society . . . I don't feel at home at all. The hearty welcome I get from church people makes me feel the more that I am among strangers; they greet me so much more warmly than they greet each other. It makes me feel that I am different.

If the foreigner is ignored he feels that he is not wanted; if he is warmly greeted he feels hurt about that. What is the solution for this dilemma?

20D16. To what extent do you consider the following statement by Lillian Wald correct?

Few, if any, of the men and women who have had extended opportunity for social contact with the foreigner favor a further restriction of immigration.[1]

What instances can you cite which confirm or contradict her statement? What theoretical reasons have you for expecting something of this sort to occur?

20D17. The *Literary Digest* for November 27, 1926, p. 32, carried the following item:

The uninitiated may be surprised to learn that a Southern Methodist congregation had been worshiping in a Jewish synagog. But the initiated will not wonder, since, as we are told, the invitation from the Jews and the acceptance from the Methodists was much more in character than the opposite would have been. Unable to use their own building because repairs were being made, the Trinity Methodist Church in Baltimore cast about for another place to worship. An invitation tendering the use of its synagog was offered by a Jewish congregation, and the spirit of its hospitality is expressed in an address of welcome by Rabbi Lazaron to the Methodist worshipers, which we cull from the press:

"In the name of our common God, I welcome you to this synagog. We feel it a privilege to have you here with us, and feel that you would do the same under similar circumstances. Every house of worship should have above its doors this motto, 'This is a house of prayer for all people.' In this spirit, we welcome you."

How do you feel about this incident, and why?

20D18. Note the behavior of the Chinese student in the following incident, printed by the *Inquiry* under the heading "Non-Resistence in Interracial Conflict":

A Chinese student related his experiences at the state university from which he was about to graduate. His reception there had been anything but friendly for the most part although a few men had gone out of their way to befriend him, one of them even inviting the Chinese to his home for a week-end. On the other hand, a fellow student who occupied a room next to his made himself particularly obnoxious, throwing shoes against his door and

[1] *House on Henry Street*, p. 290.

indulging in other pranks. The Chinese overheard this student express horror on finding that an American had taken him home to introduce him to his mother and sister, and immediately he made up his mind that he would teach this student to respect him, not for his own sake, but for the sake of his dear motherland.

So he went out of his way to be friendly to his neighbor. Every day he gave him a smiling good morning, though at first he received no response. He ignored every insult, but tried to make himself pleasant and useful. When he knew his neighbor to be hard up he casually invited him to go to a movie with him. Gradually they talked together more often and found that they had several interests in common. After a while this student invited him to his home.

"We have become warm friends," concluded the Chinese. "I have since spent many holidays and week-ends at his home; and on leaving the university I shall know that one of my fellow students at least will regretfully miss me."

In what incident in our text was this type of reaction presented? How did it work there? How generally is such an attitude advisable in interracial conflicts? In intercultural conflicts? When, if ever, is such behavior cowardly or futile? Can you cite instances?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

20X1. Ask some well-educated Negro, Japanese, or Chinese, or a representative of some cultural group which suffered from discrimination in America, to present to the class his (or her) ideas as to the best steps toward a solution of the conflict of which he finds himself a victim. Members of the class should write critical analyses of the solutions thus offered.

20K2. Study the problem of the Negro in northern cities in America, seeking particularly to discover the essential elements in the development of a sound policy on this subject. (Time to be arranged)

20K3. Prof. Robert E. Park offers, in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, p. 196, the following summary of the evolution of racial relations:

> In the relations of races there is a cycle of events which tends everywhere to repeat itself. Exploration invariably opens new regions for commercial exploitation; the missionary, as has frequently been said, becomes the advance agent of the trader. The exchange of commodities involves in the long run the competition of goods and of persons. The result is a new distribution of population and a new and wider division of labor.
>
> The new economic organization, however, inevitably becomes the basis

for a new political order. The relations of races and people are never for very long merely economic and utilitarian, and no efforts to conceive them in this way have ever been permanently successful. We have imported labor as if it were mere commodity, and sometimes we have been disappointed to find, as we invariably do, that the laborers were human like ourselves. In this way it comes about that race relations which were economic become later political and cultural. The struggle for existence terminates in a struggle for status, for recognition, for position and prestige, within an existing political and moral order. Where such a political and moral order does not exist, war, which is the most elementary expression of political forces, creates one. For the ultimate effect of war has been, on the whole, to establish and extend law and order in regions where it did not previously exist.

The race relations cycle which takes the form, to state it abstractly, of contacts, competition, accommodation, and eventual assimilation, is apparently progressive and irreversible. Customs regulations, immigration restrictions, and racial barriers may slacken the tempo of the movement; may perhaps halt it altogether for a time; but cannot change its direction; cannot, at any rate, reverse it.

Make as good a collection as you can of instances pertinent to these generalizations. What evidence do you find confirming Dr. Park's analysis? What items, if any, refute any of his points? What data do you discover suggesting modification or development of the thesis? (Time credit to be arranged)

20K4. Make a study of the treatment of the problem of racial minorities in the Versailles Treaty and in subsequent actions by the League of Nations. (Time credit to be arranged)

20K5. Study the problem of accommodation of purpose between the Protestant and Catholic sections of Ireland. (Time credit to be arranged)

20K6. What sort of solution to international conflict is suggested by the action of Japan, as reported in the *Independent* for May 23, 1925, pp. 585–7? How far is such a solution plausible? (One hour)

20K7. Make a study of the lives of from one to ten of the most distinguished living Negroes, emphasizing particularly the ways in which race conflict has affected the development of their personalities. (Two to ten hours)

20K8. Study the history of the successful relations between Japanese and Americans in Livingston, Cal., as reported by Winifred Raushenbush, in the *Survey* for May 1, 1926, pp. 144–5. Summarize the significant items in this account. (One hour)

20K9. Langston Hughes, the Negro poet, writing in the *Nation*, says that the Negro artist "works against an undertow of sharp criticism and misunderstanding from his own group and unintentional bribes from the whites." He continues:

The present vogue in things Negro, altho it may do as much harm as good for the budding colored artist, has at least done this: it has brought him forcibly to the attention of his own people among whom for so long, unless the other race had noticed him beforehand, he was a prophet with little honor. I understand that Charles Gilpin acted for years in Negro theaters without any special acclaim from his own, but when Broadway gave him eight curtain calls, Negroes, too, began to beat a tin pan in his honor. I know a young colored writer, a manual worker by day, who had been writing well for the colored magazines for some years, but it was not until he recently broke into the white publications and his first book was accepted by a prominent New York publisher that the "best" Negroes in his city took the trouble to discover that he lived there. Then almost immediately they decided to give a grand dinner for him. But the society ladies were careful to whisper to his mother that perhaps she's better not come. They were not sure she would have an evening gown.

Make a study of "the present vogue in things Negro" with a view to its bearings upon relations between the races. (Four hours)

20K10. Make a study of the evidence bearing upon the relative desirability of the northern and western European immigrant as compared with the southern and eastern, and of the effects of the measures taken to influence the ratios between these two groups. (Time credit to be arranged)

20K11. Read the sections on "The Assimilation of Races," and on "Americanization as a Problem in Assimilation," in Park and Burgess, pp. 756–69. What light does it cast on the problems discussed in this chapter? (One hour)

20K12. Make a more detailed analysis of the article abstracted as follows in the *American Journal of Sociology*, 1926, p. 842:

The Scientific Regulation of Immigration. — Of the possible policies of immigration, those of total or absolute exclusion, unrestricted admission, and intermittent admission and exclusion are impossible and impractical. The remaining forms are our present form, which is one of percentum limitation, and that of scientific restriction. This latter consists of a comprehensive and far-sighted view of economic development of the country, is determined by a board with authoritative knowledge of the situation, has a policy of selection on the basis of individual worth rather than racio-cultural

selection, effective distribution by making known economic opportunities to those who seek them, a policy of incorporation that conceives of the process of the release of hitherto unused and cramped powers of body and mind, and a generous overflowing of human capacity in an atmosphere of liberty. — Julius Drachsler, *Academy of Political Science* (*Annual Proceedings*), X (1924), 116–34.

20W13. Gustave Ratzenhofer claimed that conflicts between races go through definite stages. Study the summary of his theories in Lichtenberger's *Development of Social Theory*, pp. 453–64, and compare with Gidding's theories as to stages of conflict. With what position cited in this chapter are these theories most closely allied? How closely parallel are they? (Two hours)

CHAPTER XXI

INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT

INDUSTRIAL conflicts destroy social values in many directions. They cause great losses in wages, with consequent suffering on the part of the families of the strikers. They often mean huge losses to the employers. They are likely to involve disorder, rioting, and even bloodshed. They tend to dislocate business, causing losses to workers and employers in other occupations. They cause shortages of goods, involving inconvenience, high prices, and sometimes extensive suffering on the part of consumers. It has been estimated that the British coal strike in 1926 caused a loss of over $500,000,000. In our own country industrial conflicts over coal have been chronic. The following account sketches some of the features of coal warfare in West Virginia:

The Battle Ground of Coal. In 1919 there was a great coal strike in West Virginia. Mine guards were sworn in as deputy sheriffs. They were paid out of a fund raised by the mine owners, and their duties included ejection of union sympathizers. When the union entered Logan, W. Va., its organizers were beaten; its members were discharged, evicted from their homes, and made to leave the country. Its meetings were broken up. The mine owners told of attacks from ambush; how their men were shot down from behind; how witnesses for trials were mysteriously killed before they could testify.

Word came over the hills to the miners that women and children friendly to the union were being murdered. The report was not true, but a thousand or more union miners gathered at Lens Creek, about 15 miles from the state capital, and marched on Logan. They were halted by the Governor and by the District President of the United Mine Workers. The Governor promised the men an investigation. A volume of startling testimony was compiled, and there was a wide demand that something be done. But the legislature did nothing, and the union had failed to organize Logan.

Next, in 1920, it struck at Mingo, and quickly got a foot-hold. Then the mine-owners began to evict union miners from their homes (for in a coal camp the company owns homes, stores, churches, Y. M. C. A., and everything else). A party of detectives went to Matewan to evict miners. In the

pistol battle which resulted, ten men fell, including the mayor of the town. Evictions went on, however, and as fast as the miners' families were "set out," the union lodged them in tents. Within a short time there were some five thousand persons under canvas.

Federal troops came and went, and came and went a second time. Their departure both times was a signal for renewed violence until, in May, 1921, Governor Morgan proclaimed martial law.

The state commandant forthwith drew up regulations. The union was given so many days a week in which to visit its tent colonies. There were to be no meetings, and it was decreed that three or more union men gathered together would constitute a meeting. For violation of this order, scores of union men were jailed. Then two union sympathizers were shot dead by private detectives. The volcano went into full eruption. The march of 1919 was re-enacted, on a scale three times as large, and with the additional object of going through Logan to Mingo, and liberating the prisoners in the jail there. The marchers were turned back once. Two days later, however, two union miners were killed, and three others wounded by Logan deputies and State Police.

The miners reassembled, and they now numbered thousands. At Blair Mountain, in Logan County, the mob was met by a force gathered to defend Logan, and a three-day battle was fought. The operators hired four airplanes, and bombed the miners. Both sides used machine guns; both sides had a number of men killed. Civil war had broken out afresh. It did not stop until two thousand Federal troops were sent in.[1]

One item in the cost of the West Virginia conflict was approximately $2,000,000 spent by the union in maintaining the tent colonies of strikers. But the losses and sufferings resulting from this and other coal strikes have not been confined to the coal fields. Scarcity of fuel results; coal prices rise to such heights that thousands of self-respecting families in distant cities are dragged below the poverty line and have to accept charity in order to avoid freezing.

The Passaic Woolen Mills Strike. The above instance deals with industrial conflict in one basic industry. Textiles, however, furnish equally vivid illustrations:

The Passaic strike began on January 25, 1926. The first cut in wages had come in the Botony mills during the previous October; most of the other mills had imitated the example. Shortly after the announcement of the general cut, labor organizers had begun to work among the workers of

[1] Abridged from "The Battle Ground of Coal," by James M. Cain, *Atlantic Monthly*, Oct., '22.

Passaic. Unrest became more and more general in the industry. In the Botony mills a worker was discovered agitating, and was discharged. A committee of workers immediately asked for the reinstatement of the man discharged, and the restoration of the 10 per cent wage cut. The members of the committee were thereupon discharged. These carried the word back to the other workers in the mill, which produced a general strike, hardly any workers remaining.

The total number of strikers by the middle of March was about 16,000. At the beginning the leaders persuaded the workers to join by using the picket-line as it had hardly been used before in this country. Before six in the morning, long lines of pickets were stretched before the entrances to the mills still at work. Since these pickets were required to keep moving, they would be marched down one side of the street to a corner, across the street and back on the other side. In this way a sort of endless chain of moving humanity was achieved, and workers, even if physically unmolested, would find it a severe nervous strain to have to run such a gantlet in order to enter the mill.

The Passaic commissioner of public safety says that he ordered the police to maintain strict neutrality, and that he was criticized by both sides — by the strikers for police brutality and by the operators for insufficient police activity.

The workers thus summarized the course of the strike during the period when the police were most in evidence:

"The commissioner of public safety and the chief of police in Passaic have tried in vain to limit the picket lines to a mere handful of strikers. Mass picket lines, an essential strike tactic in this unorganized territory, have been maintained throughout the strike against the most brutal assaults imaginable. Men, women, and children have been clubbed into insensibility, heads have been broken, yet the lines have remained firm. Chief Zober has thrown tear-gas bombs among these defenseless and peaceable workers; he has had the fire-hose turned upon them in the streets on a cold winter day; he has had them ridden down with horses, and clubbed again, yet the lines have turned out stronger than ever. In their frenzy the police have turned upon newspaper men, clubbed them, smashed their cameras and destroyed their films, so that no evidence might remain of their illegal violence. The picket lines have only increased thereby and the sympathy of the entire country has turned to the strikers. Singing and cheering, the textile strikers have stood firm."

The Strike As the Employers Saw It. Open Shop Bulletin No. 14, published by the National Association of Manufacturers, May 22, 1926, contained an article entitled "The Passaic Woolen Strike" by Noel Sargent. The article begins by seeking to prove three things, namely, that the strike

was started by communists, was led by communists, and had a communistic background and purpose. The closing paragraphs in Mr. Sargent's article included the following sentences:

"We have in this strike an example of the communist methods, and of deliberate public deception as to issues and conditions.

"The community in general — merchant, banker, house owner, laborer, in fact every citizen and resident — is so intimately related to and dependent upon the local woolen industry that any disaster involving that industry will certainly have its equally disastrous effects upon the community as a whole.

"There would have been no strike if the communists had not gone into Passaic and Bergen counties to start it. The mills could obtain all the workers they could employ, and at pre-strike wages, if the intimidation resorted to were removed. The mills will never again operate in the Passaic district with normal work forces, which means an immense loss to Passaic woolen workers, and a blow to community prosperity. The strikers are thus being victimized by their leaders and alleged champions!" [1]

Antagonizers That Breed Industrial Conflict. The above two sample instances — which might, of course, be duplicated in great numbers from the building trades, transportation, the garment trades, and so on — present aggravated instances of social conflict. Intense waves of destructive emotional energy had been generated, and went storming and crashing through the social structures of these industries and these communities. To generate such energy the personalities of the workers or of the employers, or both, must have been menaced or injured. What were the stimuli that produced these outbreaks? What sorts of antagonizers are apt to set off social explosions of this type in industry?

Wages That Infringe Standards of Living Antagonize. In 1917 the author made, for the City Club of Milwaukee, Wisconsin, an intensive study of the relation of family incomes to normal standards of living in that city. Among the conclusions reached are the following:

Under average conditions, one-fourth of the families in Milwaukee have incomes too small to maintain physical health, industrial efficiency, and normal, wholesome living. This means, for the Milwaukee urban district, that over 25,000 families, containing 130,000 people, are usually suffering from poverty. These families contain over 40 per cent of the children under working age in the city. In times of industrial depression, such as 1914–15,

[1] The above is abridged from the account by Winifred L. Chappell, in the *Christian Century* for Aug. 5, '26.

or of excessive prices, such as 1917, over one-third of the families, including over half of the young children in the city, are poverty-stricken. Bad as these conditions are, it appears that the extent of poverty in Milwaukee is probably typical of American cities.

Poverty, as used here, means that these families have insufficient food for their children, cannot purchase adequate clothing, are compelled to live in overcrowded dwellings without sufficient light and air, cannot afford to call a doctor whenever necessary or to have decaying teeth cared for except through charity, have no funds for normal and innocent recreation, or in some other way are denied the essentials of normal living.

Insufficient wages and lack of work account for two-thirds of the poverty existing in Milwaukee; only one-third is due to the combined effects of expenditures for liquor, widowhood, sickness, and misfortunes of other kinds. The poverty deficit of Milwaukee, and of other American cities, is primarily a deficit in earnings.

Menacing Working Conditions. Working conditions in certain textile mills were described as follows by workers:

The dye houses work day and night. The heat in some of the processes such as dyeing and drying is that of the tropics. The steam is so thick you cannot see the worker opposite you. Dangerous machines stand in this fog, and workers constantly run the risk of serious accidents from walking into them. The atmosphere is unbearable, filled as it is with the fumes from bleachers, acids, and other chemicals. Floors are running with water, so that workers must wear rubber boots or wooden shoes for protection. Clothes are dripping with steam and perspiration. Yet workers are forced to work ten, twelve, even fourteen hours a day or night during the rush season. . . . It is stated that workers drop from sheer exhaustion and sleep in their soaking wet clothes on the sloppy floors.

When the night shift lets out, in the bitter cold of winter, men from the dry room, who have been working in a temperature of 140°, report that they must walk home in their wet clothes to get a few hours' sleep before reporting again at 7 in the morning. . . . Twenty-one workers stated that they were given no time for lunch but had to snatch what they could at the job. Thirty-five workers reported that they were given twenty minutes for lunch. Only nine were given one hour.[1]

The workers who reported these conditions naturally regarded with antagonism the management which was responsible for these dangers and discomforts.

[1] Adelaide Ross Smith, M. D., *Survey*, Nov. 15, '26, p. 226.

Industrial Fatigue Poisons Industrial Relations. Fatigue is a physical poison which works its most venomous effects in its destruction of social coöperation. Williams talked with a steel worker who assured him that a Bolshevik uprising was coming in this country. The following week Williams met the same worker and learned that at their previous meeting the man had worked 18- and 20-hour turns at the mill because somebody else had had the flu. By the time of their second meeting, however, the man had caught up his sleep. Bolshevism didn't seem to interest him. To him the country was saved![1]

A suggestion of the way in which over-work may cramp and thwart a personality is given in an observation by Jane Addams:

> We constantly see the most promising musical ability extinguished when the young people enter industries which so sap their vitality that they cannot carry on serious study in the scanty hours outside of factory work.[2]

Sometimes Foremen Antagonize. Whiting Williams records a series of experiences which, in mosaic, give a picture of the typical, old-style boss as a thwarter, an irritant, and a conflict-builder. He pictures the foreman whose only word is an oath, confusing the beginner and hardening the old hand by robbing him of his interest in his job. He tells of the foremen who so insistently domineer over the men under them as to prevent their taking the least creative joy in functioning according to their own initiative. He pictures a hierarchy of bosses, from the top down in a great, centralized industry, each under coercive orders, each " riding " the men below him, each seeking to secure for himself the joy of creative functioning by taking away the initiative of his subordinates.[3]

Tools as Antagonizers. Over-speeding, poor lighting, unnecessarily strained positions at work, poisonous fumes, unguarded machinery, lack of proper toilets — such conditions as these are widely recognized as possible sources of antagonism by workers toward employers. Not so widely observed is the antagonism created by poor tools and equipment. Whiting Williams observed instances in which the craftsman pride of the workers was thwarted by having the tools provided by the management break down at a critical point, of requests for usable tools made repeatedly by the men but ignored or neglected by their

[1] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* p. 61.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 380–1.
[3] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* pp. 36, 57, 67; *Mainsprings of Men*, p. 122.

superiors, of the wrath generated by this attack on their personalities wreaking itself on the tools, so that a vicious circle was created of poor tools, abusive use of tools, consequent greater neglect and deterioration of tools, and growing antagonism between management and men.[1]

The Sense of Injustice as an Industrial Antagonizer. Among all the social industrial poisons, there is none more virulent than the sense of injustice. Whiting Williams experienced a bad case of such poisoning in his own employment. His diary told of the mental soreness which he experienced as a result of the treachery of the man to whom he had been helper. This fellow had let him believe that if he worked hard he would increase his earnings and his chances of promotion. After laboring intensely under this stimulus, with resultant damage to his hands, his muscles, and his gloves, Williams learned that the production bonus went entirely to skilled workers and did not include the helpers.[2]

Williams kept brooding over this injustice, just as less articulate workers do. On pages 43–4, 55, 60, and 66 of his *What's on the Worker's Mind* he repeatedly brings up this particular soreness.

Injustices in rates of pay — particularly inequitable changes in rates — are apt to stir resentment. Commons and Haake encountered this reaction in their study of a large clothing factory:

> The management of Joseph and Feiss found that inequalities in pay among their workers rankled even more than the fact of larger pay elsewhere. The girls who felt that they were discriminated against lost interest in their work; they talked, and the dissatisfaction which resulted lowered the morale of the shop.[3]

As we have seen in previous discussion, justice is founded, not merely on the ideals of equality and proportionality, but also on traditional rights. This applies to justice in wages.

The head of a railroad brotherhood told Whiting Williams that the rates of pay on American railroads are so closely interlocked — each position paying so many cents an hour more or less than others near it — that one railroad had to refigure the salary of its president because an increase in wages had been given the switchmen. Williams' informant asserted that the trouble in railroad industrial relations in

[1] *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 119–20.
[2] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* pp. 43–4.
[3] *Industrial Government*, p. 37.

recent years had been due to arbitrary changes in wage rates by government officials without due regard to these "differentials": the man who taps the car wheels to test them, for example, had had five cents an hour less than brakemen; when war-time officials gave the wheel tapper five cents more than brakemen the entire wage system of the nation's railroad was upset.[1]

A closely allied source for the sense of injustice is unfairness in promotions. The British investigators, Austin and Lloyd, referred to in the chapter on "Accommodation," concluded from their study of American industries that the success of an enterprise is in large measure dependent upon a strict adherence to the policy of promotion of staff by merit and ability only.

If a sense of injustice between worker and worker destroys morale and builds up antagonism against the job, injustice as between employer and employee is even more poisonous. Williams tells of a certain corporation which printed a description of its operating losses, and announced a cut in wages. A few months later, it paid its stockholders a substantial extra dividend. Employees of such a management are likely to feel tricked, oppressed, and antagonized.[2]

Fake Employment Agencies Reinforce Labor Antagonism. Unfortunately, the antagonism bred by the abuses in industry does not affect merely the employers who take ruthless and coercive attitudes toward their employees. The workers, moving from job to job, build up resentment against employers in general. The intelligent employer can create goodwill among his own employees, but he must first overcome the initial ill-will created by the exploitive methods of other employers. More than this, he must overcome the antagonism built up by the buzzards who hang about the flanks of business, devouring whomever they find defenseless. Among these beasts of prey are the unscrupulous employment offices.

Professor Commons tells of an instance in which, at one town in Wisconsin, 13 people were landed, sent there for fake jobs. He summarizes the issue by saying:

> Of all the agencies that demoralize labor and intensify the ill-will of labor toward capital, none is more unscrupulously effective than the competing private employment offices that live on the fees of unemployed workers.[3]

[1] *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 27–8. [2] *Ibid.* p. 118.
[3] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 81–2.

Lack of Faith in the Courts Breaks down Loyalty to the Economic System. Any real or apparent injustice to workers in the courts has the same tendency to intensify industrial conflict. The following is an instance:

Twelve years ago Richard Ford began a life sentence for complicity in the murder of District Attorney Manwell, who was shot in the "hop-pickers' riot" near Wheatland, California, in August, 1913.

The Wheatland riot was a revolt against insanitary conditions in the "tent city" on the Durst hop ranch, where about 2,500 men, women, and children were living during the 1913 hop harvest. There was an insufficient water supply, and the lack of toilet provisions and garbage disposal caused an epidemic of dysentery in the camp. One Sunday afternoon, a meeting was held to protest against these conditions. Ford, a well-known I. W. W. orator, addressed it. The ranch owner, fearing trouble, telephoned for the authorities. At a critical moment a deputy sheriff fired a shot in the air "to sober the crowd." In the riot that immediately followed, the district attorney, a deputy sheriff, and two workers were killed. It was not charged that Ford and his companion, Suhr, did the shooting, but as leaders in the meeting they were convicted of complicity in murder.

Ford was released on parole in September, 1925. On October 9 a special grand jury indicted him for the murder of Deputy Sheriff Riordan, killed in the same riot. It was announced that he would be prosecuted by the son of the man killed.

The new trial will be bruited in a thousand quarters as another proof of that bitter philosophy which holds that in American law courts there is "no square deal" for the "under" man who dares to question the existing order.[1]

Labor as a Sub-Social Commodity. Many of the antagonizing conditions in industry are due to the tendency to regard one's workers as mere things to be manipulated, instead of as fellow humans, with purposes to be protected and promoted. This attitude has come out in two definite economic theories of labor. One of these is called the commodity theory. It expresses the idea that labor is like any other form of goods, to be bought and sold. Like buying wheat or machinery, the buying of labor, on this theory, calls for keenness on the part of the buyer to purchase the best possible labor at the lowest possible price. Labor resents being considered a commodity. In the Sherman Anti-Trust Law it secured the insertion of a clause outlawing this theory.

[1] *Survey*, Dec. 15, '25, pp. 346–7.

Commons defines a second, allied theory. He says:

This I call the machinery theory of labor. Labor is not a commodity — its value determined by demand and supply — but each laborer is a machine — its value determined by the quantity of its product. The commodity theory is the merchant's theory of buying and selling. The machinery theory is the engineer's theory of economy and output.[1]

Treating Workers Like Machines. The machine theory of labor, as Dr. Commons calls it, has frequently underlain movements which called themselves "Scientific Management." This has not always been the spirit of efficiency men, but the attitude reported in the following account has been much too prevalent:

It was my task to reduce the work to the most efficient method possible. Time-study and analysis of the various operations were undertaken, to set a time standard on each task. The foremen and superintendents had definite instructions to aid the time-study man as much as possible. The workers were not consulted at all. They were to be timed, and fair time standards were to be set. If the resulting price rate did not suit them, they could exercise their "right of free contract." They restricted output, performed unnecessary operations, changed their methods very reluctantly when asked to do so — in short, did all in their power to do as little work as the time-study man could be tricked into setting as the standard output.

The worker fears a cut in wages, which can be made up only by harder work, and the foreman fears being exposed as inefficient. The suspicion and hostility of workers and foremen caused the chief difficulties I encountered. What both management and workers wanted was a fair day's work at a fair wage. The amount constituting a "fair day's work" might with little trouble be settled between a shop committee and the time-study man. Whatever trouble there was during the study can be laid directly to the short-sighted policy of the management which failed to recognize the value of getting the workers' support and coöperation in an undertaking so vital to their interests.[2]

Scientific management has often been called "Taylorism" after its originator. The way in which Taylorism has been linked up with the machinery theory of labor and been built into the antipathies of the workers is illustrated by the following:

One of the greatest industrial upheavals of recent years, the Sydney, Australia, railway strike of August 1917, was mainly caused by the workers'

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 13–4.

[2] Abstracted from "Timing the Unorganized Worker," by Max Kossoris, *Survey*, June 15, '26, pp. 372–3.

unreasoning terror of the mere word "Taylorism." The Railway Commissioners attempted to introduce a card system of recording work, with a view to accurate measurement of cost. The trade-unions and the Labor Press stigmatized this as an attempt to introduce the "Taylor System" into the workshop. The Railway Commissioners, instead of dealing with the human situation, tried to meet fear with force; they ordered the introduction of the card system. The railway and tramway men at once came out on strike; a few days later coal miners, seamen, wharf laborers, gas workers, butchers, and many other unions ceased work. In some degree the strike spread through all the states of the Australian Commonwealth. This is no solitary instance.[1]

The truly scientific manager is coming to recognize that the purposes and possibilities of the workers must be taken into account if even maximum output is to be attained. It is only a mechanistic and short-sighted "efficiency" that has made the blunder of ignoring the motivation of the worker.

Techniques of Exploiting Workers. The scientific exploitation of labor has developed many special techniques. Commons tells of a group of labor managers who held frequent meetings to discuss their methods. He says:

> One of the things of which they were proud was their plan of forecasting the labor market. If labor was getting restless they could anticipate it by a concerted raising of wages 10 per cent until the storm blew over, and then reduce the wages back again, thus counteracting the work of agitators. . . . They had confidential arrangements with certain leaders of trade unions in the town.[2]

Another "scientific" method of manipulating the workers is to utilize their differences in nationality:

> On that day the manager was hiring Swedes. The week before he had been hiring Poles, and before that he had taken on Italians. It was a good idea, he said, to get them mixed up. He told me of other large firms in that city with similar employment managers and a similar policy.[3]

Peter Roberts gives an instance which suggests that this mixing of nationalities is not *merely* a tool for the purpose of exploiting them:

> The superintendent of a rubber plant in Connecticut found that one of the departments of the mill had fallen into the hands of Italians; men of

[1] Robert W. Bruère, *Survey*, August 1, '25, p. 473.
[2] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 1. [3] *Ibid.* p. 1.

other nationalities were in the plant, but not one of them could enter that department. Trouble came which threatened to demoralize the whole plant, and before the management could break up the combination that caused the mischief, it was necessary to double the number of hands in the affected department and drive out the coterie.[1]

Industrial Spying. Another technique of exploitation is the use of labor spies. Miss Chappell, in the account of the Passaic Strike, quoted above, gives the following data on spying:

A Hungarian finisher in the Botony mills was approached by a Company agent in the office of the Wool Council and offered advance money and additional salary if he would fill out a blank daily and mail these blanks periodically to a blind post office box. In the list of detailed instructions furnished this man the first two items read:

"1. State whether employees work steadily through the day. If not, give particulars. If they prepare to leave the department before the whistle blows, give the facts. If there is ill-feeling among the employees toward the company, state why. Give the names, machine numbers or check numbers, and the reasons why they are dissatisfied.

"2. If there are any employees in your department who are cranks or agitators on the labor question, bolshevism, socialism, or any other ism, write up what they have to say, mention their grievances and give details so that we will know as much about it as you do."

An affidavit filed by a man who was employed by the Wool Council from 1919 to 1926 contains the following:

"I know that each of the members of the Wool Council had detectives and spies in the mills who were charged with the duty of watching the employees and talking to them, and of reporting to the management any actions or language which might indicate the possibility of his causing trouble. These detectives and spies were especially instructed to report any person who complained about his wages or working conditions, whether he ever mentioned forming a union, whether he worked steadily at his machine, whether he had any ill-feeling towards the company, whether he was a crank on the labor question, whether the machine was kept running to its fullest capacity, whether favoritism was shown to any employees by the foremen, etc. Whenever any person was discharged, or left the job of his own accord, I would receive a report from the mill where he had been employed setting forth by means of a code number the reason or reasons why he or she had been dismissed or had left.

"Many applicants who found it impossible to obtain a job came to the office of the Wool Council and inquired for the reasons for their being black-

[1] *The New Immigration*, p. 75.

listed. My instructions from my superiors were never to admit to any person that he had been blacklisted. I was instructed to make up my own excuses in each case why the man or woman had been unable to obtain a job."

A daughter of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, who held employment in the mills until her identity was discovered said:

"We found the workers terrorized by the espionage system, which was doing more than any other single factor, with the possible exception of the starvation wages, to prevent the workers from becoming Americans in anything but their physical presence in America."

Dr. Richard C. Cabot, in connection with an intensive study of this problem, took every opportunity to ask his business friends what they thought of industrial espionage. He reports his results as follows:

I was struck with their unwillingness to think of it as an ethical problem. To the majority with whom I talked it appeared simply a question of technique. It was a successful or unsuccessful attempt to try to keep one's business running steadily and profitably. Or if further reflection had convinced them that there was more in it than this, they tended to regard the use of spies as a matter of police protection:

"All agitators are dangerous men. One protects oneself against them as one does against those who practice sabotage and the blowing up of factories and bridges. Naturally one *must* protect oneself against dangers of this sort, as a simple matter of business insurance." When dislodged from this position by being shown that in many labor disturbances there is no evidence of any threat of violence until after the spies have been introduced and their presence very bitterly resented by the workmen, the next line of defense is usually this:

"After all, labor troubles are about the same thing as war. In war, of course, we have to use spies in order to get the 'intelligence' necessary for our campaign. So it is with the business man who has his under-cover agents as a part of his intelligence system."

If, then, one asks whether the employer is ready openly to declare war and to acknowledge the methods which he employs (as every belligerent is supposed to) I have found that employers usually retreat to their last stronghold.

"Yes, of course, it is a horrid business, a dirty mess, but what can you do? How else can we get along? The labor unions have their own spies against us, too."

Perhaps the majority, however, of the men with whom I have talked were ignorant of the very existence of industrial espionage, even though there was sometimes reason to believe it existed in their own factories.[1]

[1] *Survey*, May 1, '26, pp. 19–20.

Bribery. Hardness toward the welfare of workers may sometimes develop to the point of using the most unscrupulous methods to defeat efforts to better their conditions. Jane Addams discovered this when she and her associates were trying to get legislation to correct some of the glaring evils of sweat shop work, in which processes like finishing pants, making paper flowers, sewing buttons on cards, and so on, are given out to be done in tenements — frequently at very low wages, under frightfully unsanitary conditions, and with the aid of the toil of tiny children. Miss Addams says:

> I was told by the representatives of an informal association of manufacturers that if the residents of Hull-House would drop this nonsense about a sweat shop bill, of which they knew nothing, certain business men would agree to give fifty thousand dollars within two years to be used for any of the philanthropic activites of the Settlement.[1]

Coercive Motivation. The exploitive — or even the unimaginative — employer relies a great deal on force and fear. Commons expresses as follows the attitude of employers in times of labor shortage:

> "Yes, these fellows will not work now, but hard times will come and then we will soak them." With such a theory and such conditions it is fear rather than goodwill, retaliation rather than reciprocity, servility rather than freedom, that governs labor's production of wealth.[2]

Conflict Psychology of the Workers. Coercion and fraud breed fraud and violence; conflict breeds conflict. Whiting Williams tells of an instance when he was acting as a professional strike-breaker during the railroad strike of 1922. A picket came up to him as he was walking, under guard, into the roundhouse, and whispered to him the intimation that every few nights a charge of dynamite was set off in there, killing he did not know how many "scabs." A union representative told the present writer of how he and his friends were prevented by police interference in their plans to "beat up" a strike breaker. Such evidence makes plausible charges like those contained in the following statement of Henry H. Finder, President of the Industrial Council of the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Manufacturers, in connection with a garment strike in New York City:

> Mr. Finder charged that union pickets and "hirelings" were kidnapping, taking to union headquarters, and there beating up the men who have elected to work rather than strike.

[1] *Twenty Years At Hull-House*, p. 33. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 25.

"We are experiencing no difficulty whatsoever in obtaining skilled workmen," said Mr. Finder. We would be able to accept all the applicants for employment if we could give them adequate protection from the assaults of union pickets and hirelings. . . .

"We have affidavits showing that these men (workers who had been kidnapped and taken to union headquaters and halls) were put through something of an inquisition which is rife with brutality and viciousness of an almost inconceivable character. Several of the victims of this cruelty are now in hospitals.

"The police are endeavoring to curb this violence, but they report that their efforts are nullified by the failure of the magistrates to coöperate. We have taken the matter up with Police Commissioner McLaughlin. Hundreds of pickets and paid sympathizers have been arrested, but virtually all have been let off with suspended sentences of $1 or $2 fines." [1]

In its extreme form, the combat psychology of the workers makes it very difficult to attain any progress toward coöperation. Commons and Dietrich say that the policy of the left wing of labor is "to exact as high a recompense as possible and to take advantage of conditions as they arise. In other words, theirs is a militant philosophy which contains no element of coöperation." [2]

Industrial Conflicts Embitter Other Relations. Like other intense social conflicts, the struggle between employers and employees leaves its psychological scars on the participants. A veteran unionist told the writer of a union which had been unable to unite its forces in a strike because of the still vigorous resentment of part of the members against certain of their fellows who had been "scabs" in an industrial conflict years previous.

Jane Addams came vividly into contact with the emotional violence which grows out of strikes. She says:

> Those familiar with strikes know only too well how much they are influenced by poignant domestic situations, by the troubled consciences of the minority directors, by the suffering women and children, by the keen excitement of the struggle, by the religious scruples sternly suppressed but occasionally asserting themselves, now on one side and now on the other, and by that undefined psychology of the crowd which we understand so little.[3]

The following incident from her experience illustrates the way in which the poison of industrial antagonism penetrates other relations:

[1] *N. Y. Times*, Aug. 22, '26. [2] *Industrial Government*, p. 182.
[3] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 215.

A neighborhood boy had been severely injured when he had taken the place of a union driver upon a coal wagon. As I approached the house in which he lived, a large group of boys and girls, some of them very little children, surrounded me to convey the exciting information that "Jack T. was a 'scab'!" and that I couldn't go in there. I explained to the excited children that his mother, who was a friend of mine, was in trouble, quite irrespective of the way her boy had been hurt. The crowd around me outside of the house of the "scab" constantly grew larger and I, finally abandoning my attempt at explanation, walked in only to have the mother say: "Please don't come here. You will only get hurt, too." [1]

She tells of the psychological effect upon a man of being refused work because of his connection with industrial conflicts:

He was a superior type of English workman, but as he stood there, broken and discouraged, believing himself so black-listed that his skill could never be used again, filled with sorrow over the loss of his wife who had recently died after an illness with distressing mental symptoms, realizing keenly the lack of the respectable way of living he had always until now been able to maintain, he seemed to me an epitome of the wretched human waste such a strike implies.[2]

And yet Miss Addams sees also the spiritual reinforcement which has come to many workers from their union affiliation. She speaks of " the fellowship and the sense of protection which is the great gift of trades-unionism to the unskilled, unbefriended worker."

Lillian Wald tends to see the union in idealistic terms, as organized resistance against industrial oppression. She speaks of its goal as being " that collective power might be employed to insure justice for the individual, himself powerless."

Industries Dominated by Combat Psychology. We have discussed the mechanical, ruthless, coercive attitude which is taken by many employers, partly as the result of the natural tendencies of individuals to domineer and to exploit, but aggravated also in great part by the increasing concentration of industrial control, with its resultant increase of absentee ownership and its removal of employer and employee from the direct contacts which are so necessary to the spontaneous development of sympathy and understanding. We have given instances of the antagonistic reactions which workers have shown toward this aggressive and exploitive treatment. These reciprocal antagonisms interact and reinforce each other. The conflict psychol-

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 434. [2] *Ibid.* p. 218.

ogy is not merely in the employer's mind, or in the worker's mind; it becomes a characteristic of the industry itself. Commons says:

> Bolshevistic socialism is generally found in accord with reactionary capitalism, both of them standing firmly on their ultimate principles and natural rights, and both of them preventing the gradual introduction of democracy through half-way measures.[1]

Commons and Carpenter stress the folly of this attitude in the garment trades:

> These very strikes in the New York district bring chaos into the industry there, manufacturers are unable to avoid seasonal shutdowns, and what the employees gain by the strike they lose again during the long periods of unemployment. . . . You are partners in the good or bad fortunes of the industry. You have your choice of alternatives.[2]

Is Industrial Conflict Growing or Declining? The drag which strikes and lockouts make on industrial production, the tremendous losses in wages and profits, the stoppage of other connected industries, the lasting bitternesses which grow out of the struggle, the misunderstandings and hatreds which they breed — all these and other social injuries which result from the use of coercion and fraud as means of settling industrial conflict, make the question of the trend of industrial disputes upward or downward a matter of vital interest. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the following statement of the total number of strikes and lockouts for the years 1916–26:

1916	3,789
1917	4,450
1918	3,353
1919	3,630
1920	3,411
1921	2,385
1922	1,112
1923	1,553
1924	1,249
1925	1,301

The average number of industrial disputes for the five years, 1916 to 1920, was 3,727. The year 1921, saw a marked decrease, and since 1922 the number has remained far below half what it was in the first

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 112–3. [2] *Industrial Government*, pp. 92–3.

five years. Complete data are not available at this writing for 1926, but the months for which figures are given set a new low record as compared with corresponding months in previous years. Industrial conflict seems, thus, to be definitely on the decline. Why? Is it a lasting improvement, or merely a temporary fluctuation? What permanent remedy is there for antagonism in industry? The next two chapters will be directed toward such questions as these.

Summary

A. Industrial conflict arises primarily from working conditions which menace or injure the expanded personalities of the workers.

1. Wages which infringe standards of living antagonize.
2. Unnecessarily dangerous and disagreeable working conditions provoke resentment.
3. Over-fatigue poisons industrial relations.
4. Despotic bosses rouse enmity.
5. Defective tools insult the craftsmanship of workers.
6. The sense of injustice is a sinister antagonizer:
   a. As between employees in rates of pay, raises, promotions, etc.
   b. As between employer and employee.

B. Industrial antagonism is reinforced by auxiliary exploitation and injustice.

7. Fake employment agencies reinforce labor antagonism.
8. Lack of faith in the courts breaks down loyalty to the economic system.

C. The presence of such antagonizers in and about industry rises in part from the tendency to regard one's workers as mere things to be manipulated, instead of as fellow humans, with purposes to be protected and promoted.

9. The commodity theory thinks of labor as something to be bought and sold, its value determined by demand and supply.
10. The machinery theory regards the laborer as a machine, its value determined by the quantity of its product.
    a. Attempts to speed up workers mechanically, without getting their point of view, have created labor antagonism toward certain aspects of scientific management.
11. Mixing of nationalities has been used to prevent labor solidarity.

12. Labor spies have been widely employed to locate workers active for better conditions, and such workers have often been blacklisted, to eliminate them from the industry.

13. Bribery has at times been employed to prevent remedial legislation.

14. As Commons says: "With such a theory and such conditions, it is fear rather than goodwill, retaliation rather than reciprocity, servility rather than freedom, that governs labor's production of wealth."

D. Labor reacts to this dehumanized and coercive attitude by antagonism, conflict, and often violence.

E. The result is the permeation of industrial relations by combat psychology.

15. The conflict embitters social relations outside of industry.

16. Both employers and employees share in the damage to industry which comes from chronic antagonism and repeated shutdowns and battles.

F. Industrial conflict has shown a marked decline since 1920.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

21D1. Jane Addams, on pp. 198–9 of *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, relates the following experience:

> During the same winter three boys from a Hull-House club were injured at one machine in a neighboring factory for lack of a guard which would have cost but a few dollars. When the injury of one of these boys resulted in his death, we felt quite sure that the owners of the factory would share our horror and remorse, and that they would do everything possible to prevent the recurrence of such a tragedy. To our surprise they did nothing whatever, and I made my first acquaintance then with those pathetic documents signed by the parents of working children, that they will make no claim for damages resulting from "carelessness."

How can you account for the callousness of the employer in this instance? By what methods might such abuses be stopped? Discuss the comparative merits of the different possible lines of action.

What relations has absentee ownership to industrial conflict?

21D2. The machinery and the commodity theories of labor are discussed in the text. What alternative theory would you suggest?

21D3. What bearing has the present condition of the coal industry upon the soundness of the theory of *laissez-faire* and unrestricted competition?

21D4. What other exploitive techniques besides those mentioned in the text do you know to have been used by employers?

21D5. A certain company installed in its factories devices which would show on an indicator in the central office just what quantity and quality of work the operators of various machines in the shop were doing at any given moment. Discuss the advantages and disadvantages of such a system.

21D6. Whiting Williams says that unions frequently have trouble with spy-leaders. The union head is paid by employers to turn over information concerning the union's plans with the idea in mind of ultimately crushing it. What other practices of this sort do you know of? Considered entirely from the standpoint of ultimate profits by the company, what are the merits and demerits of such methods? What sorts of defenses might the union use against such tactics?

21D7. What genuine and legitimate need are the employers trying to meet by means of spies? What sorts of programs would you suggest as substitutes?

21D8. Suppose an employer said to you: "I want to get into touch with the real purposes of my employees. In order to do that, what would you think of my selecting a few trusted individuals in each department and paying them a little extra to report to me *in strict confidence* what the other employees were talking about and doing?" How would you answer him? Would you accept extra pay for such work? Why or why not?

21D9. Try to imagine the way in which an employer justifies black-listing to himself. Then try to express the way in which the worker regards it. In what possible ways might accommodation be achieved between the essential purposes on both sides of this conflict?

21D10. "Steady work at good wages makes indifferent workers. What is needed is an occasional period of unemployment to bring workers back to their senses." What principles related to the dynamics of personality suggest a possible basis of truth in this assertion? By what substitute might the results desired by the employer be attained at less cost to the workers?

21D11. A prominent manufacturer states that he would rather refer to the men in his employ as "helpers" than call them "workers" or

" employees." Can you derive his philosophy of work and industrial relations from this statement? (Williams)

21D12. What other outside institutions besides unscrupulous employment agencies and legal injustices help to reinforce labor's antagonism against employers and against the capitalistic system?

21D13. Williams says that the average labor leader has about as much difficulty with his own radical members as with hostile employers. (*Mainsprings*, p. 95) Why should this be? What light does it cast upon the essential nature of the problem of industrial conflict?

21D14. When the American Federation of Labor met in Detroit in 1926 it was proposed to have representative labor leaders speak in various churches. In this connection the Detroit Board of Commerce published the following in an open letter:

> The citizens of Detroit are keen in their appreciation of the freedom of speech, but they realize that this fundamental principle of our Republic implies thorough discussion of both sides of any question, if the ministers of Detroit open their pulpits to men who are admittedly attacking our Government and our American plan of employment. . . .

The *Survey*, after quoting this passage, remarks that these patriotic employers wanted these trade union leaders — leaders of organizations that had sent 682,000 men to the war — barred from the pulpits because they were enemies of the country.

At this very A. F. of L. convention, Sherwood Eddy, secretary for Asia of the International Y. M. C. A., spoke of Soviet Russia as the most colossal social experiment in history, and as a nation ready to challenge the rest of the world whenever imperialism exploited the poor and helpless. Then, appealing to the convention, he asked: " Why don't you go to see for yourselves and learn if what I say is true? Why not do what every other nation has done and send a delegation to Russia to see what's there? Why run on secondhand propaganda, White and Red? "

Immediately Mr. Eddy was upbraided as a covert agent of the communists. A vice-president of the Federation, seething with resentment, shouted: " It makes no difference how ideal or how rotten conditions in Russia are — we do not have to go there to find out how the Russian communists are trying to destroy our form of government and, as a means to that end, wreck the American labor movement." [1]

Discuss these two incidents.

[1] *Survey*, Nov. 1, '26, p. 151.

21D15. Lillian Wald remarks: "Little wonder that women who had never known the bitterness of poverty or oppression found satisfaction in picketing side by side with the working girls who were paying the great cost of the strike."

Why should they?

21D16. A certain labor lecturer, after pointing out how "company unions" had been displacing federated labor unions, urged as his remedy the development of "militant labor unions, with fanatical leaders, ready to take up the fight." Discuss this remedy.

21D17. In August, 1926, the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America issued a "Labor Day Message" which is summarized as follows in the *Literary Digest* for Oct. 16, '26, p. 38:

The message recites, in brief, that the churches "stand for a reciprocity of service," and "for the supremacy of service, rather than the profit motive in the acquisition and use of property on the part of both labor and capital." They stand "for the conception of ownership as a social trust," holding that possession "involves the obligation to use such possessions for the good of all," that "the insistence upon personal rights must give way to the higher insistence upon social ends." The churches stand also for a minimum wage, for the right of labor to organize, for education within reach of the poorest, and for steadiness and adequacy of employment. Before going into the two adverse criticisms of the message it might be well to mention that the churches claim, among other things, the credit for the institution of the eight-hour shift in the steel industry, and this at the cost of the Interchurch World Movement, which collapsed for lack of financial support.

The Industrial Worker, organ of the I.W.W., remarked that this message "reveals the infinite capacity of the Church to stand still; its unfathomable credulity in the acceptance of social lies and economic falsehoods." The editorial concludes:

Stick to your pulpit, preacher. You are welcome to indulge in the illusions of hope for a better world in which the Christ spirit shall prevail. But as long as a class society exists with its antagonisms of class interest, the lion will never lie down with the lamb. And your soft blandishments will not solve that problem. Christian love will not solve it. Its solution, as Marx pointed out, "summons as foes to the field of battle, the meanest, vilest, most malignant passions of the human breast — the furies of private interest." And you, dear kind gentlemen, are retained as advocates for the class that wants conditions maintained as they are. Your very existence depends upon them and their property rights. . . . Stick to your pulpit, preacher, the stricken fields of the class struggle are not for you. The

making of a classless world is the job of the oppressed. Out of their necessity and desperation, they will do it. The solution leads through a valley of tears and struggle. None dare face its terrors, unless driven. And we who are driven will do it. Leave it to us, preachers, and stick to your pulpit. It's a more comfortable job.

Discuss.

21D18. Weisbord, communist leader of the Passaic strike, has stated publicly that even the children of the strikers were helpful — that they "beat up" the children of "scabs". What comments have you to offer?

21D19. Which suffers most acutely during a strike — the employer or the workers? Why? What bearing has your answer upon industrial conflict?

21D20. John R. Commons, in his *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 143, says:

> At the other extreme are the doctrinaire socialists and anarchists. Man is born, as it were, with an instinct of workmanship, and coercion crushes it out of him. Abolish private property with its right to hire and fire and its penalty of unemployment and then you will "liberate" this suppressed instinct.

What sound elements, if any, do you see in the position thus summarized? How might these elements be utilized in a real solution?

21D21. On pages 38–9 of the same book, Commons says:

> Class struggle never will stop. . . . At one end is consumption of wealth, which always wants more of it. At the other end is production of wealth, which always means sacrifice and effort. As long as resources are limited and wants unlimited there will be struggle between individuals and classes.

Discuss this statement in the light of the principles of social motivation and of social conflict developed in our text.

21D22. In the six years 1920–25 membership in the American Federation of Labor fell off from its peak of over 4,050,000 to 2,877,297. Abraham Epstein, after visiting 1,500 of the larger concerns of the United States, concluded, in *Current History* for July, 1926, pp. 516–22, that the shift everywhere was away from the unions. What possible explanations can you suggest for this change? What probable effects may it have on industrial relations?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

21F1. Visit the largest industrial plant in your locality. Talk with the personnel director. Get him to tell you by what means and through

what channels the ultimate owners of the business get contact with the real needs and desires of their employees. To what extent have the difficulties of " absentee ownership " been obviated?

21K2. Make a study of the I.W.W. (Time credit to be arranged)

21K3. Review " Rebellion in Labor Unions " by Sylvia Kopald. (Three hours)

21K4. Discuss the methods of dealing with the sweat shop evil presented in " A New Handle for Home Work " in the *Survey* for April 15, 1926, pp. 97 ff. (One hour)

21K5. Make a study of the workings of the National Board of Jurisdiction Awards, set up by the American Federation of Labor to settle disputes between unions. (Time credit to be arranged)

21K6. What factors in connection with coal mining in this country have been menacing to the expanded personalities of the miners? What difficulties have prevented their correction? What specific programs have been presented, and what are their merits and demerits? (Time credit to be arranged)

21K7. What type of solution of industrial conflict is offered by Minimum Wage Laws? Where have such laws been applied? How have they succeeded? (Time credit to be arranged)

21K8. The *Literary Digest* for December 25, 1926, p. 10, carries an article on " The Cloakmakers' War on Communism." Look up additional material on this conflict, being particular to get both sides of the controversy. What issues were involved? What relation has this episode to industrial conflict in general? (Time credit to be arranged)

21K9. David Warren Ryder, in the *American Mercury* for April, 1926, presented an account of warfare in the building trades in San Francisco, telling how the business men of the city forced the open shop there and stating that as a result building construction had jumped nearly 100 per cent, that costs had been cut, and that employment is steadier and more plentiful at wages equal to or greater than before. Study both sides of this controversy, and present conclusions as to this method of dealing with industrial conflict. (Time credit to be arranged)

21K10. Perhaps the most valuable sources of instances bearing upon social relations betwen worker and worker and between employee and employer are Whiting Williams' three books: *What's on the Worker's Mind; Horny Hands and Hampered Elbows;* and *Full Up and Fed*

Up. Select one of these; purchase a copy of your own if possible so that you may mark it; classify the instances which it contains according to their bearings upon the topics contained in this and the next two chapters of our text. What additional light do they cast on industrial relations? (Time credit to be arranged)

21K11. Make a study of working conditions in the Chicago stockyards, as reported in Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle.* From other sources check up on the accuracy of his picture of these conditions. What effect did they have on industrial relations? (Five hours.)

21K12. Make up an annotated bibliography of source materials describing the antagonizers in specific industries. (Time credit to be arranged)

21W13. Whiting Williams' philosophy of social relations is summarized in his book: *Mainsprings of Men.* Make an analysis of his conclusions as compared with those of our text. (Four hours)

21W14. Draw up an abstract of Elton May's discussion of class war in his article on "The Great Stupidity" in *Harper's Monthly* for July, 1926. (One hour)

21W15. Study Ross's chapter on "Class Struggle" in his *Outlines*, pp. 153–61. Work out practical applications of the factors which he lists as aggravating and as mitigating class struggles. Compare with the conclusions of our present chapter. (Two hours)

CHAPTER XXII

INDUSTRIAL JUSTICE

Our discussion of industrial conflict has brought out the importance of the sense of injustice as an industrial antagonizer. The present chapter will be devoted to a study of industrial conflict solutions whose central factor is a system of industrial courts. This method of dealing with the problem grew up out of a strike in Chicago.

The Chicago Garment Workers' Strike. For centuries the garment trades had been carried on in the homes of the workers, or in very small shops. In 1910, in Chicago, the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx was making an effort " to regularize the employees in well-appointed factories and work shops." In health and physical equipment this marked a notable advance. But the sudden transfer of workers from their homes to well-equipped factories developed a great many new problems in industrial relations. Fines and deductions from pay were a frequent source of complaint. Loss of spools, bobbins, and needles reduced earnings, and it was even complained that there were charges for the use of soap in the washroom. Deductions were made for small pieces of cloth in addition to the piece given to the cutter as just large enough for a suit. The workers claimed that they were sometimes compelled to purchase garments at retail prices if there were slight imperfections in the workmanship. It was alleged that increase of speed or complexity of work was not accompanied by an increase of pay, and there was a general belief that certain employees received secret inducements to act as pace-makers.

Relations between foremen and employees were a great source of friction. A chief difficulty alleged was that the pay of foremen was in some degree determined by the amount of work or the economy secured in their departments. There was continual resentment over such difficulties as that when a worker needed to leave the workroom he had to hunt up the foreman and secure a pass, thus losing time and hence wages under the piece-work system.

Efforts had been made by employers to reduce the seasonal fluctuations in the demand for workers, but the employees claimed that this was due to the selfish desire of the employers to be more advantageously placed when the rush season began. They resented being compelled during slack seasons to spend the whole day in the shop when they were given work and could draw wages during only a portion of it. Apprentices, who, the workers said, were trained to be fast rather than skilled workers, were looked upon as a labor supply designed to replace older, more skilled, and better paid employees. As to wages, the workers complained that they had no way of figuring out their own earnings, but were at the mercy of the calculations of the employer. The lack of any way to present grievances, except at the risk of the job of the employee making the complaint, was a grievance common to all the shops.

In this state of general dissatisfaction in the fall of 1910 it happened that twenty workers in a shop controlled by Hart, Schaffner and Marx " walked out," or struck, because of a small misunderstanding. This little flare-up spread into a great blaze, until in seven weeks nearly 40,000 garment workers, employed by 18 or more different firms, were on strike.

Leading representatives of the employers insisted that none of their employees had a real grievance. A member of the firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx said that his employees were free to express their own grievances to him or to other members of the firm, and that the fact that they did not was sufficient evidence to him that they had no serious grievances. He declared that the strike was fomented by agents of the union who had taken advantage of a small walk-out, due to a misunderstanding, and reiterated his insistence that most of the workers stayed out on strike only through fear of violence by the other strikers.

A Momentous Strike-Settlement. Just when the strike seemed to have settled down into a grim struggle of endurance, Alderman Charles E. Merriam (who was also a professor at the University of Chicago) introduced a resolution on November 28, 1910, pointing out that the whole city — her citizens and her business — was suffering enormous loss through the protracted strike of so many workers, and that many policemen were required to protect the public and guard the struck shops, and providing for a committee of three aldermen " to use their best efforts to bring about a conference of the parties at issue, to

the end that a just and lasting settlement of the points in controversy might be made." This committee got together with two representatives of leading employers and two representatives of the strikers and agreed on a plan of arbitration.

This plan of arbitration abandoned the position repeatedly insisted on by the employers that dealing with employees individually was an adequate way of handling all grievances and matters of shop administration, wages, and other conditions. On the other hand, the strikers gave up completely their demand for the closed shop.

The firm of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, employing 10,000 of the 40,000 strikers, was the only one of the employers to agree to this plan; the others reiterated that they had " nothing to arbitrate " and would accept only " unconditional surrender " from their striking workers. Every newspaper in Chicago condemned the attitude of the employers. As one editor put it, " hunger and cold as potent peacemakers alienate the sympathy of the great majority of reasonable and humane citizens." On February 3, 1911, forced into submission by the impossibility of continuing longer the bitter struggle against freezing and starvation, the 20,000 garment workers still on strike decided to return unconditionally, on whatever terms their employers would offer. Except for the 10,000 strikers from the Hart, Schaffner and Marx establishment, who secured arbitration, and several thousand workers who secured favorable agreements with other companies, the strike was lost.

A conservative estimate puts the loss occasioned by the strike in employers' profits and workers' wages at about $5,000,000.

A commission appointed by the state Senate to investigate the strike reported that an association including the clothing manufacturers involved in this conflict maintained a joint employment bureau which blacklisted workers known to be active in favor of improved working conditions.

In April, 1911, the arbitrators empowered to fix the conditions of work and wages for the Hart, Schaffner and Marx employees made their award. It is significant that the two arbitrators, Clarence Darrow, chosen by the workers as their representative, and Carl Meyer, chosen by the firm as their representative, found it possible to agree without calling in a third arbitrator as provided for in the terms of the strike settlement. It was agreed that the system of fines and the abuses by foremen should be eliminated, and that a rest and retiring room for all female employees in each shop, and adequate shop ventila-

tion should be provided. Wages were adjusted on a basis which was estimated by the workers to involve increases aggregating nearly $400,000 a year.

The Beginning of Constitutional Government in Industry. The great achievement of the strike settlement, however, was the provision as to the handling of future grievances. It was provided:

> Any employee either by himself or by an individual fellow-worker shall have the right to present any grievance at any reasonable time, and such grievance shall be promptly considered by the person or persons appointed by the firm, and in case such grievance shall not be adjusted, the person feeling himself so aggrieved shall have the right to apply to some member of the firm for the adjustment of such grievance, and in case the same shall not then be adjusted, such grievance may be presented to Clarence Darrow and Carl Meyer, who shall be constituted as a permanent board of arbitration to settle any question that may arise between any of the employees of said firm and said firm for the term of two years from April 1, 1911, during which time these findings shall be in force.

As a matter of practical working it was understood that the " individual fellow-worker " would usually be the chairman of a committee of the employees in the shop. The provision covering the representation of workers in the matter of their grievances seemed quite evidently designed to " save the face " of the employers on the point of giving recognition to any union or shop organization of the workers.

Out of this agreement grew up the impartial machinery which has done so much to stabilize production in the men's clothing industry, and which has recently been spreading into other industries. The *Survey* for December 15, 1925, describes as follows the nature of this machinery and its spread through the clothing industry:

> When a dispute over hours, wages, or shop discipline arises in such acute form that the foremen and the workers are unable to adjust it, both the employers and the union send their deputies to the point of friction. If they in turn are unable to adjust the difficulty they carry it to the Trade Board, composed of an equal number of representatives of both sides and presided over by an impartial chairman whose decision is binding on both sides. Where the dispute involves a constitutional interpretation of the basic agreement upon which the impartial machinery is built, an appeal may be taken from the Trade Board to the Board of Arbitration, which is similarly constituted.

This plan was given its first experimental test in 1911 in the house of Hart, Schaffner and Marx in Chicago. During the fourteen years of its operation production in this largest men's clothing factory in the world has never been interrupted by a lockout or strike. In 1919 the impartial machinery was extended to all the other firms in the Chicago market. Since then the men's clothing industry in Rochester has adopted it and it is at present in operation in New York, Boston, Baltimore, and other clothing centers. Through the coöperation between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America and such great firms as Hart, Schaffner and Marx, Alfred Decker & Cohn, Kuppenheimer, Stein-Bloch, Hickey-Freeman, Holts & Sons, Fashion Park, Henry Sonnehorn & Company, the impartial machinery has tended to stabilize production in one of our most highly seasonal and widely competitive industries. There is no industry in which constitutional democratic government has been more effective in establishing high standards and maintaining continuity of production through the elimination of strikes and lockouts than in the men's clothing industry, which is one of our foremost examples of the ability of rightminded employers and trade union leaders to sublimate class conflict into integral class concert.[1]

The Industrial Judge on the Bench. The impartial chairman is the pivot of the whole machinery of industrial justice. Commons and Sharp describe as follows a court where justice is dispensed in the clothing trade:

In a small, rectangular room on the second floor of their central factory, Hart, Schaffner and Marx and their employees hold court. A window opens on the commerce of Monroe Street; through the often open door the conversation of the halls and offices comes in. At the head of a plain table sits a big man with a Van Dyke beard, a strong voice and a strong, understanding face, Mr. Mullenbach, chairman of the Trade Board. Mr. Mullenbach is umpire, paid equally by union and company. His position is that of a judge in a court of original jurisdiction. All day he adjusts the rival claims of company and "people"; keeping industrial warfare from becoming anything more than verbal conflict; turning out goodwill for firm and people. On the six floors above, and in three other buildings in the city, the republic of eight thousand people, for whom this court dispenses justice, carries on its work.[2]

[1] The above history of the Chicago Garment Workers' strike, and the evolution out of it of the impartial machinery for establishing justice in the clothing industry, is abstracted from articles in the following volumes of the *Survey:* 25 (1910–11) pp. 273–4, 413–14, 442, 796; 26 (1911) p. 153; 55 (1925) p. 365.

[2] *Industrial Government*, p. 193.

Justice between Railroad Employees and Employers. An example of the justice solution of conflict in another great industry is more recent. So significant was this development regarded that several papers referred to it as a Locarno pact in industry. David Lawrence, in a Consolidated Press Dispatch, presented the following account of it:

Back of the La Follette third-party movement were the railway brotherhoods. They had resorted to political warfare because of a belief that railroad executives were engaged in a systematic effort to wipe out the labor standards achieved during war-time control of the railroads by the Government.

When the Transportation Act of 1920 really began to operate under the Harding Administration, some of the railroad executives thought an opportunity had come to break down what the brotherhoods had gained. The struggle before the United States Labor Board revealed that both sides could not be expected to obey the edicts of that tribunal. The ill-fated shopmen's strike of 1922 found the country without adequate machinery to bring industrial peace on the railroads. Some of the effects of that strike are still being felt in defective equipment and inefficient service.

Now the heads of the union and the railroad executives have discovered that it is far better for them to agree on a machinery to maintain peace than to be subjected to what they consider the arbitrary acts of a governmental body like the United States Labor Board.[1]

The railroad executives and labor leaders agreed on a bill providing machinery which they believed would result in the amicable adjustment of future labor disputes without interruption of transportation. The bill passed, and has since been used to settle peaceably major disputes about railway wages.

Underlying Ideals of Industrial Government. In an article in the *New York Times* for March 21, 1926, Evans Clark suggested the possibility that an entirely new sort of government is being established in the United States — not a government that will overthrow or even displace the present political State, but rather one that will grow up in response to new needs, new demands, below or within the present framework of Federal and State Government, and perhaps, in the long run, absorb some of the functions of the Government as we know it to-day.

This new government promises to be no formal structure decreed at some convention and inaugurated on a national holiday, but the sum of a large

[1] *Literary Digest*, Jan. 23,'26, p. 8.

number of separate and unrelated agreements between self-governing economic groups to regulate their own concerns, to make rules for their own conduct and that of their members, and even to punish those who violate them. It will be a government of voluntary coöperation, of self-determination along natural economic lines.

What are the characteristics of this government within the government — this rising structure of order and justice in industrial relations? Certain fundamentals can be listed as follows:

A Prerequisite to Industrial Justice Is the Definite Abandonment of Coercion. In the preamble to the Hart, Schaffer and Marx agreement, the employers assert their intention to seek efficiency " by the willing coöperation of union and workers rather than by the old method of surveillance and coercion." The union expresses the hope " that it may be strong enough to command the respect of the employer without being forced to resort to militant or unfriendly measures." The agreement controlling industrial relations in Rochester definitely sets forth that there shall be no strikes, lock-outs, or stoppages of work in the industry. The agreement under which the job printing industry is working out industrial justice provides as follows:

That controversies over wages, hours, and working conditions between employers and employees can and should be settled without resorting to lockouts or strikes, through voluntary agreements to refer disputes, where unable to settle through conciliation, to joint boards of arbitration composed of equal representation of employers and employees, provision being made for an impartial arbitrator if necessary.

Industrial Justice Is " Conceived in Liberty." The preamble of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx agreement emphasizes the " willing coöperation of union and workers." It expresses the expectation that " out of the operation of this compact of peace will issue such coöperation and goodwill between employers, foremen, union, and workers as will prevent misunderstanding and friction and make for good team work, good business, mutual advantage, and mutual respect." The preamble concludes:

The parties to this pact . . . enter it in the faith that by the exercise of the coöperative and constructive spirit it will be possible to bring and keep them together. This will involve as an indispensable prerequisite the total suppression of the militant spirit by both parties and the development of reason instead of force as the rule of action. It will require also mutual

consideration and concession, a willingness on the part of each party to regard and serve the interests of the other, so far as it can be done without too great a sacrifice of principle or interest. With this attitude assured it is believed no differences can arise which the joint tribunal cannot mediate and resolve in the interest of coöperation and harmony.

So, too, in the printing trades, which formed the first national industrial government in the United States. Its preamble says:

Only through joint conference in the spirit of mutual helpfulness between employers and employees can the foundation be laid for stable and prosperous conditions within the printing industry.

This spirit of willing coöperation has been founded on the recognition of community of interest. Commons and Sharp say:

The union has been quite as conscious as the company of the importance of reaching compromises which would in no way cripple the latter, on the problem of regulation of output and the introduction of new machinery. . . . They recognize clearly that order and production in their industry are necessary conditions of the general as well as of their own prosperity.[1]

Industrial Justice Is Built upon Recognition of the Union. While the original award of the arbitrators after the Chicago Garment Workers' strike avoided the issue of recognition of the union, in actual practice the scheme has functioned through the union as an essential part of its machinery, and the preamble of the basic agreement contains this paragraph:

On the part of the union it is the intention and expectation that this compact will, with the coöperation of the employer, operate in such a way as to maintain, strengthen, and solidify its organization, so that it may be made strong enough, and efficient enough, to coöperate as contemplated in the preceding paragraph.

Professor Howard's statement of the principles which governed the development of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx constitution says:

Unions should be recognized and favored in the same proportion as they manifest a genuine desire to govern themselves efficiently.

The value of the union as part of the machinery of coöperation has been demonstrated in practice:

In the case of a serious stoppage in the cutting and trimming departments in May of 1917, . . . an appeal to the union leaders, who in turn effectively

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 230.

appealed to the workers, proved in the hands of the Board of Arbitration a sufficient remedy. . . . The strength of the union is thus recognized throughout the agreement as a foundation for the strength of the shop government. . . . Accordingly, it was ruled in one case that girls, members of the union, must pay their union assessments under penalty of discharge.[1]

The Rochester agreement specifically recognizes the right of employees to organize, and the duty of employers to deal with their workers. The new era in railroad relations is ushered in as a result of agreement between unions and management.

The principles of justice require that corresponding rights be granted to both parties. In the Rochester agreement the right of the employer to manage his own shop is specifically admitted, as is his right to introduce what changes in manufacturing methods he sees fit.

Industrial Justice Stresses "Equality," "Reciprocity," "Compromise," "Rights," "Rules," and "Precedents." Commons says: "Autocracy is always more simple than democracy. It acts without consulting. Consultation takes time and acts according to rules." Professor Howard suggests as a guiding principle the purpose "to make it profitable and easy for all parties to acquiesce in the rule of reason and of justice, and dangerous and difficult for them to attempt to get unjust advantage." The rule with regard to discipline and discharge in the Hart, Schaffner and Marx agreement is thus stated:

> This power should be exercised with justice and with due regard to the reasonable rights of the employee.

The preamble says:

> On the part of the workers it is the intention and expectation that they pass from the status of wage servants, with no claim on the employer save his economic need, to that of self-respecting parties to an agreement which they have had an equal part with him in making; that this status gives them as assurance of fair and just treatment and protects them against injustice or oppression of those who may have been placed in authority over them.

According to the Rochester agreement, readjustments of wages of individuals or of sections may be considered, upon petition of either party, on the ground that such readjustment is necessary "to remove serious and unjust inequalities in pay."

The Huebner Brewing Company of Toledo has an agreement with the union under which one of the recognized reasons for discharge is

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 201–2.

disrespect to employer or foreman. Disrespect means "assuming of a defiant or impudent attitude or the use of profane language." But "there shall be no disrespect if employer or foreman, by attitude or language, give provocation for same." "So," Commons and Carpenter comment, "it is perfectly legal in this shop for a worker to do unto the boss as the boss does unto him."[1] In this same brewery the principle of equality is applied to the problem of unemployment by a system of layoffs in rotation.

The spirit of compromise comes out in the following statement by Dr. Commons:

> Constitutional democracy in politics and industry has generally been procured by half-way measures. It may have its revolts, but generally they are anticipated by concessions in advance. The advance may not be great, but it stands, and is a starting point for a new advance. And this, because democracy must be built on education, good faith, and good-will. Education in self-government is slow. Good faith is experience of previous good faith. Goodwill is reciprocity.[2]

As in other systems of justice, the industrial courts build up a body of precedents which acquire the effect of law. Commons says:

> The "board of arbitration" is the supreme court of the shop — it decides questions of law, interprets the constitution, *makes* the law.[3]

They say of the Trade Board:

> The board is therefore a court of appeals for 35,000 workers; . . . further . . . to determine interpretations of the agreement or to legislate on doubtful issues between company and people.[4]

He points out that after such boards have been in operation a while the appeals from decisions become more and more infrequent, because a case once decided becomes a rule of law for all succeeding cases. Commons and Davis say of the attitude of the impartial chairman:

> While the Chairman does not wish to be bound by precedent, he feels that only by determining such principles and definite rules of procedure can a body of law be built up to which each side may know how to conform.[5]

Industrial Justice Promotes Integration of Purpose. When two sets of purposes find ways of functioning successfully together, the result, as has been shown in previous chapters, is the knitting up of the

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 232. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 108, 113.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 107–8. [4] *Industrial Government*, p. 197. [5] *Ibid.* p. 243.

two groups. Their personalities tend to expand to include each other. Goodwill grows out of satisfying coöperation. These tendencies have developed in connection with industrial government. Commons and Sharp say that in the clothing trades:

> The interests of the union and company in the success of their joint government have been so unified by the development of its constitution that union officials and company representatives alike exert themselves to keep the machinery running smoothly.[1]

Commons says that the practice of industrial justice has tended to transform the labor unions:

> In the course of time their employers were astonished at the change in attitude that came over them. Misinformed, self-seeking, unscrupulous leaders began to lose influence. The other class of leaders came to the front, skilled in negotiation, competent in pleadings and cross-examinations before the trade boards, efficient and firm in organizing, in leading and disciplining the unruly among the workers. They have been learning democracy and due process of law.
>
> And the employers confess that they too have learned! They learned that it was worth while to be protected against themselves; that they needed to make it impossible to violate or overlook the rights of their employees. Especially they learned to approve of checks calculated to restrain their agents from arbitrary and unjust acts toward fellow-employees. In short, what they think they have learned is that, by admitting labor into the councils and authority of the company, they are winning industrial peace and the goodwill of labor.[2]

The following quotations from Commons, Davis, Dietrich, Turner, and Sharp, develop further this socializing and integrating influence of the practice of industrial justice:

> Each side has experienced the benefits of law and order, and each side has been disciplined. . . . Sidney Hillman said, "Collective bargaining is past; instead we have the beginning of joint control in industry." Employers expressed the hope that the new plan would "substitute natural adjustment for constant friction." . . . It may, after all, be nothing more than a forming habit of law-abidingness, now that there is a growing law, whose clear object is justice.[3]
>
> Its real force lies rather in good-will and the intangible elements of moral power which have grown out of the mutual trust created by the frank "man

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 206. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 108–9.
[3] *Industrial Government*, p. 249.

to man" relationship in the Council. Too much credit cannot be given to the first small group of pioneers who cast prejudices aside and united in a common cause, the welfare of industry.[1]

The union has accepted a system of differential rates, opposed apparently to all union traditions, because of the confidence it has in the justice of the labor policy of the company, and its support of the system of commissions and courts to which its members may appeal.[2]

Naturally, it took some years before sufficient confidence and mutual respect were inspired to get results and convince both sides of fairness.[3]

Our fathers under Lincoln fought to preserve the Union and the liberties which it represented. In much the same spirit the unions who have experienced the liberties of industrial justice in the clothing industry fought to preserve the impartial machinery:

This nineteen weeks' struggle between the International Tailoring Company and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers was no ordinary dispute over hours and wages and physical working conditions. The Union struck not only to protect its own members but also and primarily to safeguard the industrial Constitution of the men's clothing industry which, in coöperation with the leading employers in Chicago, Rochester, Baltimore, Boston, and New York it has been developing for more than a decade in an effort to substitute the orderly processes of law for the violence and waste of strikes.[4]

Sometimes Justice Is Merely Regulated Conflict. It is notable that the job of James Mullenbach, umpire in Hart, Schaffner and Marx, was spoken of as "keeping industrial warfare from becoming anything more than verbal conflict." The impartial machinery has tended at times to substitute orderly psychological coercion for chaotic physical coercion. Such weapons as the strike, the lockout, the injunction, sabotage, picketing, and the like, ceased to be used. But the weapon of *bargaining power* was retained. Commons and Dietrich ask the question "Upon what basis is the division between wages and profits to be made?" They answer:

Since the unit of measure has not been discovered, the share of each factor will still depend upon bargaining power, swinging between the limits of the bare cost of living for the workers and the minimum of profits necessary to keep the business alive.[5]

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 171. [2] *Ibid.* p. 224. [3] *Ibid.* p. 142.
[4] Robert Bruère, *Survey*, Dec. 15, '25, p. 365. [5] *Industrial Government*, pp. 178–9.

On this same point, Professor Tufts, chairman of the Board of Arbitration of the Hart, Schaffner and Marx impartial machinery, said:

The principles and policies of the United States are, with certain qualifications, those of individualism, or the competitive system. This means that prices, wages, and profits are fixed by bargaining under the forces of supply and demand. . . . In time of national emergency, we use the word "profiteer" to condemn taking advantage of the country's need for an unreasonable private gain. But in ordinary times, there is as yet no recognized standard for the fairness of prices of various goods, or for relative wages in different industries, other than what the bargainers agree upon. This method may often fail to give justice as measured by various other standards of merit or desert.

Commons and Sharp add:

It should be clear from the preceding discussion that the possession of this bargaining power on the part of the workers has been of paramount importance in the development of industrial law.[1]

We have seen that the practice of industrial justice often leads toward integration of purpose. Because of the remaining elements of coercion in the program, however, the trend may be merely toward regulated antagonism. Something of this process may be seen at work in the following experience in the clothing trade in Rochester:

In the spring of 1919, there was no Impartial Chairman. It was necessary that the Labor Manager and Union official should agree. And as both were courteous, both interested in the accomplishment of order in industry, both eager to act according to the ethics involved, mutual agreements were usual. And when the Impartial Chairman assumed his rôle, he aimed at interpretation of joint interest rather than arbitration. He brought representatives of the two sides together, and watched them adjust their differences; but he did not hand down a decision in the spirit of a judge. But personal convictions are in danger of being lost in positions; each side pushed its representative for an advantageous decision. The representative had to be an advocate, perhaps at times even an instructed delegate. And he who stood for the losing side was glad to shift the responsibility of the decision on to a judge. More and more the spirit of the lawyer is emerging in the court room.[2]

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 229.
[2] Commons and Davis, *Industrial Government*, p. 242.

The flaring up of the antagonistic attitude may be illustrated by the following instances:

The cutters led off with the statement that they were getting the worst of it all round. . . . The estimators were the real people of the shop and deserved the higher rating, the representative of the estimators concluded. Then came the representative of the sample tailors who affirmed that his department contained the real skill of the shop. . . . And so it went back and forth that day, a striking picture of group struggle within the ranks of the proletariat itself.[1]

In the heat of the argument there was visible a final source of disagreement and dissension between the parties. Each was determined that its view should be accepted. Several times the chairman, Mr. Tufts, a nervous, rugged man, brought quiet out of the confusion of shouting disputants with a request for order or by a sensible suggestion. . . . The union deputies insisted on the exclusion from the discussion of a rigidly set fair day's work as determined by time studies. Banging his hand on the table for emphasis, the bull-dog deputy shouted that whatever might be determined in the meeting, his people would not stand for the settlement of a standard by any such means. The afternoon was spent largely in the presentation of figures by the company's accountant tending to show a falling off in production in the trimming rooms, and the detailed criticism of these figures by the union deputies and Mr. Tufts.[2]

The method by which standards of production were for a time enforced was by the reduction of slacking cutters from one wage group to another. This method developed considerable friction, and a scheme of extra lay-off at dull times, for cutters whose production fell off, was substituted. Such a plan has obvious defects in a busy period. . . . Mr. Howard believes that "this whole matter can be adjusted fairly only on an honest simple basis, namely: the delivery of an exact amount of work for an exact amount of wages."[3]

"The company . . . is anxious to agree with the union on some plan of judging work that will remove doubt and enable them to make a fair estimate of output. The union has thus far shown no disposition to coöperate in agreeing on such a plan. The present state of suspicion, of charges of slacking on the one side and of speeding on the other, is the inevitable result of such a planless situation. . . . An arbitrator is obliged to depend largely on the assertion of interested parties all keenly keyed up in a verbal combat and eager for victory. If the judicial method of settling disputes about output is to survive and be efficient I feel sure that we will need to develop a

[1] Commons and Carpenter, *Industrial Government*, pp. 104–5.
[2] Commons and Sharp, *Industrial Government*, pp. 198–9.
[3] *Ibid.* pp. 214–5.

rational plan or method for enabling us to form a correct judgment of work done; otherwise the award will be a guess, based on assertion, expediency, sympathy, authority — anything except enlightened judgment." . . .

The union, on the other hand, contends — and thus far successfully — that a "fair day's work" cannot be construed, under the agreement, to call for greater production in any department than was being secured at the time the agreement was entered into.[1]

Conclusions. Like other applications of the justice solution for conflict, industrial justice prevents destructive violence, lessens antagonism, opens the way to coöperation and even to integration of purpose, and yet falls short of being an adequate remedy for the evils with which it seeks to cope. As actually applied, industrial justice has retained elements of conflict and antagonism, and has involved partial thwarting of purpose on each side. Is there a more adequate solution of industrial conflict? The next chapter will deal with this question.

Summary

A. As a substitute for conflict and coercion there has been developing in the clothing, railroading, and other industries, a system of justice, founded on the following underlying ideals:

1. Prerequisite to industrial justice is definite abandonment of coercion.
2. Industrial justice is " conceived in liberty."
3. It is built upon recognition of the union.
4. Industrial justice stresses " equality," " reciprocity," " compromise," " rights," " rules," and " precedents."

B. Industrial justice prevents destructive violence, lessens antagonism, and opens the way to coöperation and even to integration of purpose.

C. It falls short of being an adequate remedy, however, because, as actually applied, it has retained elements of conflict and antagonism, and has involved partial thwarting of purpose on each side.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

22D1. To what extent, and for what reasons do you agree or disagree with the following statement by Professor Howard, quoted in *Industrial Government*, p. 232–3?

[1] Commons and Sharp, *Industrial Government*, pp. 209–10.

If the employer voluntarily limits his own authority and agrees to conduct his business according to the rule of reason and even-handed justice as interpreted by an outside authority, such as an arbitration board, he must insist that the organized employees submit to the same limitation, otherwise his sacrifice will be futile and his submission to injustice cowardly.

22D2. William Leiserson is quoted in *Industrial Government*, p. 250, as saying: "There must be no rules or orders affecting the lives and welfare of the wage-earners without the consent of those who must obey them." Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing.

22D3. In 1925, when wages of woolen workers were cut 10 per cent, William Green, President of the American Federation of Labor, in a letter to the President of the American Woolen Company, said in part:

If a tariff wall is built in order to protect special interests and special industries against competition from foreign manufacturers, certainly when manufacturers protected by such a tariff wall reduce the wages of their employees below the subsistence level, the Government, in all fairness, should reduce the tariff schedules and tear down the tariff wall which has been so skillfully built. It is the purpose of the president of the American Federation of Labor to bring these facts to the attention of Congress, and to insist in the name of the working people of America that the textile manufacturers who have inaugurated and carried out a policy of wage-reductions shall be deprived of special privileges and special benefits which they have enjoyed from high-tariff protection.

What do you think of the justice of this suggestion?

22D4. In the fall of 1926, Mr. Green, according to the *Literary Digest* for October 16, 1926, p. 1, took the following position on the question of the five-day week:

Mr. Green makes it clear that while American labor wants shorter hours, it does not want them at the expense of either wages or production; it is entirely willing to trade increased production for the shorter work week without reduction in wages.

What comments have you to offer?

22D5. What would you consider the two most important implications in the following quotation from Commons and Sharp, in *Industrial Government*, p. 225?

Granting at the same time that wage increases in the factories have kept up with the cost of living, and that the company can afford an increase, the

arbitrator makes the reasonableness of the increase for which he provides turn on the bargaining power of clothing workers and the fact that the increase will not be passed on to the public to any serious extent.

22D6. One word in the following quotation from Commons and Dietrich, in *Industrial Government*, p. 171, betrays what the text considers a basic weakness of the justice solution of industrial conflict. What is that word?

Right of contact and joint counsel on problems of management are the two principles on which the Council is based. . . . In this sense it is not a government but rather a Council where opposing groups can meet to present important questions and to plan constructively for the future of the industry.

Do you regard as a weakness the element suggested by this word?

22D7. Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with the following statement by Lillian Wald:

Those who are familiar with factory and shop conditions are convinced that through organization and not through the appeal to pity can permanent reforms be assured.

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

22K1. Present an abstract of the principles involved in the cases presented by William Leiserson in "The Problems of an Impartial Chairman" in the *Atlantic*, 136 (1925), pp. 301–10. (Two hours)

22K2. Select some phase of labor legislation, and study it from the standpoint of justice solutions of industrial conflict. (Time credit to be arranged)

22K3. Present a careful review of Ernest Richmond Burton's *Employee Representation*, or of James Myers' *Employee Representation in Industry*.

22K4. The *Inquiry* suggests the following sources of information on shop committees:

"American Company Shop Committee Plans," compiled by the Bureau of Industrial Research, New York City, 1919, and "Constitutionalism in Industry," by A. H. Campbell, published by the Congregational Education Society, Boston, 1921. More detailed accounts of various plans can be found in "Employee Representation in Coal Mines," by Selekman and Van Kleeck, "Employee Representation in Steel Works," and "Sharing Manage-

ment with the Workers," by Selekman, all published by the Russell Sage Foundation, New York City.

Make an analysis of the materials suggested, in so far as they bear upon problems of industrial justice. (Time credit to be arranged)

22K5. Commons and Dietrich remark, in *Industrial Government*, p. 172:

When labor and capital get together, there is a strong possibility that the public will be "held up." . . . Such a situation has, in fact, arisen in the photo-engraving industry which is almost completely organized.

Make a study of this industry from the standpoint of the social soundness of the solution arrived at.

22W6. Present an analytical review of *Industrial Democracy: A Plan for Its Achievement*, by Glenn E. Plumb and William G. Roylance. The *American Journal of Sociology* says of this book:

Characteristic of the system of industrial democracy expounded by Mr. Plumb is the insistence upon constitutional procedure and the participation of all the interested parties, rather than a new form of autocracy in industrial management. The plan for the nationalization of the railroads was first proposed by the railroad labor unions and was approved by the American Federation of Labor in its conventions of 1919 and 1920. The enlarged plan for the democratization of all corporate industries was approved by the 1921 convention of this labor body.

The Plumb plan is an attempt to find for human adjustments a logical solution.

CHAPTER XXIII

CREATIVE ACCOMMODATION IN INDUSTRY

Industrial conflict, as we have seen, is highly destructive of social values. It damages employers, employees, and consumers. It presents the typical disastrous results of social conflicts in general. While it may have a service to perform in breaking up oppressive relations, industrial warfare is so wasteful a method of adjusting purposes that substitutes are obviously called for. Industrial justice as a substitute is a great advance over the coercion, intimidation, and fraud which it displaces. At its best, however, constitutional government shows a tendency to develop into a much more creative purpose-relationship; at its worst it degenerates into verbal and psychological conflict. Is it not possible, building upon justice as a foundation rather than adopting it as a complete solution, to achieve industrial relations in which purposes of employees and employers shall stimulate, facilitate, and reinforce each other instead of thwarting, or of being merely fitted together according to rules? Several successful experiments indicate that this creative solution is feasible.

The B. & O. Plan. In 1923, Otto S. Beyer, Jr., an engineer employed by the International Association of Machinists, went with a representative of the union to make a proposal to President Willard of the B. & O. Railroad. They told him that the unions were ready to put their full energy and enthusiasm into their work if the unions could be — not tolerated as a necessary evil — but recognized and accepted as partners in the industrial undertaking. The president said: "All right — go try it out on that shop down in Pittsburgh!"

The Pittsburgh shop was thoroughly diseased with the spirit of industrial conflict. The management had made it a policy to play one faction off against another. "Divide and conquer" had been its attitude toward labor. The result was that the personnel spent its time in quarreling instead of producing. The morale was rotten. Distrust and antagonism had so far reduced efficiency that this shop

was the first to be shut down when work slackened and the last to be opened up when prosperity returned.

Beyer called a mass meeting to talk over the new plan. He found intense bitterness, but he managed to discover that defective tools and the laying off of men were among the immediate irritants. He organized a joint committee of foremen to go over the equipment and recommend replacements and improvements, which were promptly carried out. Acting under the authority given him by the president, he reemployed some of the men who had been laid off. The road had been contracting with other firms to rebuild locomotives. Beyer put it up to the men that if they showed that their shop could do the job economically they could have this work, and thus eliminate some of their unemployment. The men reacted enthusiastically. Production jumped to new levels. *Esprit de corps* developed. The shop was made over.

A convention of the union men of the B. & O. System was held not long after. The Pittsburgh men told workers from other shops about the new idea and the new spirit. The law committee of the system union got to work and revised the preamble of their charter to include, as parts of the union objective, the ideas of coöperation with management and of stabilizing employment. The spirit of the plan kept spreading. In March, 1924, a general agreement for coöperation between union and management for the entire system was adopted.

The B. & O. plan is not primarily an arrangement of courts to hear industrial disputes; it is an arrangement whereby the unions and the management unite to boost the welfare of the railroad as a whole. The union takes up its share of responsibility for production and efficiency; the management takes up as its own interest the maintenance of regularity in employment and the promotion of the other vital interests of the workers.

A basic part of the scheme is the organization of committees which take up suggestions of the workers looking toward greater efficiency and the general welfare of the system. In 1925, 16,000 such suggestions were received, only ten per cent of which were rejected. About half of these suggestions were of benefit entirely to the management; the bulk of the remaining suggestions benefited both management and men and only a small fraction were exclusively for the benefit of the workers. An attempt is made to estimate the value of the ideas turned in, but the individual who makes the suggestion gets

nothing but glory out of it. The idea is to work for the benefit of the entire system rather than have each individual and group pulling and hauling for its own special privileges.

The plan has worked so well in the B. & O. that the Canadian National Railroad has been experimenting with it in one of its shops. The Chicago and Northwestern Railroad has put it in at the request of both management and men. The unions of the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul voted for it overwhelmingly. The Chesapeake and Ohio has adopted it.

The progress of this experiment was made the subject of an authoritative public review before a joint meeting of the Taylor Society and the Metropolitan Section of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, held in New York on February 5, 1926. Sir Henry Thornton, president of the Canadian National Railways, bore enthusiastic testimony to the results produced by his eager acceptance of the unions' proffer of technical coöperation; Bert M. Jewell, president of the Railway Employees Department of the American Federation of Labor, stressed the fact that as the result of engaging the interest of the men in the technical and financial problems of the railroads, "minor grievance cases on the Baltimore and Ohio and the Canadian National have been more than cut in two, and as for appeal cases — those which are not settled locally on the ground where they originate — these have been reduced by approximately 75 per cent."

President Green of the American Federation of Labor, setting aside organized labor's traditional suspicion of scientific managers and technical experts, expressed his conviction that the time had come when through mutual confidence and understanding, "all the associated productive powers of industry can be mobilized into an economic, sustained, impelling force through which economy in production may be completely accomplished . . . and the rewards of the efforts of all those associated with the industry can be equitably distributed." [1]

Creative Accommodation by a Milk Company. From a different type of business comes the following example of the new spirit in industrial relations.

The New York public has not yet forgotten the milk strike, when in November, 1921, all the route employees of all the milk companies caused a tie-up of milk distribution in the great city. After a long and very expensive strike, involving great hardship to the community, the Sheffield Farms company reorganized its employees who had taken the place of the strikers and established with them a personnel organization.

[1] *Survey*, Mar. 1, '26, p. 628.

The employees were encouraged to devise their own plan of representation. They did so. The main purpose of such an organization is to create a spirit of cordial relationship and mutual confidence between employer and employee. The spirit of that relationship is far more important than the details of form. The employees get from their own organization not something which somebody else thinks they want, but that which they know they want themselves.

One test of the effectiveness of the employee organization has been this: Before the milk strike and when the New York milk distributing industry was substantially dominated by a badly managed branch of the Teamsters' Union, the company was in receipt of more or less continuous complaints from patrons of gross and arrogant incivility by employees and a disregard of customers' wishes in matters of service, which seriously impaired the good relations between the company and its customers. The complaint department of the company to-day, on this score, is practically blank. In place of these frequent complaints of incivil conduct by drivers to customers and mainly to women, the company received a continuous line of letters from customers commending the courtesy and efficiency of specific employees in the performance of daily tasks. The spirit of this coöperation between the company and its employees has been further evidenced by very considerable reductions in expense occasioned by carelessness and the failure of the drivers to make collections of bottles and to care for the many minor wastes whose aggregate adds to the cost of milk distribution.

This past year the employees' organization requested from the company permission for its members to purchase the common stock of the company. This opportunity was given. A scheme under which employees could arrange to purchase stock by deductions from their wages was inaugurated and a very substantial amount of the company's common stock is now in the course of distribution among its employees. This distribution, the company believes, has proved beneficial both to the employees and to the operating efficiency of the service. The company's general plans further consider, as a fixed policy, the elevation from the ranks of its own employees in promotions into the higher grades of the service as an additional encouragement for faithful work. The company is endeavoring to work with its employees to avoid all possible sources of friction and to afford a basis under which arbitration shall in any event take the place of any such strike as that which preceded the present organization of the employees in the Sheffield Coöperative Council. So much for industrial peace in the city end of the business.

The other aspect of industrial peace toward which constructive steps have been taken is that pertaining to the country producers, the 7,000 farmers from whom the company buys its milk. A short-sighted and reactionary policy would doubtless have suggested the desirability of keeping the farmers

unorganized, just as a short-sighted policy in the city would have resulted in trying to keep the city employees unorganized and to prevent both classes from having any effective voice in expressing their own rights in connection with their own problems. The company did with its country producers what it did with its city employees. It suggested that if the country producers would create an organized authorized body of their own, the company would negotiate and coöperate with such a body in all matters relating to the sale of their milk. As a result an organization, the Sheffield Producers, was created and has been in effect since May, 1922. The Producers stated that their "plan of operation was devised to remove the possibility that children dependent on it for milk might be denied this essential food at any time." They have announced: "On the basis of the returns made by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture these producers received a larger percentage of the consumer's dollar than any other producers of farm products."[1]

As Research Director of the Pennsylvania Old Age Commission, Abraham Epstein lately visited 1,500 of the larger concerns of the United States. He came to the conclusion that the old-line captain of industry, deficient in social mindedness toward the workers, is giving place to a new and more liberal generation who hold as cardinal principles (1) that "a contented employee is the best asset to a prosperous business"; (2) that "capital can prosper only as long as it secures the good-will of its workers by providing better advantages for them"; and (3) that "production is far more a matter of efficient men than of improved machinery." Mr. Epstein concludes that "a new industrial order is evolving and growing at an accelerated rate."[2]

What, then, are the principles which can be applied in experiments such as these, for achieving contentment, goodwill, and efficiency on the part of the workers?

Don't Give the Workers What They Don't Want! The paternalistic mistake of management is making up its mind what the workers ought to want, and then giving it to them. The results are disastrous. The famous Pullman strike is an outstanding instance. Mr. Pullman had built a model town for his employees, and felt that he was laying out an ideal life for them. Jane Addams speaks of the subsequent strike as "the inevitable revolt of human nature against the plans Mr. Pullman had made for his employees, the miscarriage of which appeared to him such black ingratitude." She suggests that the social implication of

[1] Abstracted from George W. Alger, *Survey*, June 15, '25, pp. 357–8.
[2] *Current History*, July '26, pp. 516–22.

" the failure of this benevolent despot " is the demand for a more democratic administration of industry.[1]

A country club had grown up spontaneously and was thriving among the employees of a great publishing firm. The company benevolently built a house for the club, and was grieved when the employees failed to use it. Another company, observing that many of its employees ate their lunches on the roof, set about building them a lunch room, but when it was finished, the men still ate on the roof. A great shoe company built a club for its employees across the street from its factory, but it required strenuous efforts to persuade the workers to use it. Williams tells of a company which maintained a clean, well served and managed restaurant. The employees used it relatively little, — " too much money to tie up in tickets," some said.[2]

Worker's education in Great Britain, when it was first organized, was frankly superimposed from the outside, and hence was turned from with indifference by the very people it was hoped to reach. Not until the workers themselves began to have a voice in the enterprise did it begin to succeed.

Does the Worker Object to the Monotonous Job? Perhaps the most frequently mentioned stronghold of monotony in work is the Ford plant. The Ford management has made the following official statement on this subject:

> The monotony of repetitive work has often been discussed as an unfortunate phase of factory life. It is true that repetitive work would almost kill some men, but others prefer it to anything else. Several years ago an executive order that every man was to change his job every three months was put into effect. To the surprise of everybody this order was fiercely resisted by the majority of the men on these monotonous jobs. As a matter of cold fact the majority of men dislike working their brains more than is absolutely necessary and if they find that a job may be done almost automatically a surprisingly large proportion prefer sticking to it than to learn something new.[3]

John R. Commons suggests another aspect of the attitude toward monotony:

> In a public employment office I found that a large proportion of the applicants for work were boys or young men on these repetition jobs in

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, pp. 217–8.
[2] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* p. 66.
[3] "Ford Industries," p. 45.

machine shops. They had been on one machine for a month, or two months, or six months, and just wanted a change. . . . But there were no middle-aged men in this class of applicants. The older men had lost their hankering for a change, had gotten used to monotony, or had quit for good.[1]

The Workers in General Do Not Want to Manage Industry. Commons and Davis observe about the clothing industry in Rochester:

The radical element would like to take over the industry and run it: their leaders know that they have not the ability nor the experience for such a project.[2]

As Filene's store in Boston discovered, when it pioneered in admitting non-stockholding employees, elected by employees, to membership in the Board of Directors:

It is no easy or brief task to stir the ambition of these women to the point where they thrill at the thought of sharing in the management of a great business. . . . Their heart is in the Board of Arbitration, not in the Board of Directors. The employees don't *want* to run the business.[3]

The experience of the Printz-Biedermann Company indicates that there may be growth in the desire for control:

A study of the records of these two years shows clearly that this group of employees desire a "hand" in their own affairs as well as a "voice." Throughout the whole process of changes that have been passed in review there has been a progressively increasing participation by the employees in the making of policies and decisions that vitally concern them.[4]

Commons and his associates, after intensive study of a number of experiments in industrial democracy, concluded:

Labor, as such, in control of industry breaks down on discipline, on credit, on depreciation accounts, on planning for the future, on finding managers who can shoulder responsibility. . . . What we find that labor wants, as a class, is wages, hours, and security, without financial responsibility, but with power enough to command respect.[5]

Find out What the Workers Really Want. The official demands in a strike are quite often different from the underlying causes of antagonism. Commons gives this instance:

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 146.
[2] *Industrial Government*, p. 244.
[3] Commons and Turner, *Industrial Government*, pp. 53, 55.
[4] Commons and Carpenter, *Industrial Government*, p. 107.
[5] *Industrial Government*, p. 267.

The main demand of the strikers was higher wages. This was granted. But the company discovered that what they wanted was control of discipline. . . . Wages were the apparent demand. The real grievance was the accumulation of petty complaints, often unfounded, against the minor executives of the company.[1]

The first step toward creative accommodation must be that each party shall discover not only what the other side really wants but also what he himself wants. For instance, as Miss Follett points out:

We can say, at the very least, that the workman does not "really want" wages above the point that will keep the factory open; that the employer does not "really want" wages low enough to impair seriously the productive power of the workman.[2]

Creative accommodation, however, must take account both of what the other party *really* wants and of what he *thinks* he wants, both of the injustice under which he *really* suffers and of those under which he merely *thinks* he suffers:

Goodwill is reciprocity. It is not government at all, but mutual concession. It yields as much to the prejudices and passions, to the conservatism and even suspicions of patrons as it does to scientific knowledge of what is good for them. Goodwill is not necessarily a virtuous will, or a loving will, it is a beneficial reciprocity of wills, and whether there is really a benefit or really a reciprocity, is a matter of opinion and mutual good feeling as much as a matter of science.[3]

Genuinely Free Discussion, Systematically Carried out, Is the Foundation of Industrial Goodwill. The first remedy for misunderstanding and antagonism between management and workers is getting together systematically for frank and unrestrained discussion of common problems.

This flow of ideas will not occur spontaneously, or through any perfunctory understanding that suggestions and complaints are to be turned in to the foremen. The Dutchess Bleachery discovered that workers need to be encouraged to bring up their grievances. Fear of "getting in bad" with bosses or "higher ups" and the hard-learned lesson that it doesn't pay to stir things up, keep the irritation and sense of wrong of the workers pent up, to generate destructive resentment and antagonism.

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 106. [2] *Creative Experience*, p. 169.
[3] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 19.

The Dutchess Bleachery found that its workers were getting the idea that the management was inefficient. A rumor was going around that a $16,000 loss had been incurred by the firm through some unfortunate experiments with bleaching chemicals. The workers also resented the fact that while they were being told that there was a water shortage and that they must save every drop, the management was sprinkling the road in front of the factory. These ideas were destroying the attitude of confidence and coöperation through which high production and high wages were being maintained. Fortunately the company had developed ways of exchanging facts, ideas, and attitudes with its employees. A committee of the workers was invited to look into the supposed $16,000 loss, and it found that the real loss was $160, which had been paid by a company whose chemicals were involved in the experiment. The sprinkling was shown to be due to the fact that dust from the road had been blowing into workrooms and ruining bolts of bleached goods. These simple facts restored confidence.

The Printz-Biederman Company, garment manufacturers in Cleveland, was visited by John Leitch, who " sold " to the management and the employees his idea of " Industrial Democracy." The plan proved cumbersome in many ways, but it did provide a means whereby management and workers could get together and straighten out their misunderstandings. A committee of the employees had been appointed to go into a great accumulation of complaints about wage rates and time studies. Several departments submitted lists, each containing from 35 to 40 general grievances out of which individual cases of injustice had arisen. The committee decided to send these lists of complaints directly to the management, and hear its side. The management promptly admitted the soundness of many of the complaints and agreed to remedy them. It was able to explain to the satisfaction of the workers the causes for many of the other complaints. The committee accepted the reply of the management *in toto*, and a great falling off in the number of new complaints resulted.

Often the mere bringing of the full facts into the open is sufficient to settle a dispute. Here is a summary of a case from the Chicago garment trades, brought up before Mr. Mullenbach:

The company had lodged complaint with the Trade Board against Mr. Andrus, a shop chairman, asking his removal from this position, to which he had been elected by the union. He was charged with being a "trouble-maker." The first witness, a fiery foreman in the defendent's shop, testified

that Andrus had refused him "any satisfaction in the case of a stitcher who was doing bad work; and that when the witness insisted on taking the matter up with the superintendent, Andrus had said "I'm through with you," hinting at trouble ahead among the foreman's workers. The foreman gave testimony also to convict Andrus of lying in order to gain recruits for the union. Examination of witnesses occupied the better part of two mornings and eight or ten men and women gave full testimony as to the activities and character of the accused. In the course of proceedings the people in Andrus' shop asked for a postponement of the hearing and during the interval they disposed of the case by deposing Andrus and electing a substitute.[1]

Illumination Comes When Management and Workers Put Themselves in Each Other's Places. Bringing the company face to face with the conditions faced by the employees and the employees face to face with the conditions faced by the management often serves to bring about accommodation of purposes. The Dutchess Bleachery demonstrated both sides of this proposition in its dealings with the problems of housing for its workers. The company owned a number of houses which it rented to its employees. Grievances about the condition of these dwellings were a frequent source of friction. Finally representatives of the management made a personal inspection and were surprised and shocked to find that the company was neglecting to put in even running water and inside toilets. It was decided to appoint a committee of workers to have charge of the expenditure of funds for improvements and of the general management of the company houses. When these representatives of the employees had experienced for a while the kicks brought in by the tenants, the difficulty of arriving at any repair program which all the tenants would regard as fair and just, and the necessity for laying aside funds for taxes, interest, insurance, replacements, and renewals, their attitude toward the management was one of increased sympathy and understanding.

The manager of the Dutchess Bleachery was confronted with the necessity of laying off a considerable number of employees. When he announced his plans there was great bitterness on the part of the workers who were to suffer this temporary loss of their jobs. The manager then put it up to a board composed of workers to draft a set of rules to control lay-offs. When the representatives of the employees had agreed to these rules there was no further objection.

[1] Abridged freely from Commons and Sharp, *Industrial Government*, pp. 195–6.

Coöperative Fact-Finding. Free discussion is apt to reduce controversies to a disagreement about facts. In such cases, industrial goodwill depends upon a determined effort to get at the truth by methods which both management and workers will accept as fair. In the Hart, Schaffner and Marx plan, say Commons and Sharp, " it is accepted that an able investigator, supported by company and worker, will devise means for serving the interests of both." [1]

The organization of the employees of the Filene store in Boston — the Filene Coöperative Association — wanted some facts in connection with a profit-sharing plan which was under consideration. They therefore employed an expert to go over the books of the company, and the company paid the bill for the services of the expert.[2]

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union was trying to substitute its organization for the " company union " in the Printz-Biederman Company of Cleveland. The outside union denounced the bonus system as a device on the part of the capitalist owners to speed up the employees for the sake of profits, and warned the Printz-Biederman workers that such speeding up meant premature old age and shortened lives for them. The organization of the employees and the company agreed that there should be an investigation to settle this controversy. A physiologist from Johns Hopkins was engaged to come and make the study. In his report certain measures, like extension of the medical and dental services and improved equipments, were recommended, but the charge that the bonus system was working injury to health and shortening the lives of employees was not sustained. Fact-finding had settled the controversy.[3]

An employer acting under the labor policy agreed upon by the joint council of employers and employees in the printing trades, reports as follows:

> I got the cylinder feeders to appoint a statistician to check me up on cost of living figures and after a series of conferences between employers and employees, in which not a heated word was spoken, by the use of facts, reason, and a square deal, we arrived at the first peaceful settlement of a wage controversy in this local printing industry since 1917.[4]

Commons and Turner summarize as follows the spirit of fact-finding:

> Orderly industrial government and efficient production exist here not as a result of overwhelming authority on one side, but as the result of balanced

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 207–8. [2] *Ibid.* p. 50. [3] *Ibid.* p. 99. [4] *Ibid.* p. 176.

power, or reason and knowledge on both sides. . . . When we find employer and employee *together* gathering facts for their negotiations, when we find both recognizing that tremendous possibilities may exist in the capacity of employees to interest themselves in the problems of production, when we find both sides going along steadily and patiently, willing to give new things a trial and yet not trying to force premature developments and experiments; then we feel that surely this is truly scientific management — scientific management based upon a democracy as sober, as dignified, and as solid as New England Tradition.[1]

Removing the Antagonizers. The manager who wants the wholehearted coöperation of his working force in his efforts to make the business a success must do everything in his power to get the employees to adopt the business as part of their expanded personalities and to avoid their thinking of it as part of their anti-personalities. This follows obviously from the principle brought out in previous chapters that one seeks to promote the successful functioning of one's expanded personality and rejoices in the failure and obstruction of activities allied with his antipathies and antagonisms. The first step is to eliminate the factors which create antagonism toward the business on the part of the workers. Anything which attacks or threatens any part of their expanded personalities will, of course, tend to create antagonism. What these antagonizers are has been shown in the chapter on industrial conflict.

Avoiding Antagonism by Guaranteeing Justice. As previous chapters have shown, the sense of injustice is one of the most acute causes of industrial conflict. Constitutional government in industry is one remedy. Other methods also have been successful. Among the conclusions of Commons and Haake from their study of methods in operation at Joseph and Feiss is the following:

Justice, then, is one of the motives which needs to be measured. Instead of leaving the hiring, firing, and promotion to forty different standards and all manner of prejudices and favoritism, a single department with a single standard supervises. With the removal of all signs of inequality and discrimination, providing the same measure of rewards for all employees, the dissatisfaction disappears.[2]

The method of guaranteeing justice to employees of the Filene Store in Boston is described as follows:

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 167.
[2] Abridged from *Industrial Government*, pp. 37–8.

A board of 12 members, *consisting entirely of employees*, passes on all appeals affecting differences between the firm or the management and the employees — questions of dismissal, wages, position in the store, missing sales, short change, lost packages, and damages to goods. *The decision of the board is final.* It may even go so far as to recommend that the firm dismiss the department head.

If a customer accuses you of short changing and you know you didn't, you can take your case to the Board of Arbitration and you are sure of a fair hearing, and sure to get justice. The department heads are pretty decent. They have to be or you will complain to the Board of Arbitration. The board is elected *by the employees* and is pretty likely, if it has had a lot of trouble from the department headed by any particular person, to tell the company they had better remove that person and put in some one else whom the girls will stand for.[1]

The Packard Piano Company succeeded, through the practice of conference and coöperation, in developing such an assurance of justice that the workers were speeding themselves up coöperatively, without outside efficiency experts, and without policing by bosses:

Every worker is secure in earning as much as he can at piece-rates, for he knows that the rate will not be cut without his consent. The president cited one instance of a voluntary cut in the piece-rate from 42 cents to 11 cents. The workers could earn more at the new rate than formerly at the old rate.[2]

The vital importance of eliminating the antagonizers from industrial relations may be pointed out in the words of two men of widely different viewpoints. The first is William Z. Foster, the radical labor organizer. Williams quotes him as follows:

Of course, where the men have right wages, hours, working conditions, treatment, and all that, and are happy, we ain't got a chance with 'em.[3]

The other is Professor Howard, who drew up the statement of principles on which the Hart, Schaffner and Marx agreement is based:

Industrial peace will never come so long as either employer or employee believe that they are deprived of rights honestly belonging to them. . . . Arbitration and conciliation should be applied to all departments of a business wherever there is a conflict of interest. If nothing more, it insures exhaustive discussion of every matter of importance, gives everybody an

[1] Abridged from *Industrial Government*, pp. 48, 51.
[2] *Industrial Government*, p. 74.
[3] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* p. 155.

opportunity to express his opinions, frequently brings to light valuable suggestions, and makes possible a higher degree of coöperation and teamwork. It is a method to be employed continuously to secure harmony and satisfaction.

This whole section might be summarized by saying: *Industrial goodwill must be founded on industrial justice.*

Steadied Employment as a Builder of Loyalty. To remove the irritants which produce antagonism of workers against employers is an important step forward. But the great achievement is the positive one of getting the workers to adopt the industry as part of their expanded personalities. This can be done if the management genuinely adopts the workers as parts of *its* expanded personality.

The first sub-topic of this positive program is a transitional one: it involves both elimination of an antagonizer and the development of a very powerful social integrator — the elimination of irregular and uncertain employment and the development of steady work. Commons says:

> Capitalism can cure itself, for it is not the blind force that socialists supposed; and not the helpless plaything of demand and supply, but it is Management. And the greatest self-cure that it needs to-day is security of the job, for it is the insecurity of jobs that is the breeder of socialism, of anarchism, of the restrictions of trade-unionism, and a menace to capitalism, the nation, and even civilization.[1]
>
> "It is perfectly natural," said one of the managerial force, "that the worker should slacken up in rush times and try to make the job last. We have to expect that in industry until unemployment is abolished. Our industry used to be highly seasonal, but we are gradually making it more regular."[2]

The vital way in which steadiness of work affects the lives of the workers is portrayed in this observation:

> At the mine the most serious moment of the day was at five o'clock. Then everybody began to listen and I wouldn't be surprised if many prayed. Finally the whistle would boom and re-echo from the sides of the valley: One — two — three! With that, the tension was over and everybody smiled. "Work to-morrow! Thank God!" But when it went only

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 272.

[2] Commons and Turner, *Industrial Government*, p. 162.

one — two! you saw men taking it pretty hard — running their hands through their hair and saying: "My God! How can live! What can do? No work to-morrow!"[1]

Enlightened employers are beginning to recognize that the steadying of employment for their workers not only is humane and is economical from the standpoint of utilization of plant, but that it also is a vital part of any adequate program for building up goodwill. The Dennison Manufacturing Company produces paper boxes, tags, crepe paper, and allied goods. Paper novelties for Halloween, and Christmas are subject to a highly seasonal demand. Yet the Dennison Company has been an outstanding pioneer in regularizing employment. In 1919 they had set aside $100,000 as a starter for "unemployment insurance." But they were not content with helping the worker to live through his workless periods; they started fundamental preventive measures. The sources of seasonal demand were studied. Types of work which could be done in dull seasons were transferred out of the rush periods. Successful efforts were made to build up demands for products which are used at other times than the old peak load of the industry. Workers were trained so that they could be shifted to alternative jobs when their normal work slackened. Methods of persuading customers to put in advance orders were developed. From a highly fluctuating demand for workers, the company has changed to a condition where it is able to hold its working force with astonishing steadiness. The results in increased goodwill and lowered turnover, — in higher valuation of the job and in loyalty — have made the effort a highly profitable one.

Joseph and Feiss took steps in the same direction:

> They proceeded to educate their salesmen and their trade. First their materials and later their styles were standardized for the most serviceable and everyday men's clothing. These models change very little, standardization lowers the cost, and it becomes feasible to manufacture the garments before they are actually sold rather than wait for orders. They develop their market to absorb a year-round production and make possible the economies of continuous operation.[2]

The Money Motive. The method which employers have chiefly depended upon to get people to carry out their purposes for them is to

[1] *What's on the Worker's Mind?* p. 125.
[2] Commons and Haake, *Industrial Government*, p. 36.

offer a money inducement. "You do what I want you to do," the employer says in effect, "and I'll give you a chance to do what you want to do by giving you the great purpose-releaser — money." Now the success of any attempt to use inducement as a method of carrying out one's purposes through another person depends upon how closely tied up the reward is with the behavior which one wants to produce. The employee soon finds out just what way of behaving gets him the rewards which he has most vividly in mind. If he gets them successfully without serving the interests of the employer or by even damaging the employer's interests, then the system of inducements is failing.

The system of inducements at a French steel-plant, where Williams worked for a while, were not getting the intended results. At certain times the gang-boss would begin to cover square yards of sheet steel with his chalk figurings. If he found that they had earned the maximum bonus permitted by their wage scale, the gang would make a great pretense of work to cover their idleness during the rest of the day while they saved up their materials to make big earnings the next day.[1]

Workers have found that, in general, piece rates are reduced as soon as they begin to earn more than a certain daily wage. John R. Commons says:

> I knew a large factory of non-union laborers where every new man who came in was warned by the others not to earn more than a certain amount of money. I knew another where two or three ambitious workers refused to limit their output on this mere warning from the others, and then the others organized a union, demanded the closed shop, won their demand, then reduced the output of every member so that no one would earn more than the amount of wages that they thought the superintendent had in mind when he cut the piece rates. . . . Piece-rate cutting is universal.[2]

In other words, the harder the employees work, the less they will get for their work in the future. This is applying the principle of inducement to reward slowness, and the behavior rewarded is the behavior which results.

Intelligent Use of Financial Inducement. The firm of Joseph and Feiss, clothing manufacturers, have developed a plan of money motivation which rewards accurately, in terms of wages and bonuses,

[1] *Mainsprings of Men*, p. 23. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 8.

the sorts of behavior which they want from their workers. By investigation and discussion a fair basic wage is arrived at. The piece rate is then adjusted so that the standard worker earns this basic rate. Workers who actually meet the standard, however, are given a " production bonus " of 20 per cent. Seventy per cent of the workers earn this bonus regularly. A " quality bonus " of up to 10 per cent of earnings is paid on the basis of keeping down the number of garments rejected for faulty work. For each unbroken consecutive day of work the employee gets an " attendance bonus " of fifty cents, which is forfeited for the first day following an absence. Turning in a timely excuse, however, nets her twenty-five cents. For each year of service up to thirty years the worker gets a bonus of five cents per day. Giving advance notice of intention to leave is rewarded by an extra day's pay for each week of notice up to six weeks. The management helps its employees to find the work for which their natural aptitude fits them, and to qualify in skill.

This system creates an aristocracy of achievement — an aristocracy whose prestige is acknowledged, not by blue ribbons or a posting of names of leaders, but by cold cash and the higher standard of living which cash can purchase.[1]

Long-Time Inducement Versus Short-Time Inducement. The use of the money-motive by Joseph and Feiss keeps the relationship very close between the reward and the behavior for which the reward is given. Each week the size of the pay check reflects how fully the worker has done what the employer wants him to do. Psychologists say that the power of a punishment or reward varies directly with the closeness of the connection between it and the act punished or rewarded. And yet the plan of profit sharing developed by the Dennison Company uses as inducements rewards that are remote. This plan is worth studying by way of contrast.

About one-ninth of the 3,000 Dennison workers are classified as employees with creative imagination. The group is limited to those who have had five years or more of service and whose position with the company requires those qualities upon which the management believes that constant earning of profits depends. It is they who " produce " the profits, and keep the concern going. The other eight-ninths produce wages.

[1] For a fuller account of this plan see *Industrial Government*, pp. 37–43.

The absentee owners of the Dennison business turned over their common stock *with* voting power to the imaginative workers and accepted preferred stock *without* voting power. But the imaginative workers had to pay the stockholders $360,000 a year, where the dividends had been running about $200,000 to $250,000. If the workers failed to pay in full for four years, the absentee owners were to come back into control.

By March, 1913, 15,122 shares of the " industrial partnership stock " had been issued to the 167 " principal employees." In 1919, thirty thousand shares were issued — 45 per cent of the payroll of 320 principal employees. It was not cash — it was just profits put back into the business; but it paid 15 per cent in cash dividends in 1919.

An industrial partner cannot sell, or even take away his industrial partnership stock, for every share of it is a reward for the continued exercise of creative imagination for an ever-expanding and improving Dennison industry. If a partner leaves the concern the company may pay for his stock in cash or in second preferred stock of equal face value which can be sold, but which *has no voting power*.

In 1919 an " imaginative worker " on a $4000 salary, who had been with the firm ten years, would get $1,600 in dividends in addition to his salary.

But how about the 2,700 wage workers? At the request of the management their committee presented a plan under which, thereafter, instead of all the net profits going to the " principal employees," they are to be divided. One-third of the profits are put into the " Employees' Industrial Partnership Fund "; the remaining two-thirds goes to the principal employees. The administration of the fund is democratic.

Thus while one-third of all common stock issues go to the lower grade workers, the control of the company remains in the hands of the " imagination " group. The workers are rewarded for extra effort, for elimination of waste, and superior coöperation. They get their share of earnings and the way to participation in control is open to them through promotion.[1]

Here, then, is a plan under which the financial reward depends, not upon the efforts of the individual worker, but upon the total success of the whole business, and in which that reward is paid only in yearly

[1] For a fuller account of this plan see *Industrial Government*, pp. 60–69.

installments. The connection between the added effort of any given worker and the added income in his pay check is exceedingly distant. Yet the plan seems to be working. Why?

The bonus system of Joseph and Feiss is a mechanical plan of inducements. In its form, at least, it is essentially a cold business proposition. The worker does not have to adopt the firm as part of his expanded personality in order to have the plan work. His job is a kind of slot machine into which he puts so much effort and gets out so much reward. It is a highly efficient machine, where the reward actually is proportional to the effort, instead of being largely accidental as in ordinary plants. In so far as the machine works well, and the workers function successfully with it, they tend to adopt it as part of their expanded personalities, as they would any other machine which promoted their successful functioning. But this loyalty develops as an accidental by-product of the inducement plan rather than as being an essential condition to its operation.

The sort of program of which the Dennison plan is a highly superior instance depends essentially, however, upon the adoption of the Dennison business as part of the personalities of the workers — particularly of the imaginative workers. The staff has to be welded into a loyal, coöperative, enthusiastic unit, or the plan fails. This unity of spirit could not be attained if the workers felt that the arrangement was basically unjust. If the rewards of their joint efforts simply went to the management, the resulting antagonism would destroy the plan at the start. Actually, the division of profits is evidence to the workers that the partnership of management and employees is genuine; that they are part of the personality of the company as well as the company part of theirs.

The plan would be destroyed not merely by injustice in compensation but also by any other factor which produced sufficient antagonism, and it would succeed more greatly in proportion as various conditions were developed which promoted the expansion of the personalities of the workers to include their jobs and the business as a whole.

Expanding the Personality of the Worker through Social Status. Pay and conditions of work have almost always been thought of by the employer as being valued merely for their own sake. As a matter of fact one of their greatest values is as measures of achievement, of success, of social status. The proof of the soundness of this interpretation is that when additions to earnings cease to mean addi-

tions to social prestige, the earnings will be neglected in favor of more effective proofs of prowess. The miner, living in a coal town where there is no opportunity to attract attention by spending extra large earnings, quits work at two o'clock instead of at four in order to prove to observers his superior skill and achievement.[1]

Jane Addams observed the importance of the social-status aspects of the job in the behavior of certain girls she knew:

> In spite of the Sunday work, these girls prefer the outlying department stores to those downtown; there is more social intercourse with the customers, more kindliness and social equality between the saleswomen and the managers, and above all the girls have the protection naturally afforded by friends and neighbors and they are free from that suspicion which so often haunts the girls downtown, that their fellow-workers may not be "nice girls."[2]

But readiness to acknowledge and give scope to the craving of the workers for social status is not characteristic by any means of all employers. Edward Filene, the great Boston merchant, says:

> Those who might be called the Old Guard among employers know that, in facing this gathering consciousness of dignity and value in the workingman, they are front to front with a force as natural and inevitable as summer warmth and summer rain. But to them the force seems a menace and not a help. It strikes them as an assault on their own dignity and authority, a rocking of their thrones, to be fought to the last. So they fail to meet the worker on a common ground; instead of joining with him, they prolong industrial strife — and are themselves the first to bear the costs of it.[3]

Workmen Normally Take Pride in Craftsmanship and Achievement. The experiences of direct observers of the behavior of workers bring out two apparently contradictory tendencies: first, pride in their workmanship and joy of achievement; second, organized and systematic loafing and pretense of work. Whiting Williams' books give convincing evidence as to both of these attitudes. Commons and his associates found the same thing:

> "No one can tell me that workers in general are shirks," said a member of one of the planning departments of the Plimpton Press. "They are not. If the work is ready for them, they do it."[4]

[1] See *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 42, 56, 70, 292–3.
[2] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 211.
[3] *A Merchant's Horizon*, p. 2.
[4] Commons and Dietrich, *Industrial Government*, p. 161.

Of conditions in the Wayne Knitting Mills, Commons and Turner concluded:

> There was no doubt of it. The organized workers were sincerely interested in efficient production. . . . These skilled workmen had a pride in their work. Their job requires real workmanship. They were proud to be treated like men. They think and study.[1]

The extent to which employees may spontaneously put themselves into their jobs is suggested by the remark with which one of the younger members startled the board of directors of a great corporation. He asserted that industrial accidents are due frequently to the fact that the men care too much about the interests of the company. When they see something happen which threatens to destroy some of the materials or machinery with which they are working, the men are likely to risk life and limb in order to prevent the threatened loss to the firm.

And Yet Workers Loaf: Why? Intelligent industrial accommodation would utilize the energy of this pride in creative craftsmanship. Actually, however, industry is so organized at innumerable points as to choke out this invaluable impulse. Williams cites a number of experiences in which unnecessary helpers were hired to give prestige to skilled workers, where foremen insisted upon a pretense of work when higher officials appeared, where company doctors, paymasters, or clerks would meet the impatience of men kept hours from their work by asking "Why should you worry? You're getting paid anyhow, aren't you?" He points also to the thwarting foreman as an influence which stamps out any initiative and love of work in the men over whom he domineers. He cites the case of workers urged to heart-breaking speed to get out samples in order to give their salesmen an early start and thus bring in a better season's business, only to find that, with no explanation offered, the salesmen were not sent out.[2]

The results of such discouragements as these is that loafing becomes conventional. Williams testifies:

> It is to be confessed that as a laborer I became a fairly expert loafer — that on many jobs, here and abroad, *the longer I worked, the less I did!* The more skilled I grew as a craftsman, the more efficient I became as a

[1] *Industrial Government*, p. 140–1.

[2] See *What's on the Worker's Mind?* pp. 68, 69, 103, 140–1, 147, 158–61; *Mainsprings of Men*, 123, 272, 275.

dissembler, an expert in giving the *appearance* of diligence without delivering the actuality thereof. The reason was that by no other way could comradeship with the others be obtained — and such comradeship was essential to the purpose in hand. To get close to them every newcomer had, willy-nilly, to obey the whispered admonitions — yes, the threats — which kept coming until he finally slowed down to a rate which made motion all but invisible![1]

Loafing is the result of inexpert personnel management, not an inherent tendency of workers. Williams concludes:

> Once its underlying reason is rightly understood, this shameful avoidance of effort offers a platform of hope! *This outrageous withholding of men's energies does not betoken the worker's inherent and instinctive wish for leisure, his antipathy to effort. Partly it represents, as we have seen, his fear of the lack of work. Partly, also, it represents his unfriendliness to his employer — his attitude not to the work but to the arranger of it. This attitude is not instinctive but acquired. It can therefore be changed.*[2]

Why Don't These Workers Loaf? Robert B. Wolf was placed in charge of a paper mill — one of a series owned by the same company. The quality of the pulp produced by these mills was so low that firms who made finished paper from it concealed from their customers the fact that they used this raw material. The costs of production were high. Wolf wanted to experiment with some sort of bonus system as an inducement to increasing and improving the output, but the general management ruled this out on the grounds that any increase in wages in this mill would lead to demands for increases in all the others. Mr. Wolf tried the experiment of installing on certain machines meters which would tell the workers just what their output was. No additions in earnings were attached to increases in output, but the men got to competing against each other for high scores. The rivalry became so intense that the workers got to cheating, to damaging each other's work, and even to having fist fights over which produced the most.

Evidently Wolf had tapped a powerful source of motivation, but it was not under such control as to make it constructive. He enlisted the coöperation of the workers in developing measurements of *quality* as well as *quantity* of output. They found that the fastest work was not the most efficient. By careful studies they determined what was the best rate of output — " optimum " speed. Scores were adjusted on

[1] *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 113–4. [2] *Ibid.* p. 115.

the basis of how nearly the workers approached the ideal in speed and quality, with deductions for excessively fast work. Methods were devised for determining the costs of work — for repairs, for materials spoiled and wasted, and so on. The workers became absorbed in the fascination of the game — of building up high scores under the conditions which they had worked out jointly with the management. Tending a machine became as fascinating as playing golf or bridge.

It was found that coal was being wasted in the making of the steam to cook the wood pulp and to run the machinery, and that the pressure was so uneven as to reduce efficiency. The firemen asked to be given a way of telling how well their boilers were steaming. It was found that it paid to install expensive equipment to measure the gases escaping up the chimney and in other ways to keep the firemen posted on their own efficiency.

Devices had been invented for recording in the superintendent's office the output of the various machines. These were not a success — they were regarded by the workers as a sort of automatic spy system. Scientific time and motion studies by outside experts made the men restless and resentful. But when the workers were given ways of *measuring their own efficiency*, even without any direct wage incentive, the results were phenomenal. By giving the repair men, for instance, detailed cost sheets on the work they did, the maintenance costs — repairs and replacements on plant and machinery — were cut from $4 per ton of paper produced to $2 per ton. The quality of the paper pulp produced was raised from its disgracefully low point to a position where it became a standard in its field.

Of course, this enthusiasm could not have been maintained if the workers had felt that they were being exploited. Mr. Wolf, after demonstrating the efficiency of the new spirit in the plant, was able to secure increases in pay and improvements in conditions which showed the men that their interests as well as those of the company were being looked after. But the essential, direct motive used was *the joy of functioning on the job.* John R. Commons, in quite another connection, makes this pertinent observation:

> Interest in one's work does not depend on a remote expectation of reaching the top. It is the *next step* that is interesting. The next step means accomplishment, means overcoming obstacles that are not hopeless, means initiative, means thinking on the job.[1]

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 140–1.

The methods used by the White Motor Company have certain similarities with those developed by Mr. Wolf.[1]

Seeing the Significance of One's Job. The feeling of satisfying functioning on the job depends not merely upon measurement of results, but also upon seeing relationships — between the small task which one is doing and the big product of the entire plant, and between the plant product and the needs of the wide world.

A certain establishment takes its younger applicants for employment on a trip throughout the plant before setting them at work on their own specialty. The different processes are pointed out, and the finished product is exhibited. The systems of payment are explained, the chances for promotion, responsibility, and outlook are canvassed. Then the applicant is asked to come back the next day, after talking and thinking it over. If hired, then a daily follow-up ensues until the beginner gets acquainted with the work and with other workers and feels at home. Immediately after starting this practice, in that establishment, the expensive turnover of the first week or month of employment and its resulting breakage of material, was reduced to almost negligible quantities. A beginning was made in the spirit of workmanship and loyalty to the business.[2]

The Dutchess Bleachery not only explains to newcomers the significance and relationships of the processes on which they work, but arranges trips for old employees to see other departments in the plant, and conducts for its workers classes on "Textiles."

But even more than seeing his own usefulness in the industry as a whole, the worker needs to grasp the service which his industry is making to the rest of the world if he is to get the full satisfaction of his industrial functioning. C. G. DuBois, President of the Western Electric Company, said, in dedicating as permanent equipment of the factory the amplifying device which carried his words to nearly 40,000 of his fellow employees:

To-day we work in larger groups than our forefathers, because no one person, and no small group, can design and make and assemble and test, and finally sell, our finished product — the telephone which makes neighbors of a hundred million of our fellow citizens. In the great scheme of modern life, you and I are doing our full part. We are not parasites nor slackers. We are useful people. That alone makes our lives worth while. And because the work of each of us depends upon the skill and faithfulness of others, no

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 6–7. [2] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 145.

one of us can be sufficient to himself. So I dedicate this apparatus, which you yourself have helped to fabricate, to the doing of our job, and to the doing of it in the spirit of fairness and friendliness.

Daniel E. Willard, President of the Baltimore & Ohio Railroad, said:

We emphasize to each man the importance of the work which he himself is doing, and the responsibility which goes with his job or position, and which rests upon him personally to do good work, . . . not just because it is really his duty as an honest man to give good work in return for good wages paid in good money, but because, realizing the responsibility which he shares with the management for the safe and proper operation of the railroad, he *wants* to do good work. . . . So it has come about that the workmen themselves in greater degree than ever before are doing, and doing happily, the best that is in them, not just because they feel they are *obliged* to do it, but rather because they *want* to do it.

It was the desire to meet this same need that led Jane Addams to establish in Hull-House an industrial museum where workers could see their own jobs in historical and world perspectives:

The desire of the manual worker to know the relation of his own labor to the whole is not only legitimate but must form the basis of any intelligent action for his improvement.[1]

Commons and Turner put thus the essential spirit of the thing:

Isn't it something like this? Thinking and planning for the future. Keeping the mind of every man away from whatever there is of dullness and monotony in his task. Just touching the imagination; arousing in every heart zeal for progress and pride in a great common enterprise; lighting up the most menial and stupefying task with the rays of a great industrial vision.[2]

Managers and Men Merging Purposes. When an individual, or a group of individuals, functions in a successful, satisfying way, the result is that the place, the tools, the people, and the ideas linked up with that successful functioning come to be adopted into the expanded personalities of the functioners. That is what happens in the industries which have eliminated the antagonizers and facilitated the successful functioning of their employees. The workers begin to regard the plant as "our plant." Instead of the combat psychology which has been

[1] *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, p. 305. [2] *Industrial Government*, p. 7.

the bane of industry, there develops a new spirit of team-work and loyalty.

One effect of getting the company into the expanded personalities of the workers is that it solves the recruiting problem.[1]

Employees Defend Company against Joint Foes. The Printz-Biederman Company of Cleveland had adopted the Leitch plan of industrial democracy, with a house of representatives elected by the workers. An outside union, which was trying to break up this plan, called a strike:

> A few of the employees joined the strike in spite of the action of the house, but, so far as this firm was concerned, the strike was inconsequential. However, when the house found out that one of its members sympathized with the union it promptly expelled him. Later the company discharged this ex-member of the house and another employee. When the union leaders heard about these dismissals they had the company haled before the War Labor Board on charges of discrimination against trade-unionists. . . .
>
> The company might have lost the case if a delegation from the house had not defended these dismissals before the War Labor Board upon the ground of disloyalty to the existing organization in the shop. . . . They told the board, further, that they wished to continue to settle their affairs directly with the company, and protested vigorously against being brought under the award.[2]

In the Dutchess Bleachery, which had developed a vigorous merging of purposes between management and employees, one worker, through inexcusable carelessness, left a projecting nail on a roller in his machine and ruined great quantities of cloth. As a result, 600 other employees were stirred with wrath at this blunderer who was attacking the joint interests of the firm and of themselves as sharers in prosperity of the company.

A conductor on a Pennsylvania extra fare train which was running late got into conversation with a passenger. The conductor said: "I'm still hoping that we'll pull into St. Louis not over 54 minutes late. Then we won't have to refund on all these extra fares!" "Why do you care?" asked the passenger. "It isn't your money that gets paid back." "No, but it's *my company!*" retorted the conductor.

The White Motor Company established an Industrial Service Department at which its employees might get medical and legal aid on

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 74–5.

[2] Commons and Carpenter, *Industrial Government*, pp. 93–4.

company time. It is on record that the men themselves once petitioned to have more men in this department to answer their requests so that the company might not lose so much of their time while they were waiting.[1]

Joint Shouldering of Sacrifice. A crucial test of the reality of the merging of purposes in an industry is the readiness of the workers and of the management to incur losses cheerfully for the common good. The Packard Piano Company furnishes two instances:

The factory was hard hit in 1914, following the outbreak of the World War. A cabinet maker arose in the Committee of the Whole and suggested that they work three days a week and spread the unemployment over the entire force instead of concentrating it. The foremen volunteered to reduce their own salaries 25 per cent. The Committee of the Whole agreed to operate three days a week, but the management was able to assure them four days.

The Packard Company was compelled to pay war wages to airplane workers brought in from the outside. Trade unionists twitted the Packard Family about the wage differential under the same roof — war wages on airplanes, peace wages on pianos. But never a ripple of the placid stream! Justice, Energy, and Coöperation prevailed over any resentment against wage inequality.[2]

The new spirit in industry is well expressed by the Columbus *Ohio State Journal*, in commenting on the action of certain officials of the Bethlehem Steel Company who gave up their very high-salaried positions in order to prevent the necessity of reducing wages of laborers:

When men have reason to believe that their employers' attitude toward them is one of sympathy, friendliness, and generosity, they are responsive in kind.

Commons summarizes it thus:

The new loyalty is the loyalty, not of penalties, but of goodwill. It is not afraid to quit or be fired, but willingly stays and works. And this kind of loyalty is not an inborn instinct of workmanship, but must be taught and drawn out by education, and kept up by continuous effort on the part of the employer.[3]

[1] Commons and Turner, *Industrial Government*, pp. 10–11.
[2] Commons and Carpenter, *Industrial Government*, pp. 71–2, 76.
[3] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 149.

Fraudulent Imitations of Creative Accommodation Are Current. Since the aim of the methods which we have been discussing is to establish attitudes of confidence, trust, and coöperation, any attempt to substitute counterfeit imitations of industrial accommodation are doomed to disastrous defeat. No firm can for very long delude its workers into the illusion that they are being treated justly and with real concern for their welfare. One might as well try to run a restaurant with imitation food. Yet the attempt is constantly being made. Commons says:

> The shop-committee system has been installed, and may be installed, by employers as a mere subterfuge, designed to ward off a real shop organization by controlling the elections of its committees, by mixing unorganized with organized workers, by preventing the employment of trade unionists. . . .
>
> The critical question is whether they are permitted to go forward into the truly bargaining activities which decide the ultimate clash of interest — whether they take part in fixing wage and piece-rates, time and speed standards, apprenticeship and training, introduction of new processes, substitutions, transfers and promotions, the execution of standards nationally agreed upon.[1]

Industrial Accommodation Is a Process of Growth. Accommodation between living purposes means unending and progressive adaptation to and stimulation of each other. This is as true in industry as in any other social relation. Commons and Dietrich say of the agreement in the Job Printing industry:

> It is in fact an evolutionary instrument that provides the gradual promotion of a relationship that will be stable and lasting.[2]

Commons and Carpenter observe, relative to the plan developed in the Nunn, Bush and Weldon Shoe Company:

> Government by employees has taken seven years to reach its present shape, but it keeps on growing — rapidly.[3]

The investigation made by Commons and his associates is summarized as follows:

> We visited some 30 establishments from July to September, 1919, and from Wisconsin to Maine. We saw that each establishment visited was experi-

[1] *Industrial Goodwill*, p. 121. [2] *Industrial Government*, p. 172. [3] *Ibid.* p. 126.

mental. All of them were very much alive and were making great changes in short periods, both in system and personality. . . . One interesting fact was found: *the sudden or gradual conversion of an employer from business to humanity*. Employees noted it, and could not at first believe it, or were still incredulous, and told us about it, and so did the employer himself. In some cases it was unionism or strikes that did it. In others it was business foresight of the labor problem. In others it was sermons by an industrial evangelist. We find widely different things done in the name of Democracy. Forms of government are adapting themselves to ideas and conditions.[1]

Summary

A. Mutual understanding is the foundation of industrial goodwill.

1. The main cause of industrial antagonism is "the almost limitless ignorance of each other's deeper purposes" by managers and workers.

2. Paternalistic employers have frequently been to great expense to give the workers things they really did not want.

3. Escape from monotonous jobs is not a need keenly felt by all workers.

4. Workers in general do not want to manage industry.

5. To discover what the worker *really* wants, as contrasted with what he *says* he wants, is essential; but what he *thinks* he wants must in any case be taken into full account.

6. Genuinely free discussion, systematically carried out, is the foundation of industrial goodwill.

7. When management and workers put themselves in each other's places, the results are illuminating.

8. Determination to find the real facts must be the spirit on both sides.

B. The next step must be to remove the basic antagonizers.

9. The causes of bitterness discussed in the chapter on Industrial Conflict must, as far as possible, be eliminated.

10. Measures to remove the sense of injustice are of particularly fundamental importance.

11. To remove the menace of irregular employment helps to build loyalty.

[1] Abstracted from *Industrial Government*, v–viii.

C. Inducement is a powerful method for attaining industrial accommodation.

12. The money motive has usually been the mainstay of employers.

a. Money inducements often miscarry because they reward the wrong kinds of conduct.

b. Methods of payment which reward promptly and accurately exactly the types of activity desired by the employer may be highly successful.

c. Financial rewards paid to groups of workers as wholes, for effort over long periods of time, may succeed if they go with intense loyalty to the company.

13. Giving the worker higher social status is another means of inducement.

D. Pride in workmanship and joy in achievement are powerful motives which may be enlisted for increased production.

14. The widespread habit of systematic loafing, and its enforcement by public sentiment among the workers, is the result of various working conditions which thwart the natural impulses to craftsmanship.

15. Giving workers means of measuring the quantity, quality, and costs of their own output has a tremendous stimulating effect.

16. Letting workers realize the relations of their own work to the industry as a whole, and the services of their industry to the rest of the world, inspires enthusiasm.

E. Adoption of the industry into the expanded personalities of the workers, and of the workers into the expanded personalities of the management, substitutes loyalty and teamwork for combat psychology.

17. Loyal employees tend to bring in loyal and able recruits to fill vacancies.

18. Loyal employees defend their company against the joint foes.

19. Joint shouldering of sacrifice as well as joint sharing of success becomes characteristic.

F. Fraudulent imitations of creative accommodation are current.

G. Industrial accommodation is a matter of growth.

FOR ORIGINAL THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

23D1. Commons and Haake, on p. 26 of *Industrial Government*, observe:

> The American business man is usually thought of as hard-boiled, intensely practical and unsentimental. As a matter of fact he is probably ruled by sentiment, even by religion, to a far greater extent than we realize.

What instances can you cite which confirm or conflict with this observation? What bearings has it upon the solution of industrial conflicts?

23D2. A leading expert on industrial relations says that he never bases a suggestion to an employer upon a humanitarian appeal; always the argument is founded on a prospect of economic saving. He says that he finds that employers are sensitive about being classed as sentimentalists or as bragging altruists. What instances can you cite bearing upon the wisdom of such a policy?

23D3. The *Literary Digest* for August 7, 1926, p. 22, contains the following:

> In a letter recently sent to Judge Gary by Sec. James J. Davis of the Department of Labor, Secretary Davis declares the records of the Department of Labor show that in a group of plants composed largely of the Steel Corporation's subsidiaries the accident frequency ratio had dropped 60.3 per million hours of exposure in 1913 to 10.2 per million hours of exposure in 1924, a reduction of 83 per cent.
>
> "What especially pleased me," wrote Secretary Davis to Judge Gary, "is your reported statement that the U. S. Steel Corporation has found that accident prevention and safety work really pay from a dollar-and-cents point of view. You are reported as having stated that the Corporation in ten years spent $9,763,063 in accident prevention work, and that the money saving resulting therefrom has been $14,609,920 in addition to the fact that 250,000 men had been saved from injury, and probably more than 40,000 saved from fatal injury."

What other personnel policies has the U. S. Steel Corporation been famous for? What bearings have these facts on the motivation of industrial accommodation?

23D4. Viscount Grey, in an address on the lessons of the general strike in Britain, to the National Liberal Club of London, said:

> There is only one thing that I can see which will really produce goodwill between employees and employed and that is complete partnership in the industry. That does not mean mere profit-sharing. Profit-sharing by itself

will always be looked upon as a sort of bonus or bribe or something of that kind to keep labor quiet; it will not give the sense of partnership. The sense of partnership can only be given by sharing in management. That is what real partnership means.[1]

In what ways does the above conclusion agree, or in what ways conflict, with positions taken in this chapter?

23D5. How does the industrial motivation of the unmarried girl differ from that of the married man? In what definite ways should an employer take account of such differences?

23D6. Commons and Carpenter remark, on p. 88 of *Industrial Government:*

Industry, on the other hand, must have action — prompt action — and output. The question arises: Can a form of government that "balances" authority and promotes deliberation rather than action be appropriate for industry with its need of prompt settlement of disputed questions?

What is your answer to this question?

23D7. Hazel Ormsbee, in her study of "The Young Employed Girl," concludes that for most such employees the interesting thing about the job is not the work itself but rather the personal relations involved. What additional data can you cite on this point? What practical bearings has such a conclusion upon methods of industrial inducement?

23D8. A successful employment manager says that he has made it an invariable rule, whenever some labor-saving device is suggested by a worker in his plant, to see that no individuals employed in the plant at the time when the device is adopted lose their jobs because of that improvement. If necessary he makes places for such workers in other parts of the plant. Purely as a matter of cold-blooded business, why is such a rule important?

23D9. The English observers quoted in the chapter on Social Accommodation asserted that promotion in the United States is by merit. What data can you cite for or against this generalization?

23D10. What attitude toward labor is revealed in the following statement of the problem by Commons and Haake, in *Industrial Government*, p. 37?

How can you induce Lizzie Meyers to fit herself in with a scheme of scientific production, appear for work on time every morning, and work steadily

[1] *New York Times*, June 13, '26.

for the entire day? How can you get her to keep the quality up and the stream of production unimpeded, at the same time keeping her happy and loyal, willing to remain in your employ even when another employer tries to attract her to his company?

23D11. In *Industrial Goodwill*, pp. 102–3, Commons says:

If properly worked out, the insurance principle enlists in the cause of sickness prevention and national efficiency the most tangible and effective of earthly inducements — the financial inducement.

Give reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with this characterization of the financial inducement.

23D12. In what ways might low wages produce high costs? In what ways might high wages produce low costs? How could it be determined at what wage level costs would be at a minimum?

23D13. How would you characterize the method used in the following incident, cited by J. George Frederick in the *Independent* for September 11, 1926?

There runs the tale of mining engineers in the Caucasus Mountains who, after opening the mines, were nonplused at the refusal of the natives to work in the bowels of the earth at thrice their normal wage. Bidding up to ten times this wage and still failing to interest them, the engineers were desperate. One of their number, however, went to Paris and returned with trunks laden with female finery — ribbons, slippers, silks, jewelry — which were offered at a small sum "down." The mines were in full blast in a month.

23D14. Industrial Relations Councilors, Inc., an organization maintained by John D. Rockefeller, Jr., has published a study of the use of vacations with pay for industrial workers. The study found that in the United States the practice has spread rapidly of giving such vacations as rewards for punctuality, for long and faithful service, and the like. Employers and employees are practically unanimous here, according to the report, in the statement that such vacations are conducive to efficiency and goodwill. In Europe, however, laws have been passed in many countries requiring the giving of vacations with pay. Employers in such countries are very generally of the opinion that under these conditions the vacations are simply a source of extra expense, without return to the employer.

What comments have you to offer?

23D15. In describing the welfare work at Filene's store in Boston, Commons and Turner emphasize the importance of picnics, parties,

plays, concerts, club-rooms, and evening classes.[1] What place would you say that features of the above types should have in developing industrial loyalty? Why?

23D16. The Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company has an Employees' Mutual Benefit Association, with a very active secretary, who, according to Commons and Carpenter, acts as a legal aid society, averts divorce suits, helps wives with grievances about sharing their husband's wages, advises about neighborhood quarrels, helps to defend workers from the worries caused by debts, courts, and domestic troubles.

The Employees' Association, moreover, has sold to its members thousands of dollars' worth of food and clothing to combat the high cost of living.[2]

What reasons can you give for considering such activities wise, or unwise?

23D17. Herbert Hoover, in the *Nation's Business* for June 5, 1926, says:

> It is not many years ago since labor unions considered that the maximum of jobs and the greatest security in a job were to be attained by restricting individual effort. To-day labor is coming to the view that unrestricted individual effort, driving of machinery to its utmost, and elimination of every waste in production are the only secure foundations upon which a high wage can be builded, because the greater the production the greater will be the quantity to divide. For example, the American Federation of Labor, at its last annual meeting, urged the elimination of waste, improved methods, increased production, and participation by labor in the resulting gains.
>
> The tendency for both employer and employee to think in terms of the mutual interest of increased production has gained greatly in strength.

What dangers might radical labor leaders see in developments such as these? How well founded would you regard such fears?

23D18. Commons and Turner, in discussing industrial relations at Filene's, ask: "Anyhow, do the employees need democracy and self-government when they have such democratic management?"[3] What is your answer to this question, and why?

23D19. Miss Follett, in *Creative Experience*, p. 170, says:

> On one occasion during a conference on wages one of the members of the committee talked to us much of self-sacrifice and altruism, but these were

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 48, 56. [2] *Ibid.* pp. 148, 155. [3] *Ibid.* p. 55.

empty words, for not only not one of us had any intention of sacrificing ourselves, this man included, but in any case such self-sacrifice has no social value. No sound solution of the wage question depends on sacrifice. . . . I believe any talk of the sacrifice of interests on the employer's part because of altruistic feelings is pure sentimentality; we do not want either side to sacrifice its interests for we want nothing lost, we want all the interests to be united.

What are your views on this question?

23D20. Commons and Carpenter furnish the following items on the question of "company unions":

The union organizers look with no more favor upon Leitch's "industrial democracy" than upon the "Rockefeller plan."

A "company union" is a red flag to the American Federation of Labor trade unionists. . . . Organized labor looks upon such moves on the part of employers as strategy in the game of economic warfare. . . . It makes the organizer and agitator grit his teeth when he has to stand by and witness the birth of a bastard company union.[1]

What psychological explanation can you offer for this sort of reaction by labor leaders? What reasons have you for thinking that this is, or is not, the major cause for the antagonism expressed above?

23D21. Robert W. Bruère, in the *Survey* for December 15, 1926, p. 375, says:

Now the guiding spirits of the A. F. of L., in spite of their diplomatically unqualified indictment of company unions as "mere thinly disguised forms of compulsory association" through which employers "by phrases calculated to indicate a condition of quasi-freedom" ensnare their employees, are recognizing that the strength of the more successful company unions rests upon the employers' superior mastery of the technique of scientifically organized production and their effective use of specialists in the application of research, both to the physical problems of mechanical production and to the psychological problems of industrial relations.

What changes do you expect in the future in the relative mastery of the psychology of industrial relations by the workers as compared with management? Why? What effects are such changes likely to have upon industrial democracy?

23D22. Commons and Haake say of the Link-Belt Company:

The management here takes the position that men cannot at all times be loyal to both their employers and their union, and in the past has put it

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 91 and 115.

up to the men on just this basis. A group of workers came and expressed the desire to organize. . . . "If you are disloyal to your union, how can we be sure you will not be disloyal to us? Be union men, if you must, but you are through here."[1]

What are your reactions to such an argument?

WRITTEN ASSIGNMENTS

23F1. Visit the plant of the employer in your vicinity who has the most progressive labor policy. Get as full an account as you can of that policy from the administration, and also from representative workers in the absence of administration representatives if possible.

23K2. Present an abstract of the papers on the B. & O. Plan as described in the *Bulletin of the Taylor Society* for February, 1926. (Two hours)

23K3. Make as thorough and impartial an analysis as you can of the labor policies of the Ford Company. Be sure to include the following materials:

Discussion of the Ford Plan by John A. Commons, under the title "Faith in People," *Industrial Government*, pp. 13–25.

The official statements on the subject by the company in its pamphlet, *The Ford Industries*.

"Henry Ford and Industrial Autocracy," *Christian Century*, November 4, 1926, pp. 1354–5.

"How Philanthropic Is Henry Ford?" by Reinhold Niebuhr, *Christian Century*, December 9, 1926, pp. 1516–7.

Additional materials can be found by consulting the *N. Y. Times* Index, and the *Readers Guide to Periodical Literature*. (Time credit to be arranged)

23K4. Make a similar study of the personnel policies of the General Motors Company.

23K5. Study similarly the evolution of the labor policies of "Golden Rule Nash."

23K6. Study the industrial representation plans of the International Harvester Company, of the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Company, and of the Pennsylvania Railroad.

23K7. Prepare an abstract of Mary Van Kleeck's "Ten Years of the Rockefeller Plan Compared with Five Years of Employee's Repre-

[1] *Industrial Government*, pp. 31–2.

sentation at the Duchess Bleachery," *Survey*, 53 (1925), pp. 507–10, 549–52. (One hour)

23K8. In July, 1926, J. Charles Laue, Staff Correspondent of the International Labor News Service wrote an article which appeared under these headlines: " N. Y. Subways are crippled by own union; low wages force workers to forget ' loyalty ' and defy corporation." Make a study of the strike referred to, and of the personnel policies involved.

23K9. Review Rowntree's *The Human Factor in Business*, described by the publisher as follows:

> The ideals which industry should set before itself are discussed in this book. It deals with the problems daily arising in a large factory, and the attempts to solve them made by a particular firm.

(Three hours)

23K10. Abstract the following two articles by Robert W. Bruère: " West Lynn," *Survey*, 56 (1926), pp. 21–7; " 32,000 R.P.M." *Survey*, 57 (1927), pp. 442–8. (Two hours)

23K11. The official statement on company unions, adopted at the American Federation of Labor Convention in 1919, contains the following:

> The first essential for the proper working of a genuine collective bargaining committee is that it be . . . altogether free from the company's influence. . . . The workers . . . must conduct an elaborate series of meetings under their own control and generally carry on their business in a democratically organized way. But with the company union system this is impossible. . . . The green workers' committee, already weakened in a dozen ways, is left practically helpless before the experts upon the company's side. . . . Employers habitually use their great economic power to enforce their will. Therefore to secure just treatment, the only recourse is to develop a power equally strong and to confront their employers with it. . . . We disapprove and condemn all such company unions and advise our membership to have nothing to do with them.

Collect data bearing on these charges from actual typical instances of " company unions."

23K12. Abstract the article on " Athletics in Industry," summarized in the *Literary Digest* for November 6, 1926, pp. 69–72. (One hour)

23K13. Abstract the article " Hiring at Hollywood " in the *Survey* for November 1, 1926, pp. 141–6; 179 ff. (One hour)

23K14. Even the most earnest attempts at creative accommodation in industry may fail. Make an intensive study of the causes for the failure to attain industrial goodwill in the instances described in *Industrial Government*, pp. 77–86; 110–24; 135–46. (Three hours)

23K15. Make a critical analysis of the personnel methods employed by the Packard Piano Company, as described by Commons and Carpenter, *Industrial Government*, pp. 70–7. (Two hours)

23K16. Make a study of industrial group insurance, pension, and profit sharing schemes as instances of inducement.

23K17. Review Foerster and Dietel's *Employee Stock Ownership in the United States*. (Three hours)

23K18. Make a study of producers' coöperation as a solution of industrial conflict.

23K19. Gather data bearing upon the soundness or unsoundness of the following generalizations by the British observers previously cited as summarized by J. L. Garvin in the *London Observer:*

> The American employer is not hostile to high wages; he does not fear them; he is sympathetic to them. In the United States during the last few years wages have risen much more than prices. . . . In the United States no limit is placed upon the possible earnings of any man, and there the employees clearly understand that the raising of wages forms a deliberate part of the policy of employers, who themselves make larger profits on increasing turnover.

23K20. Summarize Whiting Williams' findings on monotonous work, *Mainsprings of Men*, pp. 42–6. (One hour)

23K21. Study instances of employers who have attacked the problem of regularizing employment.

23K22. The movement for doing, on a smaller scale, the thing which Whiting Williams did, has been gathering momentum. In many cities groups of students undertake an adventure of this sort in the summer, pooling their experiences and giving each other advice and encouragement. Locate such a group, if possible, and arrange to take your own sampling of instances of industrial relations, by taking actual jobs and observing conditions.

23K23. In this chapter the question was raised as to why some workers loaf and others work enthusiastically. Draw up an outline summarizing the conditions which stimulate loafing, and the conditions which induce workers to put their full energy and enthusiasm into their work. (Two hours)

23K24. Write a critical analysis of the article abstracted as follows in the *American Journal of Sociology:*

The Way to Industrial Peace. — The industrial wars between the employer and employee have not in the past been based upon ideas of justice but upon force. This warfare has been justified by a number of theories: that labor is a commodity, that labor is a public utility, that labor is a machine, that workmen are customers whose good will must be won, and that the wage-earner is a citizen in industry. None of these theories explains the facts and none is completely correct. In general they are based upon the use of force rather than law. If industrial peace is to be achieved it will be by means of a system of industrial justice under voluntary collective agreements. As these agreements accumulate, and separate cases are decided under them, a body of law will be developed within each industry which will ultimately govern the relationship between employer and employee. — William M. Leiserson, *American Review*, II (May-June, 1924), 252–63. (IV, 1.) E. R. R.

23K25. Review Marot's *The Creative Impulse in Industry.* (Three hours)

23K26. Prepare an abstract of "College Men in Big Business" by A. W. Armstrong, in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1926. (One hour)

23K27. Abstract Sam A. Lewisohn's "Management: A Behavior Problem" in the *Survey* for September 1, 1926, pp. 565 ff. (One hour)

23K28. Review Lewisohn's *The New Leadership in Industry.* (Four hours)

CHAPTER XXIV

PROJECTS

THE social relations discussed in the text constitute merely a sampling. The same general technique is applicable to a variety of other social relations. The preceding chapters have given the essential tools and methods; the next step in the student's development must be to develop for himself, either individually or as a member of a coöperating group, the sociology of some social relation not developed in detail in the text — to gather the case materials, the instances, the statistical data and the opinions needed, and to classify, arrange, and interpret these elements in a chapter created by students.

Social Relations with Criminals. One topic suggested for such a project is the social relations involved in delinquency. With the exception of one fundamental suggestion, this project is left to the student to work out. The exception consists in presenting an outline for the creative analysis of individual cases of delinquency. It is suggested that this outline be applied to specific, thoroughly investigated, cases, with a view both to understanding the problem better and to testing out the outline as a tool. The best case materials yet available for this purpose are the *Judge Baker Foundation Case Studies*. Another source is *Three Problem Children*, by Mary B. Sayles. In connection with work on this chapter, each student should select one of these cases and rearrange the material under the headings of the outline. The analysis should be prepared for presentation in class. Enough of the story should be given to make the case vivid to the other students. Then each point in the case bearing upon each of the subdivisions of the outline should be presented. Not all of the points in the outline will be important in any one given case, but each subdivision should be checked over to see whether it applies to the problem in hand. At the end of the study a critical summary should be offered by the student, indicating the extent to which the case treatment took

account of the vital factors in the situation, and the extent to which the outline provides an adequate tool for the analysis of delinquency problems.

Delinquency Case Skeleton

A. Diagnosis

1. Through what types of behavior does this individual exhibit his cravings to function?
   - *a.* Socially disintegrative behavior: conflicts in home, school, and employment; disagreeable behavior in general contacts; lying (other than fantasy); sex and property offenses; other.
   - *b.* Fantastic types of functioning: day-dreaming, fictitious dramatization, pretense to riches, success, power, etc.
   - *c.* Socially acceptable behavior: types of recreation, reading, and work enjoyed, vocational ambitions, personal attachments, religious attitudes, etc.
2. What innate and acquired capacities for functioning has this individual:
   - *a.* What are his physical abilities and disabilities?
   - *b.* What is his I. Q.?
   - *c.* What are his special mental abilities and disabilities?
   - *d.* What skills has he acquired in school, or elsewhere, vocationally and avocationally?
   - *e.* From the above, what are his outstanding actual and potential purposes and action-drives?
   - *f.* What attitudes of inferiority, failure, or antagonism has he developed, and how is he compensating for or expressing them?
3. In what ways are his actual and potential cravings thwarted:
   - *a.* Through antagonisms or neglect in the home? at school? at work?
   - *b.* Through well-intentioned attempts to force on to him unassimilated purposes devised in his behalf by parents, teachers, social workers and others?
   - *c.* Through poverty or ignorance in the home?
   - *d.* Through the death of father or mother, or lack of normal affection?
   - *e.* Through inevitable conflict with convention, mores, or law?
4. At what date, and under what exact circumstances, did the fantastic and anti-social behavior begin to develop, as reported by parents, by other observers, and in a sympathethically searching interview, by the patient himself?

5. From what sources have the anti-social patterns been derived and encouraged:

a. By invention?

b. By imitation or tuition from: delinquent parents; others in the home; companions; literature, movies, and drama; other amusements; other sources?

6. What unconscious linkages are giving additional energy to the anti-social behavior from

a. Sex motives?

b. Attachments to parents?

c. Fright, fear, shock, and other sources?

7. What conscious reinforcement is the anti-social behavior getting from

a. A sense of injustice?

b. Sense of approval by admired associates?

c. Spoiling?

d. Rewards for bad behavior and punishments for good?

e. Crystallization of grudges through threats, coercion, etc.?

8. What resources are available for the release and integration of the individual:

a. What potentialities within the home may be used to transform it into an agent for releasing socially acceptable purposes?

b. What relatives outside the home have the needed attitudes and resources to help?

c. What social agencies, such as the Big Brothers or Sisters, Visiting Teachers, Probation officers, social settlements, social centers and playgrounds, Y. M. or Y. W. C. A., churches, and the like might promote a solution by providing facilities suitable for wholesome functioning?

d. What former, present, or potential employers might be induced to help release and socialize the purposes of the individual?

e. What types of foster homes might, if needed, be available?

B. Treatment

1. When the behavior objected to is not essentially anti-social, endeavor to achieve integration through appreciation and assimilation of the purpose by the persons objecting.

2. Break up the habits organized around the anti-social behavior:

a. Associate the anti-social conduct with invariable limitations on the opportunities of the individual to function, with pain, and with natural consequences, such as restitution.

b. Bring to bear on the unsocial conduct the disapproval of persons having prestige with the individual.

c. Remove from the neighborhood or community the demoralizing pattern-providers.

d. Remove by psychiatric treatment any subconscious linkages which reinforce the anti-social conduct.

e. If necessary, remove the individual to an environment where his capacities may find wholesome opportunity to function.

3. Offer materials, opportunities, and action-patterns through which the cravings and capacities of the individual to function may find socially acceptable outlets; provide praise and encouragement from persons whom he admires or cares for.

4. As substitutes for types of functioning which cannot be integrated, develop in the individual satisfying activities of other types.

5. If the problem is insoluble along any of these lines, place the individual in an institution.

C. Subsequent history.

Other Projects. An exhaustive list of the social relations which might profitably be analyzed would be a long one. The following are presented simply as suggestions:

1. Mistress to servant
2. Fiancé to fiancée
3. Teacher to student
4. Student to teacher
5. Physician to patient
6. Lawyer to client
7. Social worker to client
8. Minister to parishoner
9. Protestants to Catholics
10. Modernists to Fundamentalists
11. World power to backward people or to weaker nation
12. World power to world power
13. Other relations suggested by members of the class.

CHAPTER XXV

WORKING PRINCIPLES OF SUCCESSFUL SOCIAL RELATIONS

THE scientific study of social relations has hardly begun. Only in the past few decades have systematic and objective methods for observing social behavior been developing to any adequate degree. Any treatment of the subject at the present time must therefore be suggestive rather than exhaustive. The instances which we have classified and analyzed have, however, indicated certain fundamental principles which are in harmony with the broad trends of thought on social problems and which are definitely useful as working hypotheses for further experiment and observation in social relations. These principles have been expressed at various points in the text. It may be serviceable, however, to bring them together here in one compact summary statement.

The Expanded Personality as the Social Unit. Social relations are relations between personalities, or between groups of personalities. The personality includes the physical organism; but in addition it includes a variety of other things which the individual regards in fundamentally the same ways in which he regards his body. One seeks normally to prevent damage to one's organism: but one defends also against damage his friends, his reputation, his family, his home, his religion. One resists being separated from one's arm, one's leg, or one's eye, and when such a separation occurs one suffers intense physical and mental pain: but one resists also any permanent and complete severing of relations with one's beloved, with one's school chums, with one's profession, with one's household treasures, with one's beliefs, or with one's native land. One yearns to think well of one's body — to regard it as beautiful, and strong: but one desires also to picture in glowing terms one's son, one's sweetheart, one's school team, one's camping trip, or one's home town. Such things as these are

parts of the self; they have become linked up with the expanded personality.

The expanded self has negative as well as positive parts. The organism instinctively reacts against threatening sounds, fear of falling, pain inflictors, and binders which restrict the freedom of the limbs. But these innate aversions grow by linkage to include any objects or people which thwart or menace the expanded personality. Toward such antipathies and foes the reactions are exactly the opposite of those toward the expanded self; they make up, indeed, the negative, or anti-personality.

The Motive of Life Is to Function. It has been customary to analyze social motivation in terms of instincts — sex, hunger, self-assertion, inquisitiveness, constructiveness, acquisitiveness, gregariousness, pugnacity, fear, and the like. This approach has several difficulties. First, the word instinct is apt to carry with it the connotation of action-patterns presumed to be in-born, unlearned, and rigid. Actually, however, human behavior is controlled dominantly by learned action-patterns which are often exceedingly plastic. A second difficulty is that instincts are ordinarily thought of as distinct, separate tendencies. Actually such terms as "gregariousness" and "acquisitiveness" appear on closer analysis to be inaccurate expressions for tendencies which have a common root in the expansive functioning of the personality. A third difficulty is that instinct categories have to be exceedingly complex to cover all of the varieties of human motives; it is cumbersome to assume instincts of running, swimming, laughing, dancing, listening, and so on through all the varieties of functioning. These difficulties disappear if the basic principle is adopted that the fundamental motive of life is to function with the full personality.

But what about painful functioning? The skin contains myriads of minute nerve-endings whose function is to convey pain. Terror, grief, and despair are forms of functioning. These apparent exceptions fit in if it be recognized that pain and distress are warnings of menace to the personality — of threats to future activity. The disagreeableness of certain forms of functioning is acquired by linkage with thwartings and sufferings in the individual experience; other sorts of functioning have become inherently painful through the experiences of the race — or even of living things in general. On the whole and in the long run the most joyful life is the life in which the individual

personality, the species, and perhaps living things in general, function most fully.

Mental Functioning. The behaviorists urge that mental processes cannot be studied scientifically — that only overt physical activities can be subjected to the impartial and systematic scrutiny which leads to verified scientific laws. Actually, however, the student of social behavior can no more dispense with the concept of conscious ideation and valuation than the physicist can dispense with the ether and the atom. Watson himself, when he is off his guard, constantly uses terms involving conscious valuation. The social scientist, indeed, has the advantage of far more direct knowledge of consciousness than the physicist has of his hypothetical ultimates.

Imaginary functioning is valued for its own sake — else why the short story, the novel, the movie? But imaginary functioning serves also to interpret " real " life, and to provide action-patterns, which are dearly prized because they open the way to fuller functioning. It is imaginative functioning which makes purpose possible. Purpose is personality projected into the future.

Mental functioning involves mental pictures of the sub-social environment and its processes; of the social environment, made up of other personalities and their purposes; and of the self, with its present and future rôles. All of these mental images powerfully affect functioning; they must be integrated with the actual facts of life or mental and social disaster follows. Mental conflict, fantasy, rationalization, deception, and fraud are some of the phases of mental functioning when divorced or disintegrated from other forms of reality.

The Dynamics of Personality. The expanded personality (including its negative phase — the anti-personality) is a dynamic, not a static entity. When stimulated it develops energy, which finds its conscious expression in emotion, and its motor expression in activity. Emotions are not distinct, unconvertable by-products of innate instincts. Love, hate, rage, fear, despair, elation, enthusiasm, mirth, and the other emotions, should rather be likened to rays from a common beam of light, strained through differing colored screens, or, more closely, to fundamental mechanical energy taking such diverse forms as crackling electricity, expanding steam, exploding gases, radiant heat, or the potential power of water in a lofty reservoir.

Emotional energy is generated when, and only when, the personality is stimulated, or disturbed. The specific form which the emotion

takes depends first upon whether the stimulus is regarded as promising or as menacing — as offering an opportunity for functioning and expansion, or as threatening thwarting or damage. The quality of the emotion depends in the second place upon whether the stimulus is regarded as calling for passive acceptance, for avoidance, for attack, or for coöperative activity. A third conditioner of emotion is whether the stimulus is regarded as trivial or momentous. A momentous, promising stimulus calling for coöperative activity generates emotion which takes the form of enthusiasm; a momentous threatening stimulus calling for passive acceptance generates grief or despair; a trivial promising stimulus calling for passive acceptance generates mirth. The other emotions are all explicable in terms of various combinations of these factors.

The quality of one's emotions — whether one is sad or joyful, tearful or laughing, elated or depressed, enthusiastic or angry, courageous or fearful — depends upon the way in which one regards the stimuli which disturb one's personality. One's attitude toward a stimulus depends primarily upon its nature: one hardly regards a rattlesnake in the same way in which one regards one's pet dog, nor a robber in the same way as one's sweetheart, nor a raise in salary in the same way as a dishonorable discharge. A second factor is one's physiological state, — perhaps certain fundamental glandular conditions. Yet, within very wide limits set by these factors, the attitude taken toward stimuli can be altered by purely psychological attitudes — by the development of sportsmanship, by the growth of faith, or by the application of intelligence. Happiness or unhappiness is much more a matter of choice than is commonly supposed.

The intensity of emotion, as distinct from its quality, depends upon the latent energy of the organism, upon the fitness of the stimulus to disturb personalities, upon the readiness of the particular personality to respond to that stimulus, and upon the persistency with which the stimulus acts upon the personality without adequate discharge of the emotional energy generated. Thus the intensity of a romantic love would depend upon the vitality of the lover, upon the attractiveness of his beloved, upon the intensity of his sex hunger and his craving for romantic companionship, and upon the resistance encountered to prompt and complete physical sex union.

Functioning on an Expanding Scale. The personality grows by functioning. Whenever an individual has an experience, the things,

people, and ideas entering into it tend to be linked into his personality. If the experience was one which relieved tensions, released purposes, and opened up new and delightful ways of functioning, then the tools which were used, the place where the experience occurred, the companions who shared it, and the ideas which entered into it, all become linked with the individual's expanded self; if the experience was one of suffering, of thwarting, of frustration, or chagrin, then the instruments which inflicted it, the place where it occurred, and the ideas related to it tend to be regarded thereafter with antipathy or antagonism.

The firmness with which these linkages are forged depends upon the intensity of the emotion, the extent to which the whole personality is involved in the experience, and the frequency with which the experience is repeated.

To varying degrees personalities seek to function on an expanding scale. They explore their surroundings. They experiment with the objects, ideas, and people with whom they come into contact. They get satisfaction from producing large, or distant, or impressive effects in their surroundings — whether the effect be flying a kite, building a skyscraper, or breaking into front page headlines.

Social expansion of personality is stimulated by several fundamental tendencies. The craving to function, and the difficulty of inventing satisfactory action-patterns for one's self, lead to the borrowing of patterns from others. This is one source of contagious behavior. It leads naturally to joint functioning; satisfying joint functioning leads to the overlapping expansion of personalities, and the formation of social groups. A second fundamental socializer is the craving to share experience. Not only does one seek to share the experience which one observes another having, but one longs to have others share the experience which one is having one's self: one craves attention and approval. The third great foundation for social expansion of personality is the tendency to put the self in the place of the other, and the other in the place of the self. It is by this imaginative transposition back and forth that each person gains insight both into his own experiences and into those of others.

Personalities Embody Cultural Inheritances. The content of the self is overwhelmingly a social product because of the fact that contagious action-patterns become built into the social structure, and are absorbed as the ground-work of the individual personality. These action-patterns become embodied in nerve structures as habits, skills,

and attitudes. They embed themselves in the sub-social environment in the form of tools and structures. They create special vocabularies, traditions, literatures, and symbols. They take form in the social environment in relationships, and in organizations. Action-patterns so embodied become social institutions, or culture complexes.

Every personality tends to absorb, as important parts of itself, major sections of the culture complexes in which it grows up and functions. Any disturbance of these institutions generates energy in all the personalities which have adopted them. Culture complexes, like other parts of the expanded self, tend to be thought of in terms of idealization, as the only right and proper ways of life, or at least as the best possible structures for functioning. Like other personality elements, culture complexes are prone to expansive functioning, and are apt to attempt to absorb into themselves their sub-social and social environments.

Ultimate Social Objectives. Not only the *motive* but also the *object* of life is to function. The individual attains his greatest possible joy in proportion as his potentialities for functioning are fulfilled. Some of these potentialities have become conscious purposes; some of them are mere unrealized possibilities — but life attains its fullness only in so far as both purposes and possibilities are realized. The goal of social endeavor, therefore, is the release, the stimulation, the facilitation, and the integration, of the purposes and possibilities of all personalities. Release means the removal, to the limit of social feasibility, of thwarts and obstructions, of the conditions which hamper, repress, and coerce the individual. It means the attainment of the basic craving for freedom; more than that it means the taking away of the restrictions which prevent the development of theretofore unconscious possibilities. Stimulation is the awakening of purposes, and the generation of emotional energy needed for full functioning. Facilitation is the provision of environmental conditions which encourage full functioning — the provision of needed tools, equipment, and supplies, the offering of social approvals, the making available of co-workers. Integration means the creative coöperation of purposes, both with the sub-social environment, with other purposes and possibilities within the individual, and with other personalities. To set personalities free, to stimulate them to fuller activity, to provide for them a favorable environment in which to function, and to weave them into a fabric in which their purposes interact creatively

with other purposes — such are the objectives of all worthy social striving.

Purposes Collide. Since personalities have as a fundamental characteristic the tendency to function on an expanding scale, and to absorb into themselves those parts of their environment through which they function, it is inevitable that in a world limited in size different personalities and different groups should attempt to use the same parts of the environment in ways inconsistent with each other, and that conflict should thus arise. Quarrels over the ownership and use of land, equipment, and other forms of wealth, over relations to slaves, subjects, sweethearts, and so forth, and even over the use of ideas, are the natural outcomes of colliding expansions. Such collisions are aggravated, moreover, by the fact that contagiousness of action-patterns focuses the attention of rivals upon the same materials, persons, and ideas.

Collisions of the above types might conceivably be avoided if enough duplicate materials and resources could be provided. Certain other types of conflict, however, could not be so solved — namely, those in which the satisfaction of one personality is derived from dominating or exploiting another. The deep-seated desire to produce reactions in other people supplements the craving to achieve one's own purposes by exploiting the property or the person of another; together they produce cruelty, tyranny, domination, and paternalism.

Collisions, like other disturbances of personalities, generate emotional energy. Usually one or both of the colliding personalities regards the other as a menacing stimulus; hence either fear, grief, or rage are the types of emotion generated. Rage, with its defensive attack upon the invading personality, tends to generate antagonistic emotions in turn in the invader, so that quite often reciprocal reinforcement of destructive energy results, with disastrous effects upon one or both of the contestants. War is merely the most gigantic instance of this type of social behavior.

The disturbance of personality caused by conflict may, however, have salutary results. Conflict is a stimulus, and thus fulfills one of the goals of social endeavor. Intense emotion, even when generated by conflict, may be enjoyed. Forced reorganization of personalities may prove to be salutary. Therefore constructive treatment of conflict demands conservation of its values and elimination of its disastrous consequences.

Coercive Solutions of Conflicts. The use of force, or violence, in attempting to solve a conflict of interests has certain arguments in its favor. When oppression has become institutionalized, as in the case of the ancient régime in France, or of the Czar's government of Russia, violent rebellion has sometimes been regarded as the only available means of breaking up the old institutions and dramatizing and energizing the demand for justice. In certain emergencies, and for certain very stubborn individuals, coercion seems to be called for from the standpoint of necessary economy of time and effort. In some instances where coercion has been paternalistically employed the person coerced has later gladly accepted the results which at first were forced upon him. In spite of these considerations, however, coercion is a socially dangerous tool because of its adaptability to exploitation, because of its self-reinforcing generation of destructive antagonism, because it stimulates fraud, and because of its inherent destruction of ultimate values — of the purposes and possibilities of personalities. In so far as it has ultimate usefulness at all, coercion should be regarded in the same light as are powerful drugs in medicine — as useful in emergencies, but as dangerous for general or regular application. These conclusions apply to the employment of psychological as well as of physical violence.

Solutions Based on Avoidance. The dangers and abuses of coercion have led to the development of a wide variety of social philosophies based on the proposition that all use of violence is evil. Some of these philosophies, ranging from the demand for political freedom to the extreme of anarchism, place their emphasis wholly upon the removal of the restraints. Others, grouped under the general term *laissez-faire*, emphasize the dangers of conscious social interference with processes controlled by sub-conscious and sub-social law. Still others, like pacifism and non-resistance, emphasize the importance of not using coercion against others. All of these are founded upon the fundamental craving for liberty — for functioning according to one's own purposes. Sound solutions of social relations must satisfy the essence of this need. Mere avoidance, or mere self-abnegation cannot, however, attain full liberty. The world is too small; tendencies toward domination and exploitation are too powerful; our human need for one another is too urgent. Freedom is a basic essential, but to it must be added integration if social values are to be fulfilled.

Equality and Justice. A great step beyond mere avoidance is the attempt to work out *just* solutions of social conflicts. The spontaneous tendency to put the self in the place of the other leads quite naturally to the idea of equality — equal division of good things, equal bearing of hardships, equal opportunities. In many communistic experiments the ideal of equality has been carried to the extreme literalness of identity in costume, food, work, and treatment. Common sense, however, and in recent years scientific research, have shown that personalities differ in ways which require corresponding differences in treatment. Increasingly the ideal of equality is being transmuted into the ideal of affording to every personality opportunities and facilities adapted to its capacities and potentialities.

The ideals of equality and of proportionality are phases of the larger concept: justice. Justice means the solution of social conflicts on the basis of accepted principles. Sometimes these principles are traditional or legal concepts of rights and duties; sometimes they are rules adopted by contending groups as an agreed basis for the solution of subsequent controversies. Competition is a form of conflict conducted according to such rules. Discipline is voluntary submission to coercion; at its best it secures the stimulus and the efficiency of force without its injustice.

Vital as justice is in the solution of social conflict, its contribution must be recognized as negative rather than positive. Its tendency is to produce compromise rather than integration — to secure equal sacrifices of purpose by both parties rather than coöperative fulfillment of joint purpose. No successful solution of social conflict can be achieved as long as either of the purpose-pursuing groups involved harbors a sense of *in*justice. But the elimination of injustice is only a first step. It clears the way for a vastly better solution than a mere whittling down of purposes so that they shall fit together: it should lead to a creative solution, in which the purposes involved shall stimulate, facilitate, and reinforce each other. Only when justice is conceived as meaning the solution which gives to all the personalities involved their greatest attainable fulfillment can it be accepted as an adequate basis for purpose-relations.

The Technique of Accommodation. The study of actual problems of social relations brings out certain principles which are found useful for the solution of social conflicts of diverse sorts — rules which apply with only superficial variations to relations between men and women,

husbands and wives, parents and children, Negroes and whites, Japanese and Americans, employers and employees, delinquents and society. These rules may be summarized as follows:

1. Seek to understand as fully as possible the sub-social environment, the organisms, the personalities, purposes, possibilities, ideas, and cultural elements involved. To misconceive any of these means a greater or lesser degree of failure. In particular it is vital that one understand his own purposes, stripping off his own rationalizations, and getting down to underlying drives. Equally essential is the understanding of the real motivation of the other personalities with whom one is dealing. To these ends unhampered discussion between the parties must be systematically cultivated. Deliberate efforts must be made by both parties to put themselves in the other's place.

2. As clearer understanding develops it becomes increasingly possible to discover and to eliminate the accidental antagonizers — the conditions which arise through ignorance, carelessness, or neglect and which are generating suffering and angry energy without benefiting any one. Such conditions may be physiological — over-fatigue, foci of infection, energy-sapping ailments. They may be sub-social — needlessly irritating and hampering physical equipment and the like. They may be social — unintentional slights to religious or racial feelings, thoughtlessly over-bearing individuals, neglectful minor injustices. An essential preliminary to integration of purpose in any relation is to clear away these poisons, these jagged, wounding conditions.

3. Just as trivial irritants may generate antagonism, so relatively minor facilitations and joint functionings may generate loyalty. Doing things joyfully together — whether those things be great or small — is the secret of building up love. The discovery of what the purposes and possibilities of the other personalities are opens the way to the skillful social engineer, in uncostly ways, to release, stimulate, and facilitate the personalities involved — to satisfy recreational cravings of employees, to bring home to the wife her favorite flowers, to furnish the opportunity for some long-cherished ambition of the children, to give to some member of a repressed race deserved prestige.

4. The above three steps are preliminary; they help to provide an understanding and coöperative attitude instead of the antagonism which believes the worst of an opponent and which seeks to avoid or to damage him rather than to coöperate. The central sources of strife

are apt not to be solved by these preliminaries. To meet the major conflict the first step is to find the largest possible area of agreement between the purposes involved — the highest common denominator, both in the programs which they have formulated, and in the underlying unformulated ends which they are trying to accomplish.

5. The next step is to adopt, or to invent if necessary, a solution which will fulfill the common area of purpose, and which will do the least possible violence to the outlying and still essentially conflicting elements. Such solutions, in order to succeed, must usually save the faces of all parties — retain their dignity and self-respect by avoiding any implication of defeat, while at the same time transforming the conflict elements in the original programs.

6. However cleverly the common denominator solutions are developed residual elements of conflict may remain. Certain purposes may be found to be insolubly inconsistent. Often the more these purposes are hammered at, the more stubborn and implastic they become. Such purposes, whether in one's self or in another, may best be eliminated by diverting attention to other interests, by developing more absorbing and at the same time more integrable ways of functioning. The treatment must be indirect; the less direct attention given such purposes, the better.

7. Some purposes will be found to be in conflict, and to be beyond the practicable reach of treatment by any of these methods. Such problems may often be dealt with by the policy of live and let live. Under practical working conditions it is occasionally necessary to apply coercion to obstructive purposes and individuals which refuse to yield to any of the treatments suggested above. Coercion, however, should be a last resort; it is an admission of failure.

8. In one's own life it is vitally important, if the fullest, the most intense, and the most creative experience is to be attained, that one discipline oneself to get the full stimulus from situations, ideas, and people which at first appear menacing. Antagonistic criticism by others is of priceless value to one who seeks to attain his own highest possibilities. "Impossible" situations and repellent hardships often force one to develop new areas of his personality which then become a source of rich experience. To maintain the fullest possible plasticity in one's own purposes, to turn one's own emotional energies always into creative channels instead of into blinding rage or crushing grief — these achievements lead to fuller and deeper joy in living.

Using the Science of Social Relations. Such principles as those just sketched are justified only to the degree that they lead toward the successful adjustment of relationships in daily life. We must give up the notion that any useful set of sociological concepts can be built up apart from systematic observation and experimentation in the actual problems to be dealt with. Sociology divorced from social problems is dead. Only by constant interaction and accommodation between social concepts and social practice can our theories become vital or our practice intelligent.

This applies not merely to the broad science of social relations, but directly and personally to each individual who studies and applies it. To acquire an abstract set of social ideas without putting them to growing and working in one's own life is a form of mental perversion. The aim of this text has been, not to lay down a fixed system of laws and rules, but rather to stimulate and to facilitate the social thinking and the social living of the student. The test of the success of the book — even more, the test of the success of the reader — is the degree to which he becomes himself a social thinker, a social investigator, a social discoverer.

Summary

A. Social relations are between personalities or groups of personalities.

1. The expanded personality includes the things, ideas, and people which one regards in fundamentally the same ways in which he regards his body.
2. The anti-personality includes the things, ideas, and people to which one gives reactions of antipathy, antagonism, or enmity.
3. The fundamental motive of life is to function with the full personality.
4. Purpose is personality projected into the future.

B. When stimulated, the personality develops energy, which finds its conscious expression in emotion, and its motor expression in activity.

5. The form which emotion takes depends upon three factors:
   a. Whether the stimulus is regarded as promising or menacing.
   b. Whether it is thought of as calling for passive acceptance, for avoidance, for attack, or for coöperative activity.
   c. Whether it is regarded as trivial or momentous.

6. Happiness or unhappiness therefore depends greatly upon how one chooses to regard the stimuli which disturb his personality.

7. The intensity of emotion depends upon the latent energy of the organism, fitness of the stimulus, readiness of the personality, and persistency of the stimulation. This last is usually conditioned by the degree of resistance to complete response.

C. Healthy personalities tend to function on an expanding scale.

8. Things, ideas, and people associated with successful functioning become linked into the expanded personality; those which thwart or injure become linked into the anti-personality.

9. By exploration and experimentation personalities seek ever new additions to themselves.

10. Social expansion of personality is stimulated by the craving to share others' experiences and have them share one's own experiences, and by the tendency to put the self in the place of the other.

11. The groundwork of the personality consists of culture complexes — action-patterns built into the habits, skills, attitudes, tools, structures, vocabularies, literature, symbols, and social relations of groups.

D. The goal of social endeavor is the release, stimulation, facilitation, and integration of the purposes and possibilities of all personalities.

E. Social conflict is a natural outcome of purpose relationships.

12. Expanding personalities tend to collide.

13. The desire to produce reactions in other people, plus the craving to achieve one's own purposes by exploiting others, produce cruelty, domination, and paternalism.

14. Destructive energy generated by conflict tends to be reciprocally reinforcing.

15. Conflict, however, may be valuable as a stimulus.

F. The characteristics of various solutions for conflict are as follows:

16. Coercion, while sometimes useful in breaking up oppression and in economizing time and effort, destroys vital values, generates destructive energy, facilitates exploitation, and stimulates fraud.

17. Avoidance includes such solutions as freedom, anarchism, *laissez-faire*, pacifism, and non-resistance. It is merely negative unless integration is added to freedom.

18. Justice means the solution of conflict on the basis of accepted principles — such as equality, proportionality, or traditional rights and duties. Competition and discipline, by introducing elements of justice, secure some of the stimulation of conflict without all of its disadvantages.

19. Accommodation, while founded on freedom and justice, seeks not merely to avoid mutual destruction, but to achieve mutual stimulation and reinforcement. It depends upon the following:

a. Understanding of personalities and environments involved.

b. Elimination of accidental antagonizers.

c. Development of joint functioning.

d. Discovery of common areas of purpose.

e. Adoption or invention of solutions which express common purposes with minimum of thwarting and damage.

f. Development of absorbing substitutes for inevitably thwarted functionings.

g. Residual *laissez-faire* and minimum coercion.

h. Development of one's own plasticity of purpose.

G. Only by constant interaction and accommodation between social concepts and social practice can theories become vital or practice intelligent.

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